"REPRESENTATION AND USE OF INDIGENOUS HERITAGE CONSTRUCTS"

Implications for the quality and relevance of heritage education in post colonial southern Africa

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Abstract

This study explores representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs with a view to identifying implications thereof for the quality and relevance of heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa. Framed within a critical hermeneutic research paradigm under-laboured by critical realist ontology, the study was conducted using a multiple case study research design. The data collection protocol was three-phased, starting with a process of contextual profiling, within which insights were gained into discourses shaping the constitution and orientation of heritage education practices at the Albany Museum in South Africa, the Great Zimbabwe Monument in Zimbabwe and the Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana. The second phase of data collection entailed modelling workshops in which educators engaged in discussion around the status of heritage education in post apartheid South Africa. This highlighted, through modelled lessons, some of the tensions, challenges and implications for working with notions of social transformation and inclusivity in heritage education. The third phase of data collection involved in-depth interviews. Twelve purposively selected research participants were interviewed between 2010 and 2011. Data generated across the study was processed and subjected to different levels of critical discourse analysis.

Besides noting how heritage education in post colonial southern Africa is poorly framed and under-researched, this study revealed that current forms of representing indigenous heritage constructs are influenced more by socio-political discourses than the need to protect and conserve local heritage resources. The study also noted that the observed heritage education practices are oriented more towards addressing issues related to marginalisation and alienation of indigenous cultures and practices, than enhancing learners' agency to manage and utilise local heritage resources in a more sustainable ways. Based on these findings the study recommends re-positioning heritage education within the framework of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). ESD acknowledges both issues of social justice and the dialectical interplay between nature and culture; as such, it may allow for representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in ways that expand current political orientations to include sustainability as an additional objective of heritage education. Given that little research focusing on heritage education has been undertaken within southern Africa, the findings of this study provide a basis upon which future research may emerge.

List of Acronyms

BNCC	Botswana National Cultural Council
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
EE	Environmental Education
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
HESD	Heritage Education for Sustainable Development
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IKS	Indigenous knowledge systems
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
LSM	Learning Support Material
NAC	National Art Council
NHC	National Heritage Council
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act no. 25 of 1999
NMM	National Museums and Monuments
NMMAG	National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery
NMMZ	National Museums and Monument of Zimbabwe
NWPA	National Parks and Wildlife Authority
PHRAs	Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAGN	South African Geographical Names
SAGNC	South African Geographical Names Council
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SEEP	Sebakwe Environmental Education Programme
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my late father, the spirit medium of Nyanhewe-son of Nyatsimba Mutota, last known King of Munhumutapa and Great Zimbabwe Empire.

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ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Chapter One provides an orienting background to the study. The chapter opens with a biography of the researcher which seeks to help the reader to understand some of the factors motivating this study. Chapter One further provides a detailed overview of the context within which this study is situated, that of post colonial southern Africa. An historical overview of discourses shaping and influencing heritage policy, management and education practices within the region, is presented to provide orientation to the basis of the study. Drawing on available literature the chapter moves on to provide an overview of the status of heritage education practices in the region and juxtaposes this overview with the perceived roles of heritage education. Emphasis on the role of heritage education in supporting sustainable management and use of heritage resources is presented, leading to the suggestion of thinking about heritage education within the broader framework of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). The need for heritage education to be inclusive of the cultural diversity inherent in the region, mirrored against the marginalisation tied to colonialism is highlighted, and problematised. Chapter One provides the context and rationale of the study. It outlines the goals and specific questions the study seeks to interrogate. Definitions of the key terms used in this study are also provided. The chapter ends by outlining the structure of the thesis.

1.1   Personal Biography

I, Cryton Zazu, was born to Margaret and James Mtukura in 1974. I grew up in the communal areas of Hurungwe,a district lying in the western province of Zimbabwe. In 2006, whilst working as a programme manager for the Sebakwe Environmental Education Programme (SEEP), I enrolled for a Masters Degree in Environmental Education with Rhodes University, South Africa, which I completed in 2008. In this Masters degree I explored the challenges and opportunities for integrating Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) into the Sebakwe Environmental Education programme (SEEP). The rationale for

researching the integration of IKS into mainstream environmental education processes was based on previous research findings (see Zazu, 2008) and my work experiences of how the knowledge systems and cultural practices of the local people within and around the Sebakwe communal areas were not being adequately recognised and used within the Sebakwe Environmental Education programme. Yet it was those same people that the education programme was purportedly developed to work with or support, in their quest to manage and sustain local environmental resources. It was from such observations and experiences that I started to question the quality and relevance of education practices that marginalise local people's knowledge systems and practices for enhancing the same people's agency to sustainably manage local environmental resources. It is this same concern that motivated this study. My initial interest was to understand how heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa engage with indigenous heritage constructs as a way of attaining inclusivity and improving the quality and relevance of the same education practices to enhance the sustainable management and use of local heritage resources.

1.2   The research context: post colonial southern Africa

This study was conducted within the context of post colonial southern Africa with a particular focus on heritage education practices in three countries, namely Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. The map on the next page (Figure 1) shows the southern African region and provides relevant compressed profiles of each of the countries included in the study. More detail on why I selected Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe as the three country case studies is provided in Chapter Four (see Section 4.2.1). In that chapter a detailed justification for the decision to focus on specific heritage education programmes within these three countries is also provided.

Botswana gained independence in 1966. The country's population is just under two million and 40 % of people in Botswana live in rural areas and still conduct traditional practices e.g. rain making ceremonies or worshiping of *Mwali*. Botswana is also culturally diverse. *Batswana* is the major local tribe: *BaTlokwa, BaKalanga* and Khoisan groups are some of the minority tribes.

Zimbabwe became independent in 1980. Zimbabwe is also culturally diverse with *Shona* and *Ndebele* as the two main local tribal groupings. Zimbabwe is richly endowed with both natural and cultural heritage resources. Victoria Falls and Great Zimbabwe monument are amongst some of the country's renowned heritage sites. The country is also home to archaeologically unique rock art sites, Domboshava being a notable case.

South Africa is a country with 11 official languages and rich cultural and natural diversity. It has eight World Heritage Sites, and is ranked as having the third highest level of biological heritage in the world (GCIS, 2011). South Africa has a long history of colonisation, and only attained democracy in 1994. Inclusivity and social transformation are central features of the country's post apartheid constitution.

Botswana

Zimbabwe

South Africa

Figure 1: Map showing study locations and brief country profiles

1.2.1 Historical overview of heritage discourses in post colonial southern Africa

The advent of colonial rule and nation state formation in southern Africa brought with it new forms of legislation, such as the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the Historical Monuments Act of 1937 (Vudzijena, 1998; Crais, 2002; Sinamai, 2003; Arowolo, 2010). These two pieces of legislation amongst many others, as claimed by Manyanga (2000), Ndoro and Pwiti (2001) and Ndoro (2005), served to limit or deny local people's access to traditional heritage sites which they had interacted with and used for various cultural and religious ceremonies. Colonial legislation and associated nation state resulted in devolution of power through the unnegotiated transfer of ownership of cultural heritage property from local indigenous people to central governments (Sharma, 1999 & 2003; Ndoro & Pwiti, 2001). This "colonial accumulation of power" as Crais (2002:19) called it, and control over natural resources dates back to early 1619 and is associated with the arrival of European

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settlers first at the Cape of Good Hope and later across the entire southern African region (Collins & Burns, 2007). These colonially inspired changes involved what Mamdani (1996), Crais (2002) and Arowolo (2010) referred to as transition from tribal (stateless communities) to state organisation which in practice entailed the weakening of African traditional institutional structures. Traditional institutions such as chiefs, through which pre-colonial communities regulated social, economic and political affairs, became state appointed and appropriated to serve the interests of the colonial state more than was previously the case (Mamdani, 1996; Sharma, 1999; Crais, 2002). Elaborating on the changes brought about by colonialism, Mamdani (1996: 46) talks of how, in pre-colonial Botswana the *Kgotla or libanda* in Swaziland was a place where the community met to freely discuss issues of common interest with the chief, and how with the advent of colonialism the same *Kgotla* "was turned into a forum where decisions were announced but not debated". Mamdani's (ibid.) claim is further supported by Sharma (1999 & 2003) who also talks about how colonial rule impacted on the traditional *Kgotla* structure and functions in Botswana. Sharma argued that:

> The traditional leaders (Chiefs) enjoyed unlimited and undefined powers over the tribe during the pre-colonial period. The chief was custodian of tribal land and allocated it to tribesmen for ploughing or residential purposes. The villages were divided into several wards, each headed by a headman. The chief settled disputes, pronounced on tribal customs and traditions, and ruled on matters concerning the tribe in consultation with its members. (2003:02)

During the early colonial times much of the powers of the traditional chiefs were reduced and their functions changed to that of hut tax collectors (Sharma, 1999 & 2003). Similarly Isichei (1997) talks of how, as early as 1713 the Khoekhoe communities, besides losing political autonomy and their land to the Dutch settlers, had their culture including language eroded. Consistent with Isichei (ibid.), Sekyi-Otu (1996), also commenting on the effect of colonialism in Africa, argued that colonial domination distorted the very relations that the colonised (e.g. the Khoekhoe) maintains with his own culture. Similarly Burnell (2007) concluded that colonialism developed a system of knowledge that objectified the colonised, making him change the way he sees the world. Regarding the impact of colonial rule on heritage resources management in Africa, Maradze pointed out that;

> Formal heritage management came as part of a colonial package throughout the African continent, with the aim of preserving the monuments and sites that bore witness to indigenous people's developments. Before colonialism,

traditional management systems were in place to maintain respect for and the survival of cultural sites. (2002:01)

In a recent newspaper article, a traditional Chief (Katombo Kanyai of Chiweshe in Zimbabwe) made explicit how colonialism and modernity eroded powers of traditional chiefs in the country (Mwase, 2012). The chief, cited in Mwase, argued that:

In this era the judgments of chiefs are reviewed by young magistrates educated by the colonial system which is a far cry from the chiefs of the older days, who were the custodians of the law and all liberties. (2012:13)

Colonialism in southern Africa therefore manifested itself in the form of what Crais (2002: 8) referred to as "cross-cultural encounters" within which the relationship between the coloniser (and colonial state) and the colonised (African/indigenous people) was largely unbalanced (Crais, 2002; Ndoro & Pwiti, 2001; Ndoro, 2005; Arowolo, 2010). Both Sekyi-Otu (1996) and Young (2003) argued that colonialism entailed that the cultures and language of the coloniser became more powerful than the indigenous which was devalued, as alluded to by Mitchell (2003).

Colonialism also entailed that authority over natural resources be vested in nation state structures such as the Chief Magistrates or District Commissioners. Control, ownership and access to natural resources became the concern of state institutions with chiefs playing a very superficial or sub altern role (Mamdani, 1996; McEwan, 2009; Mujere, 2010; Arowolo, 2010). In the case of southern Africa and with reference to heritage resources management, besides weakening the powers of traditional institutions, colonialism and state formation led to the establishment of state institutions such as the National Monument Councils in apartheid South Africa, and colonial Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and the Museums and Relics Council in colonial Botswana (Manyanga, 2000; Sinamai, 2003). Accordingly as already mentioned, the management, protection, access and use of heritage resources such as relics, sites, shrines, and monuments became the domain of such state institutions, with the result that local people no longer had the right and legal access to many of these places (Ndoro & Pwiti 2001; Meskell & Masuku Van Damme, 2008). Local communities were therefore left with no choice except to negotiate for permission from government or the state bodies whenever a need to access certain heritage sites arose. In pre-colonial and early colonial periods (before 1930s) all heritage sites were

revered by local communities and managed through traditional custodianships in the form of spirit mediums who had powers to control and ensure the sustainability of such cultural resources (Sinamai, 2003; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008).

One effect of colonialism in southern Africa was therefore that local people became alienated from their cultural heritage with far reaching negative consequences that are still being felt today. Confirming this observation Mitchell (2003: 413) claimed that "one of the most depressing legacies of colonial and minority rule in southern Africa was the alienation of the indigenous people from their past and in some instances the denigration or denial of its richness and value". Educationally, colonialism in Africa also entailed the subjugation of indigenous people's knowledge systems and practices. Crawhall (2008:18) drawing on Woolman (2001) elaborates on this argument by pointing out that "under colonialism, cultural diversity was submerged by the exclusion of most African traditions from education". Crawhall further claimed that:

> Colonialism exacerbated a dislocation between national and local governance over natural resources (both within and between communities), as well as displaced knowledge, wisdom and education from the formal schooling sector. (2008:21)

Mignolo (2001) also argued that Western expansion (colonialism) was not only political and economic, but also educational and intellectual. Hence alongside the alienation of local people from the management and use of heritage resources was the marginalisation of the same people's knowledge systems and practices within formal education. Experiences and research findings drawn from across the southern African region have, however, continued to reflect that heritage legislation and associated management and education practices in the region have largely remained Eurocentric (or more precisely nation state centred), over-emphasising colonial architecture and often ignoring traditional African laws and cultural practices (World Bank, 2001; Africa 2009, 2002 and UNESCO, 2006).

It is against this historical context that the southern African region continues to experience a plethora of challenges around management of heritage resources. These challenges often manifest in the form of conflicts and tensions between state institutions and local communities over ownership, access and use of local heritage resources (Munnik & Mhlope, 2000; Manyanga, 2000; Ndoro, 2005; Fontein, 2006).

Such widespread conflicts and tensions around heritage resources constitute a serious threat to the sustainability of heritage resources in the region (Manyanga, 2000; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Crawhall, 2008). Examples illustrating these challenges are numerous and vary across the region. In Zimbabwe, reported conflicts and tensions between the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) and local communities over ownership of, access to and use of heritage resources like the Great Zimbabwe monument, Nharira Hills, and Domboshava rock art site continues to take centre stage (Ndoro & Pwiti , 1999 & 2001; Manyanga, 2000; Fontein, 2006). Similarly in both Zimbabwe and South Africa, there have been problems of local communities resisting relocation from Gonarezhou and Kruger National parks or claiming restitution from state authorities, thereby posing a threat to the establishment of the envisaged Greater Kruger-Limpopo Transfrontier Park and sustainability of wildlife within this area (Meskell & Masuku Van Damme, 2008). In Zimbabwe, the Chitsa clan invaded Gonarezhou national park in early 2002, taking advantage of the land reform programme, but mainly arguing that they were simply reclaiming their heritage (ancestral land) of which they had been dispossessed by the colonial government (Chakanyuka, 2007; Mujere, 2010).

In South Africa the tension and rift between the local indigenous *Dukuduku* people and national conservation agencies over ownership, access to and use of Isimangaliso Wetland Park (a World Heritage site) illustrated how the colonial heritage legislation and management systems impacted on the long term sustainability of heritage resources (Munnik & Mhlope 2000). Even when we think that the tensions have been resolved, the situation remains uncertain. As such, it becomes difficult to tell whether local communities have totally accepted their disadvantaged position or if one day they will fight back, as was the case of Chitsa clan in Zimbabwe.

In Botswana, *baKalanga* people were reportedly having problems with the National Museums, Monuments and Art Gallery (NMMAG) around access and use of the Domboshaba monument, arguing that it was always a place for their cultural rituals and ceremonies (Manyanga, 2000). The same situation is reportedly playing out in Tlokweng, an area just outside Gaborone, from which the *BaTlokwa* people are being forced to relocate and pave way for the expansion of the Gaborone metropolitan (Manyanga, 2000). However the *BaTlokwa* people are allegedly neither prepared to

relocate (claiming that Tlokweng is their cultural home and ancestral heritage), nor are they willing to change their cultural practice of burying the dead within their homesteads (a practice that is not compatible with the modern urban planning and development legislation in Botswana). In all these cases the contention seems to be around ownership, access, and use of the heritage resource in question, a situation which to a large extent can be ascribed to histories of colonialism and state formation as pointed out earlier.

It is also worth noting that throughout post colonial southern Africa, local communities (whose cultural heritages had been marginalised, denigrated and excluded in contemporary heritage management, interpretation and presentation) are now, with the advent of democracy, continuously engaging in a struggle to regain their cultural heritage rights (Malegapuru, 1999; Meskell & Masuku van Damme, 2008).

Though not speaking specifically about southern Africa, Smith (2006:80) argues that the challenging of Western hegemonic heritage discourses emerged from the late 20th century's "re-evaluation of modernity (which is a product of state formation as well as colonialism in the case of southern Africa) and increased concern with the local, in the face of globalisation". Embedded within this struggle is the questioning of the hegemonic emphasis on natural heritage with little or no concern for intangible cultural perspectives. Elaborating on the hegemony alluded to by Smith (2006), and of relevance to this study, Katsamudanga (2004), Jokiletho (1999) and Fairweather (2006) argue that in post colonial southern Africa, heritage is commonly valued for and used by nation states as a mechanism for developing national identity and consolidation of sovereignty as well as a resource for economic development. Yet local people have often looked at heritage as the basis of their livelihoods. To the *Karanga* people in Zimbabwe, as will be further discussed in Chapter Two, the Great Zimbabwe monument is a place of worship and for conducting of traditional ceremonies. The same monument is viewed at national level as a symbol of national identity (the country is named after the monument), and is also an important driver of the country's tourism industry. Such a scenario has and continues to perpetuate the tensions and conflicts seeded, as already pointed out, by the processes of colonisation

and state formation, but also re-ignited by the false promises of post colonial nation states in southern Africa.

In trying to address challenges associated with colonialism as overviewed above, post colonial nation states deploy varied mechanisms ranging from policy amendments and formulation, redistribution of key resources and education reforms amongst others (Jansen, 1991; Zvobgo, 2007; Mupondi, 2004; Mhlungu, 2009; Mapara, 2009; Nyoni & Nyoni, 2010). Closely related to this observation, Crawhall (2008) argued that, in post colonial Africa, education can play a significant role in mediating the relationship between particular cultures or communities and the nation state. Heritage education appears to be one of the forms of education being used in southern Africa, to redress some of the heritage related injustices tied to colonialism (see Chapter Four, Section 4.6). In order to make this possible, a number of reforms are instituted including the call for increased representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices in the region (Republic of Botswana, 2001a - National Policy on Culture; Republic of Botswana, Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture, 2004; Ndoro 2005; Republic of South Africa, 2006; Mhlungu, 2009; Republic of Botswana, 2001b). This call for increased representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs does, however, require clarity and a rethinking of what heritage education is all about as well as what it is supposed to do. If done properly, the mobilisation of indigenous knowledge systems and cultural practices into existing heritage education practices can enhance the quality and relevance of the same education practices to mediate some of the challenges associated with heritage resources management in post colonial southern Africa (see Section 1.2.1). Increased representation and use of indigenous cultures and traditions in education has potential to make the voices of those closest to the heritage resources heard, and may allow for the sustainability of the same resources (Head, 2000; Reid, Teamy & Dillon, 2004; Crawhall, 2008)

1.3 Heritage education in post colonial southern Africa: The current context

Even though the role of education in mediating the challenges linked to heritage resources management has already been acknowledged, heritage education has remained largely under researched (Head, 2000; Crawhall, 2008). UNESCO, the World Bank and the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) are

amongst the few international institutions advocating for recognition of the vital role that heritage education plays in supporting effective management of heritage resources. Global initiatives such as the "World Heritage in Young Hands" education programme started by UNESCO in 2002 are testimony of existing effort at a global level to promote heritage education. Interest in heritage education is however not limited to global institutions and international narratives. Important to note is that in southern Africa, policy frameworks emphasising the importance of education in supporting heritage resources management exist. For instance, South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act no.25 of 1999 (NHR Act no. 25 of 1999) and Botswana's National Policy on Culture of 2001, both acknowledge the role that education can play in enabling people to identify with and actively participate in the management of local heritage resources (Republic of South Africa, 1999; Republic of Botswana, 2001a). In emphasising the importance of education in heritage resources management, South Africa's NHR Act no. 25 of 1999 argued that:

> To ensure that heritage resources are effectively managed, the skills and capacities of persons and communities involved in heritage resources management must be developed; and provision must be made for ongoing education and training of existing and new heritage resources management workers. (1999:16)

Similarly the 2001 National Policy on Culture for Botswana clearly highlights the significance of education. The Policy states that:

> Education in every society is an institutionalised means of enculturation or cultural transmission. As such cultural continuity and understanding depend largely on the content and method of this process of knowledge development and the inculcation of social and moral values. (Republic of Botswana, 2001: 13)

In the context of post colonial Zimbabwe, the country's Cultural Policy of 2004 also re-emphasised the role of education in sustaining the country's diverse cultural heritage. The Policy stipulates that:

> Zimbabweans need to rekindle customs, values and those of our norms that are capable of laying a solid foundation for the resuscitation of the spirit of respect, integrity, tolerance, compassion "unhu/Ubuntu" and at the same time fostering natural pride. It is important that these virtues are transmitted to our children and youths through our cultural education so as to promote national identity which will enable the nation to adopt those global values that they

would have assessed to have meaning in their Zimbabwean lives. (Republic of Zimbabwe, 2004: 12)

Despite its acknowledged role as highlighted in the policy narratives above, heritage education in post colonial southern Africa has, as already pointed out (Head, 2000), remains under researched, under prioritised and poorly constituted (Zazu, 2010). In addition, heritage education in the region has been critiqued for being exclusive of indigenous people's perspectives (Ndoro, 2005; Meskell & Masuku Van Damme, 2008). A number of scholars argue that heritage education in post colonial southern Africa has also remained largely Eurocentric and, in the context of post apartheid South Africa, primarily focusing on an appreciation of the aesthetic value of colonially-inspired architecture and respect for Cape Dutch and British settler culture, that is on colonial heritage that took root on African soil after 1652 (DACST, 1996; Mitchell, 2003; Bredekamp, 2009). For instance, at the Great Zimbabwe monument, a World Heritage site in the southern region of Zimbabwe, the interpretation and presentation (in themselves educational processes) of the monument to the public has been mainly based on contested "archaeology, ethnography and Portuguese records" (Ndoro, 2005: 73). The net effect of such interpretation of the monument is that it has, until today, been exclusive of local communities' oral tradition, cultural practices and mythology of the ruins. According to Garlake (1982), to the local communities, the Great Zimbabwe monument therefore remained a remote and meaningless abstraction alienated from all that is significant to their culture.

This observation calls for two things. First it calls for the need to critically examine the relevance and usefulness of contemporary heritage education practices in enhancing the sustainable management of heritage resources in the region. Secondly, it adds significance to this study's goal of exploring how, in response to the marginalisation reported above, heritage educators are working with indigenous heritage constructs to achieve inclusivity. The same observation thus calls for the need to think about the kind of inclusivity required within the context of post colonial southern Africa.

These questions also make it important to, within this study, start theorising possible ways of attaining a more useful and sustainability oriented heritage construct

inclusivity. One such strategy, as will be discussed in detail later in this thesis (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2 and Chapter Nine, Section 9.2), is a possibility of re-positioning heritage education practices within the framework of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). This is because, as Crawhall (2008) and UNESCO (2010) argue, ESD allows for intercultural dialogues (inclusivity) needed to achieve sustainability, and lifestyles that are sensitive to local and global resource constraints. Crawhall (ibid.) further argued that ESD acknowledges that human cultural heritages are a great resource for finding values, methods, practices and insights into how to achieve sustainability. Framed within ESD, heritage education gains increased potential to enhance not only equal access and enjoyment but active participation of local people in the protection and management of heritage resources (UNESCO, 2003 & 2010). Inclusive heritage education practice, as envisaged in this study, has the potential to accommodate the cultural diversity and enhance social cohesion, both of which are necessary for effective mediation of the challenges associated with managing heritage resources in post colonial southern Africa as overviewed earlier (UNESCO, 2003; Crawhall, 2008; Muchemi & Crawhall, 2008).

1.3.1 Research goals and objectives

This study seeks to generate knowledge that can be used to reorient contemporary heritage education practices towards the kind of heritage construct inclusivity required of education within the context of post colonial southern Africa. To do this the study:

  i. Explores the discourses influencing the manner in which indigenous heritage constructs are being represented and used within heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa,

  ii. Surfaces tensions, barriers and pitfalls inherent in the ways in which indigenous heritage constructs are represented and used within selected heritage education practices in the region, and

  iii. Generates insights needed to achieve the kind of inclusivity which translates into improved agency, quality and relevance of heritage education practices in the region.

1.3.2 Research questions

In tandem with the research goal and objectives as articulated above, the study seeks to answer the following key questions:

1. What are some of the current heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa?

2. To what extent and in what ways are indigenous heritage constructs being represented and used in the identified heritage education practices?

3. What discourses shape and influence the representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in the studied heritage education practices?

4. What are the implications of the current patterns of representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in contemporary heritage education practices?

5. How can representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in current heritage education practices be meaningfully improved?

6. Considering the answers to the first five questions, what are the possible guidelines that heritage educators can draw on as they work with indigenous heritage constructs?

As can be easily noted, the range of questions that this study seeks to answer is broad. The reason for this is that it was necessary first to map out the heritage education practices in the region, as no other studies have done this, before attempting to critically analyse how indigenous heritage constructs are currently being represented and used within the same education practices.

1.4 Definition of key terms

1.4.1   Heritage

In this study I acknowledge the fact that many definitions exists for the term 'heritage'. In this study I have chosen to work with the notion of heritage as a discourse (Mason, 2002; Lowenthal, 2005; Smith, 2006). Whilst heritage can be defined simply as the legacy that we receive from our ancestors, live with today, and pass on to the future, none of these conceptions of heritage captures the politics and contestation associated with that which we eventually call our heritage or a heritage resource. For this reason it was important that I work with the concept of heritage as a discourse, or simply the way that heritage is spoken about, valued, used, and protected (Graham et al, 2000; Lowenthal, 2005; Smith, 2006 & Marcshall, 2010). This is further elaborated in chapter two where a conceptual framework for working with the term heritage is developed and discussed (see Section 2.1).

1.4.2 Indigenous

According to Cocks (2006) the definition of the term 'indigenous' is problematic. Within the Convention on Biological Diversity the general consensus was that, as pointed out by Possey, the term indigenous has been used to apply to:

> People who have historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that have developed their own territories and who consider themselves distinct from other sectors of society now prevailing in those territories or part of them. They form at present non dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, their ethnic identity as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (1989: 241)

Similarly Dei (2002) and Angioni (2003) argued that the word 'indigenous' has often been used to refer to specific groups of people defined by ancestral territories, collective cultural configuration, and historical locations. In this study the term 'indigenous' is used to refer to people living around, within or adjacent to heritage resources. I use 'indigenous people' synonymously with 'local people' and these are people with regular interaction with the heritage resources in question. In the case of Great Zimbabwe, the term 'indigenous' refers to all the people living around the monument that have traditional or ancestral linkages to the site either through history or continued use of the site for their cultural practices (Fontein, 2006; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). The term does not in this study denote colour, race or origin, but rather denotes local affinity and connection to the heritage resources in question (Munjeri, 2004).

1.4.3 Indigenous heritage constructs

Defining 'indigenous heritage constructs' whilst accounting for the meaning of terms such as 'indigenous' as outlined above, is critical. In this study 'indigenous heritage constructs' represent multifaceted bodies of knowledges and socio-cultural practices that are maintained and developed by peoples with long histories of close interaction with the local natural environment and heritage resources (Reid et al., 2004; Crawhall, 2008). Indigenous heritage constructs also includes local people's norms and values, beliefs and mythologies, as well as practices such as ceremonies, rituals, folklores, and oral history relating to, and influencing their interaction with local heritage resources (UNESCO, 2003 & 2006). Indigenous heritage constructs, as proposed above, inter alia also relate to traditional cultural institutions of society such as the

family, the village and the community, and their associated customary leadership and laws, which in post colonial southern Africa, have not been well received by national cultural institutions, such as the museums, the courts and universities (Munjeri, 2004; Ndoro, 2005; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). The term 'indigenous heritage construct' is therefore used in this study to distinguish between the nation state (Eurocentric) conception of heritage and that of local indigenous people. It is also historically imbued. In addition, the term is used interchangeably with Dei's (2002) notion of indigenous cultural heritage or simply local people's views of what heritage is.

1.4.4 Inclusivity and pluralism

'Inclusivity' is a key term used throughout this study. There has, however, been and continues to be, different interpretations of what inclusivity entails. Based on the recognition that respect for indigenous peoples' knowledges and practices contributes to sustainable management and use of heritage resources in this study, the term inclusivity refers to a kind of educational practice in which different heritage constructs are represented and accommodated (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, 2008). Inclusivity therefore entails recognition and representation of cultural diversity within heritage education practices (Dei, 2002). However the notion of inclusivity as used in this study extends beyond what Dei (ibid.: 9) refers to as "simply opening up the club to new members". Rather it examines the whole practice of heritage education against its perceived roles in supporting the sustainability of heritage resources. In this sense, inclusivity is not a simplistic displacement of one form of heritage construct with another or a naive integration of indigenous heritage constructs into current education practices by simply removing the current constructs, those that within this region have been labeled as colonial and placed under critique. Inclusivity in heritage education entails both recognition, and respect of local people's knowledges and practices as well as deployment of an emancipatory pedagogy which allow for different knowledges and practices of heritage to mutually interact, and to be viewed as historically relevant (Freire, 1970; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000; Paraskeva, 2011). Inclusivity is therefore not just about epistemology but also about the pedagogy for generating contemporary relevance. In this study I somewhat loosely use 'inclusivity' interchangeably with 'plurality' because both relate to the notion of intercultural dialogues envisaged within this study.

1.4.5 Post colonialism

Post colonialism is a contested field with porous boundaries and no single coherent meaning (Kapoor, 2008 & 2009; McEwan, 2009). McEwan (2009) argues that the term 'post colonialism' is either used to signify the notion of time, as in what Ashcroft et al. (1995) cited in McEwan (2009) call "after independence" or entails a cultural theory concerned with explaining the impact of colonisation (Young, 2003). In this study, the term post colonial is used to refer to the period after European colonial rule or the period after attainment of political independence in Botswana and Zimbabwe, or democracy as in the case of South Africa, and not so much as a cultural theory. The reason is because in this study I am also interested in exploring and critiquing the continued subtle marginalisation of local people's views of heritage in heritage education practices beyond the end of European colonial rule. Like Spivak (1999) I resisted using the term 'post colonial' as a theory because it tends to focus more on the past and thus does not give adequate attention to forms of colonialism embedded in the present. The argument that this study makes is that there could be a number of problem areas and inadequacies inherent in the manner in which heritage education is being reoriented towards becoming inclusive of indigenous cultural heritage in post colonial southern Africa (see Chapter Eight, Section 8.3), and that this renders the same education practices inadequate to help mediate the challenges associated with managing heritage in the region. The use of the term 'post colonial' to denote time rather than theory, is based on this argument.

1.4.6 Discourse

According to Fairclough (1995), Janks (1997) and Rogers (2004), a discourse encompasses the use of spoken, written and signed language. Fairclough (1995 & 2003) further argues that the term 'discourse' refers to the speech patterns and how language and dialects are used in a particular community. Foucault (1980) added that a discourse is the acceptable statements within a given community. Discourses are therefore context specific and the term is used as such within this study. The term 'discourse' is, in this study, also used in combination with 'practice'. Rogers (2004) and Paltridge (2006) claimed that discourses are reproduced within (social) practices. For instance, discourses shaping heritage policy and legislation within post colonial southern Africa are reflected, reproduced and reinforced through heritage management and education practices such as "adopt a site" or the "culture hut

concept". In this study the term 'discourse' therefore refers to the way of talking or thinking about heritage, as well as what heritage is and how it should be used (Smith, 2006). These discourses are shaped by the region's colonial history and are reflected in observed heritage education practices.

1.5 Outline of thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters structured as outlined below.

Chapter One

Chapter One provides an orienting background to the entire study. It sets the scene and presents the historical context within which this study took place. It historicises the discourses that characterise heritage legislation, heritage management and education practices in post colonial southern Africa. The chapter provides a rationale and direction for the study. Chapter One also introduces the reader to the specific goals, objectives and research questions of the study. In Chapter One definitions of key terms used are presented and explained.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two discusses the conceptual frameworks that underpin this study in more depth. Key concepts briefly introduced in Chapter One are discussed and problematised in this chapter. The chapter opens with a discussion of the concept of 'heritage' and how it is used in this study. An attempt is made to show how conceptually problematic the word 'heritage' can be and how this impacts on the constitution and orientation of heritage management and education practices. In the same chapter a conceptual framework for what heritage education is, and what its perceived roles are, is provided. Chapter Two also develops and discusses a possible framework or model of heritage education practice needed within the context of post colonial southern Africa, given the region's colonial history and inherent contested discourses around heritage. In summary, Chapter Two presents to the reader the overall conceptual framework that informs this study.

Chapter Three

In Chapter Three a theoretical framework informing this study is presented. The chapter starts by providing a rationale for the use of Critical Social theory as

postulated by Habermas and explains how Critical Realism is drawn on as an under-labourering concept. The chapter provides a brief historical overview of Habermas's work before discussing his theory of communicative action and that of the structural transformation of the public sphere which are used substantively in the study. Case examples illustrating how I worked with Habermasian critical social theory are included to illustrate the usefulness of this theory for the purpose and objectives of this study. Chapter Three also acknowledges the shortfalls of Habermasian critical social theory with regard to educational research, and further discusses how I mediated the perceived shortfalls by drawing on McKernan's (2008) critical curriculum theory. Chapter Three also briefly highlights how working with Habermas's critical social theory influenced the methodology of the study.

Chapter Four

Chapter Four discusses the methodological considerations for the study. This chapter describes the critical hermeneutic research paradigm within which this study is conducted. The chapter presents an overview of the case study research design and data generation methods used to carry out the study. The chapter also discusses issues relating to research ethics, validity and trustworthiness. Chapter Four ends by presenting an overview of critical discourse analysis (CDA), as used to analyse data in this study. Examples of critical discourse analysis processes are presented and discussed. The chapter therefore helps the reader to better understand the research processes constituting the entire study.

Chapter Five

Drawing on data analysis Chapter Five presents an overview of how discourses embedded within policy, influence heritage management and education practices in post apartheid South Africa. The chapter starts by outlining the policy frameworks shaping heritage management and education practices in the country. Examples of heritage management and education practices are given and the discourses influencing them are highlighted. Importantly Chapter Five provides a critical discussion of the heritage education practices observed in post apartheid South Africa with special reference to how indigenous heritage constructs are being represented and used within formal and informal education programmes.

Chapter Six

Similar to Chapter Five, Chapter Six draws on data analysis to present an overview of heritage policy, management and education practices observed in post colonial Zimbabwe. Chapter Six starts by presenting a historical overview of discourses influencing heritage management practices in the country before critically discussing the observed heritage education practices. The chapter profiles the education programme at Great Zimbabwe monument to show how heritage education plays out in the country. The chapter describes how heritage education, as revealed by this study, is constituted and practised in post colonial Zimbabwe, providing useful insights into how indigenous cultural heritage is being integrated and used within the observed education practices.

Chapter Seven

Chapter Seven also draws on data analysis to provide an overview of the policy framework, within which heritage management practices in post colonial Botswana unfold. The chapter highlights and discusses some of the contextual discourses influencing the observed heritage management and education practices in Botswana. Chapter Seven also provides a comprehensive, overview of the observed heritage education practices in the country. Based on this overview the chapter discusses and problematised the discourses determining the way local *Batswana* cultural heritages are being represented and used within the observed heritage education practices.

Chapter Eight

Based on insights emerging from the case study education programmes at Supa Ngwao Museum, Great Zimbabwe and the Albany Museum, as overviewed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, Chapter Eight highlights the emerging patterns and trends of representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in the observed heritage education practices. The chapter points to some of the tensions and barriers for working better with indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices. Implications of the current patterns and trends of representing indigenous heritage constructs on the quality and relevance of heritage education practices, are also discussed and problematised. The chapter provides both a synthesis and critique of the ways in which heritage education presently engages with the notion of heritage

construct inclusivity, particularly representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs.

Chapter Nine

Chapter Nine is a synthesis of the entire study. It is in this chapter that a critical reflection on the study is provided. The chapter highlights some of the limitations associated with the manner in which this study was conceptualised and conducted. Measures taken to mediate the identified limitations are discussed. The chapter further provides an overview of the contribution that this study has made to the field of heritage education in post colonial southern Africa. Lastly the chapter presents and offers recommendations for taking heritage education practice and research forward. Chapter Nine concludes the thesis.

Conclusion

This chapter introduces the study. It provides an orienting background to the conceptualisation, rationale and orientation of this study. It provides an overview of the context within which this study was conceived and conducted. The chapter outlines the purpose and objectives of the study. It presents the research questions that this study sought to answer. Chapter one also briefly introduces the reader to key terms used in the study. The chapter ends with an outline of the thesis structure briefly indicating what each of the nine chapters covers.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to developing a clear understanding of the key concepts that I worked with in this study. First, the chapter provides an overview of how heritage is conceptually complex. The chapter illustrates how the complex nature of heritage has diverse implications for the way we think of and constitute heritage management and education practices. The second part of Chapter Two discusses the concept of heritage education as a field of practice. An overview of the general history of heritage education and its perceived roles within a context of post colonial southern Africa context is provided. Chapter Two ends by suggesting the kind of heritage education practices needed within cultural diverse contexts such as that of post colonial southern Africa. Finally, a conceptual framework for possible attainment of this kind of education, including the idea of heritage education for sustainable development, is presented and discussed at the end of the chapter.

2.1 Heritage – A conceptually problematic phenomenon

> There is really, no such thing as heritage. I say this advisedly, and it is a statement that I will qualify, but it needs to be said to highlight the common sense assumption that "heritage" can unproblematically be identified as "old", grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefacts. What I argue in this book is rather a hegemonic discourse about heritage, which acts to constitute the way we think, talk, and write about heritage. (Smith, 2006:01).

Heritage, despite becoming an increasingly used term within contemporary environment and development discourses, remains conceptually problematic (Harrison, 2013 & Marschall, 2010). Heritage, as Kelly and Ni'laore (2005) and Harrison (2013) point out, is a much debated concept with definitions ranging from anything simply inherited from the past to a commodified product using a selection of resources from the past such as the cultural dances performed for visitors to a heritage site. Thus, numerous definitions exist for the term 'heritage'. I draw from a number of these existing definitions to develop a conceptual framework for working with the term 'heritage' in this study.

According to Graham et al. (2000) and Smith (2006), defining heritage has always been a daunting and elusive task. It is for this reason that Smith (2006: 11), making reference to the problematic conception of heritage, as noted in the quotation above, claimed that "there is really no such thing as heritage". Smith (ibid.) preferred to work with the notion of "hegemonic discourse about heritage", which he went on to argue, acts to constitute the way we think, talk, and write about heritage. Another view Smith (2006) also put forward, which resonates with the critical social theory orientation of this study, is the notion of 'authorised' and 'unauthorised' heritage discourses, which reflects nation state interests in influencing the way heritage should be constructed and used (see Chapter Three, Section 3.7). Smith (ibid.) argues that authorising or legitimatising certain ways of talking about heritage often results in marginalisation of local people's views of what heritage is. Other scholars, for instance, Lowenthal (2005: 81) claimed that "heritage denotes everything we suppose has been handed down to us from the past". Lowenthal (ibid.) further pointed out that what comprises heritage (what it is) differs greatly among peoples and over time.

Writing from the context of Russia, Kuleshova (2004) defined heritage as a system of accepted values and assets, created and preserved by society with the aim of passing this on to the next generation. Kuleshova (ibid.) further claimed that every landscape possesses some heritage assets, though their identification and related valuing systems are culture specific. UNESCO's World Heritage Convention of 1972 classified heritage as cultural or natural and defined natural heritage as:

> Natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation; natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty. (1972: 4).

The Convention further defined cultural heritage as:

> Works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view. (1972: 4).

Of interest in the UNESCO view of heritage, is its broader scope and idea of heritage as works of combined works of human and nature – a view that is developed further in this chapter (see Sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3).

Head (2000) also provided a different way of defining heritage. Head proposed that:

> Heritage is a product of the activity of different pre-historic peoples over thousands of years all investing in the land and its past with their own meanings, and is valued in the present by diverse people for different reasons. (2000: 152).

Head's (ibid.) conception also acknowledges that heritage is indeed a manifestation of human-nature interaction and that it is valued for different reasons. Heritage is thus a fluid and slippery term incorporating a vast range of meanings, making it difficult to define it with any meaningful level of universality (Graham et al., 2000; Lowenthal, 2005). A closer look at the definitions overviewed above points to the fact that in most cases heritage is conceived of as natural or cultural, tangible or intangible and discursive (Lowenthal, 2005; Ndoro & Pwiti, 2001; Ndoro, 2005; Smith, 2006). Based on this observation and the critical realist theoretical framework which under-labours this study (see Section 3.2.1), I decided to work with the term heritage as a discursive concept better understood from three inter-related viewpoints. These viewpoints are: "heritage as evolving and dissonant," "heritage as natural and cultural" and "heritage as tangible and intangible". Using real life examples and drawing on available literature, an attempt to make explicit some of the implications of the different conceptions of heritage on heritage management and education practices in post colonial southern Africa is made. The need to take into consideration the complex, evolving and contested nature of heritage in contemporary heritage education practices is also highlighted and emphasised.

2.1.1 Heritage as an 'evolving and dissonant' concept

Until recently the word heritage was commonly used to refer to inheritance that an individual receives or gets from a deceased ancestor or bequeathed when dead to descendants (Lowenthal, 2005). Such conceptions of heritage are still widespread and explain why even today a lot of us treasure the old spoon or picture frame that we still have from our forebears as heritage items. However, according to Graham et al. (2000) and Marschall (2010), the term heritage has recently undergone a quantum of expansion

to include almost any sort of intergenerational exchange or relationship, welcome or not, between societies as well as individuals. In concurrence with Graham et al. (ibid.), Perez argued that

> The concept of heritage has gone from referring to artistic works, buildings and archaeological remains (so called historical-artistic heritage) to encompass objects, environments and phenomena (tangible and intangible) which are the result of both human activity and their interaction with nature. (2010: 1320).

From the discussion above one can therefore see that heritage as a concept evolves. This is certainly the case within post colonial southern Africa. For instance Bredekamp (2009: 1) points out that heritage in South Africa used to be "focused primarily on an appreciation of the aesthetic value of colonial-inspired architecture and respect for Cape Dutch and British settler culture, that is on a colonial heritage that took root on African soil after 1652". But with the turn of democracy in the region, heritage started to be conceived of as encompassing not only the historic buildings, and archaeological remains, but also diverse socio-cultural aspects, for example, indigenous knowledge systems and practices.

Closely linked to this evolving nature of heritage is that heritage as pointed out by Graham, et al. (2000: 23) and Head (2000) also "fulfils several inherently opposing uses". Graham et al. (ibid.), supported by De la Torre (2002), Smith (2006) and Harrison (2013), claim that heritage has intrinsic dissonance and is, as already mentioned above, valued for different reasons, and at different levels and between cultures, time and places. For instance, at an individual level, heritage is widely considered a precious and irreplaceable resource essential for personal identity and necessary for self-respect (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1996; Jokiletho, 1999; Sirayi, 2007). However, at a national level, heritage is often perceived as a resource for promoting national sovereignty, unified identity and economic development (Head, 2000; Ndoro, 2005; Fontein, 2006). Graham et al. (2000: 12) further argued that "heritage is a primary instrument in the discovery or creation and subsequent nurturing of a national identity". Graham et al. (ibid.) also claim that often nation states use heritage to neutralise potentially competing socio-cultural identities and consolidate them into a singular and unified national

identity. Similarly both Ranger (2004) and Fontein (2006) also acknowledge that heritage is used to foster national sovereignty and territorial control.

The evolving and dissonant nature of heritage helped me to understand some of the challenges and contestations associated with ownership, access to and use of heritage in the region (Manyanga, 2000; Graham et al., 2000; De la Torre, 2002; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). This nature of heritage further helped me to appreciate the observed tensions and conflicts between nation state and local communities as already highlighted in Chapter One (see Section 1.2.1). A good example is the case of Great Zimbabwe, where national and local communities' interests were at one time in conflict (Ranger, 2004; Fontein, 2006). In his doctoral thesis, Fontein (2006) claimed that people who currently live around Great Zimbabwe are as much excluded from the monument as one would expect. According to Fontein (ibid.), to local communities the Great Zimbabwe monument is a place of cultural significance, where they are supposed to conduct their rituals and ceremonies, and at a national level, the monument is being used to reconstruct a patriotic national history for the country.

A similar case was also observed in Botswana, where local communities were accusing the National Museums, Monuments and Art Gallery of depriving them access to Domboshawa heritage site, arguing that as *Kalanga* people they had always used the site for cultural rituals such as the rain making ceremony (Manyanga, 2000; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008).

Another notable example is the tension between the *Ramunangi* clan in Limpopo province, in South Africa and a tourism development project reflecting conflicting values and use regarding a local heritage site – the *Phiphidi* falls (Pinnock, 2010; Zazu 2010). For the *Ramunangi* clan, the falls are, as in the Great Zimbabwe case, a place of cultural significance, while for the tourism developer the falls are a potential site for the construction of a holiday resort and economic development (Ouzman, 2003; Katsamudanga, 2004).

Underlying the tensions and conflicts playing out in the examples given above are conflicting constructs or conceptions of what constitutes heritage, what it is valued for, and how it should be managed and used. Management approaches and heritage education practices that address such tensions as overviewed in this chapter and also highlighted in

Chapter One, are needed. Such management and education practices should accept, accommodate and be alert to the evolving and dissonant nature of heritage.

2.1.2 Heritage as 'natural and cultural'

Lowenthal (2005: 81), in addition to arguing that heritage is an evolving and dissonant concept, went on to claim that heritage comes from both "nature" and "culture". Hence heritage can be conceived of as either natural or cultural, and from this school of thought emerged the widely used dichotomies of natural and cultural heritages. Accordingly, we often talk of natural heritage, as denoting natural places such as the lands and seas we inhabit and exploit, the soils, plants and animals that form the world's ecosystems (UNESCO, 2002; Lowenthal, 2005). Put together this range of naturally occurring resources constitutes natural heritage. On the other hand, we also have cultural heritage, consisting of tangible entities such as shipwrecks, lighthouses, traditional villages, graves and Stone Age artefacts (Dumbrell, 2012). These heritages incorporate cultural perspectives representative of a people's ways of life.

Cultural heritages which do not exist in material form such as social practices, for example songs, dance, folklores, legends, rituals and ceremonies are what is often referred to as intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 1972, 2003 & 2006; Dumbrell, 2012). Hence the view that heritage is cultural or natural is common, but in this study I go beyond this dichotomy and argue that heritage is actually both natural and cultural. In line with this study's objective of enhancing the agency of heritage education to support the sustainability of heritage resources, I also highlight why it is important to construct heritage as natural and cultural instead of either natural or cultural.

First, it is important to note and acknowledge that cultural heritage, as Munjeri (2004) pointed out, entails a people's way of life, and their relationship to the natural and the built environment. People's views and the value they attach to a natural heritage resource like a river is shaped by the ways in which they use or broadly relate to the river. If people use the river as a site for conducting religious ceremonies and rituals, then to these people the same river is arguably both a natural and cultural heritage resource. Natural and cultural heritage is therefore conceptually and materially interconnected. Lowenthal (2005: 85) called this interconnection the "nature-culture dualism". It therefore means that our conception of heritage emerges from our own interaction and relation to the natural environment. Heritage is therefore symbolic of human-nature

interaction (UNESCO, 1972). For instance, the Great Zimbabwe monument represents human action on the environment or is a culmination of the impact of cultural practices on what was just a natural landscape (Munjeri, 2004; Katsamudanga, 2004). One can say the same for the urban built environment with its diverse architectures depicting different cultures.

The interconnected nature of heritage has important implications for both the sustainable management of heritage resources and associated heritage education practices. In emphasising the "nature-culture dualism" of heritage, Lowenthal argued that:

> Increasingly the heritages of culture and nature came to be viewed as interconnected, and indeed indivisible. If they are twins, they are Siamese twins, separated only at high risk of demise of both. (2005:85).

Failure to recognise and respect this nature-culture dualism of heritage, which in this study I extend to incorporate a critical realist perspective of "dialectical relation" explained in detail later in this thesis (see Section 3.2.1) within heritage management and education practices as observed in the region, provides rationale for increasing representation and use of indigenous cultural heritage within contemporary heritage education practices.

Emphasising the importance of recognising the linkages between natural and cultural heritage, Mason further noted that:

> Socio-cultural values are at the traditional core of conservation values attached to an object, building, or place because it holds meaning for people or social groups due to its age, beauty, artistry, or association with a significant person or event or (otherwise) contributes to processes of cultural affiliation. (2002:09).

Hughes (2009:30) challenged the idea of dichotomising natural and cultural heritage in conservation and development practices by pointing out that "cities are not separate from the natural world on which they depend". Hughes (ibid.) alerted us to the risks of treating culture as divorced from nature by narrating how such conceptions can impact on the sustainability of local resources. Hughes further claimed that treating nature as divorced from culture could have contributed to the abandonment of ancient cities. Examples in southern Africa include the collapse of Mapungubwe and the Great Zimbabwe ruins. Even though there are many theories on the abandonment of ancient cities like Great

Zimbabwe, it is also well documented, as Garlake (1978) argued, that the descendents of Nyatsimba Mutota, the then king, left *Dzimbabwe* (Great Zimbabwe) and headed north in search of salt and pasture (Abraham, 1962; McNaughton, 1987; Pikirayi, 2006). Simple logic tempts me to think that management and use of natural heritage resources such as salt, pasture and others of course, which constituted an important part of the social economy of people who once lived at Great Zimbabwe, may have never been thought of in a holistic manner, but it is important here to acknowledge that climatic changes and depletion of these natural resources impacted greatly on the daily lives (culture) of the same people, ultimately forcing them to relocate (Pikirayi, 2003 & 2006; O'Connor & Kiker, 2004; Collins & Burns, 2007). Salt and grazing pasture were treated as a natural resource but their connection to sustaining the culture of eating salted foods and rearing of livestock could have been erroneously overlooked. Similarly Denbow and Denbow (2002:43) claimed that:

> The power of Mapungubwe did not last long. After about 150 years, this chiefdom also collapsed and the surrounding area was abandoned. Given the large number of cattle and other animals kept around Mapungubwe, it is tempting to think that its collapse, like that of Toutswe in Botswana, was caused by overgrazing and drought.

The two cases above illustrate Hughes' point about the dangers of treating culture as divorced from nature and highlight the need to consider this in heritage education practice.

Drawing on Prats (1997) and Mattozi (2001), and emphasising the interconnectedness nature of heritage, Perez, Lopez & Ferres-Listan (2010: 1320) also pointed out that "the term heritage itself does not distinguish between cultural and natural manifestations", hence all heritages are natural and cultural. The conception of heritage as intertwined or interconnected and consisting of both natural and cultural dimensions requires that we rethink the manner in which current heritage management and education practices are constituted. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, underlying some of the tensions and conflicts around management of heritage in southern Africa is the failure to perceive heritage as both natural and cultural (also see Chapters Five, Six and Seven). Or, to borrow words from Hughes (2009), our "treating nature as divorced from culture" may partly explain the fragmented and exclusive nature of heritage policies and practices inherent in the region (see Chapter Eight). In the case of Great Zimbabwe, as noted by

Chirikure and Pwiti (2008: 467) "heritage managers and archaeologists understandably became alarmed to discover that the alienation of local indigenous groups was also depriving them of valuable allies in the protection of the site". Their failure to recognise and respect that to local people Great Zimbabwe is a place of cultural significance and not just an important archaeological site or monument, was probably a grave management error (Manyanga, 2000; Katsamudanga, 2004). Important to highlight too is that emphasis on the natural dimensions of heritage over cultural perspectives is still prevalent within contemporary heritage management practices in post colonial southern Africa (Ndoro & Pwiti, 2001; Ndoro 2005). And so, by and large, unless current heritage management and education practices are also re-oriented to allow for recognition of the dialectical relation between natural and cultural aspects of heritage, they may continue to do little to support the sustainable management of heritage resources in the region (Mason, 2002; UNESCO, 2006 & 2010; see also Chapters Five, Six and Seven).

A close look at the recent conflict over control and ownership of Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe, declared a national monument in 1932, a national park in 1957 and finally a World Heritage site in 1989, between National Parks and Wildlife Authority (NPWA) and the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) illustrates, other than the evolving nature of heritage, challenges and limitations associated with a false conception of heritage as either cultural or natural instead of both (Guvamombe & Chitumba, 2010).

Educationally, it is sad to note that current interpretation of Victoria Falls to school groups, as I noted during the contextual profiling of heritage education practices in Zimbabwe (Zazu, 2010), continues to be exclusive of the cultural aspects of the *Tonga* people who lived and interacted with the falls since time immemorial and well before David Livingstone claimed to have discovered the falls. Tour guides continue to narrowly interpret the falls as a natural wonder historically discovered by David Livingstone (also see Section 6.5.3). The challenge then is how to reconstitute the interpretation of Victoria Falls in a manner that helps learners to construct the falls and other heritage sites or monuments as both natural and cultural. This thesis proposes that such an interpretation needs to work with a broader and more inclusive construct of heritage (see Chapters Eight and Nine). It will also, as Meskell and Masuku-van Damme

(2008) propose, need to be cosmopolitan in orientation so as to accommodate the cultural diversity inherent in the southern Africa region.

2.1.3 Heritage as 'tangible and intangible'

UNESCO (2006) in its publication *Cultural Heritage and Local Development,* argued that heritage can be divided into two main categories, notably, a heritage that presents itself in a material and tangible form and a heritage that is intangible but manifests itself in the form of knowledge and practices, values, norms and belief systems. According to the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), tangible heritage resources include all heritage, that is material in form, such as historic buildings, art and artefacts, relics, archaeological sites, and monuments. Tangible heritage also encompasses natural resources such as the rivers, seas, soil, mountains, the forest and animals (Lowenthal, 2005; Smith, 2006). Tangible heritage resources can also be classified as movable or immovable (Dumbrell, 2012). Immovable tangible heritage resources includes monuments and landscapes, seas and forests, whilst movable tangible heritage resources include heritage objects such as stone age tools, warfare artefacts e.g. an assegai, a canon, or Zulu shield (UNESCO, 2003; Dumbrell, 2012). Most tangible movable heritage resources constitute museum collections and are readily accessible for education and research (Shava & Zazu, 2012).

Intangible heritage, on the other hand incorporates a wide range of non-material heritage. These, as UNESCO (2003, 2006) and Deacon (2004) put it, include oral traditions and expressions, social practices, traditional craftsmanship and knowledge systems concerning nature. In southern Africa notable examples of intangible cultural heritage practices include the Zulu reed dance, Xhosa girls' initiation ceremony (*Intonjane),* the worship of *Mwali (Okuruo)* in Botswana and the *Karanga* rain making ceremony (*Mukwerera*) in the case of Zimbabwe. Intangible heritage are often representations of the culture of a particular people and as Munjeri (2004) claimed, these entail the wider frame within which societies function.

The conception of heritage as tangible or intangible has become popular and is now used widely in heritage resources management practices (UNESCO, 2003, 2010). Significant to note is that over the last two decades more emphasis is being placed on the need to acknowledge that tangible and intangible forms of heritage, like natural and cultural heritage, are also interconnected or intertwined. UNESCO argued that:

> All intangible aspects such as knowledge systems, the principles of action or the values and beliefs of man, cannot be considered as heritage if they cannot be shared, and given sensible form – words, objects, gestures, representations and even behaviours. (2006: 09).

Drawing our attention to the interconnected nature of tangible and intangible heritage, Ndoro (2005) pointed out that meaning and importance imbued in monuments, like the Great Zimbabwe ruins and the Great Pyramids in Egypt lay not only in the physical appearance but also in the reason behind their construction and existence. In concurrence, Smith (2006) argued that monument sites and rock art are not inherently valuable, but derive value and meaning from the present day cultural processes and activities (intangible) that are undertaken around them. Advocacy for recognition of the dialectical relation between tangible and intangible heritages comes against a historical background of heritage practices that allegedly emphasised tangible over intangible heritage resources. Pettman (2001), cited in Munjeri (2004), talked of a world in which that which is visible and concrete takes precedence over that which is immaterial. Munjeri (ibid.) argued that such an approach to conception of heritage is narrow and short sighted. In light of the above discussion it is worth highlighting that the value of the *Phiphidi* falls in Limpopo Province, as a case example, lies in the intangible cultural practices that the *Ramunangi* people conduct at the falls perhaps more so than the falls being merely a tangible heritage resource. Thus, the tension between the *Ramunangi* clan and the tourism developer may be due to both parties' failure to acknowledge the connection between tangible and intangible aspects of heritage resources and how this determines the value and desired use of the *Phiphidi* falls. This failure may also be a manifestation of the tendency of current heritage legislation and management practices to emphasise the material nature of heritage over its intangible aspects as already pointed out earlier in this chapter (Manyanga, 2000; Ndoro, 2005; UNESCO, 2006). Again heritage education practices that acknowledge the interconnected nature of tangible and intangible aspects of heritage resources, as much as the evolving and dissonant nature of heritage could go a long way in mediating challenges such as those of *Ramunangi* and *Phiphidi* falls. The diagram below represents the interaction between tangible and intangible heritage and how these influence people's construction of what heritage is. The diagram that follows re-emphasises the points raised in this chapter.
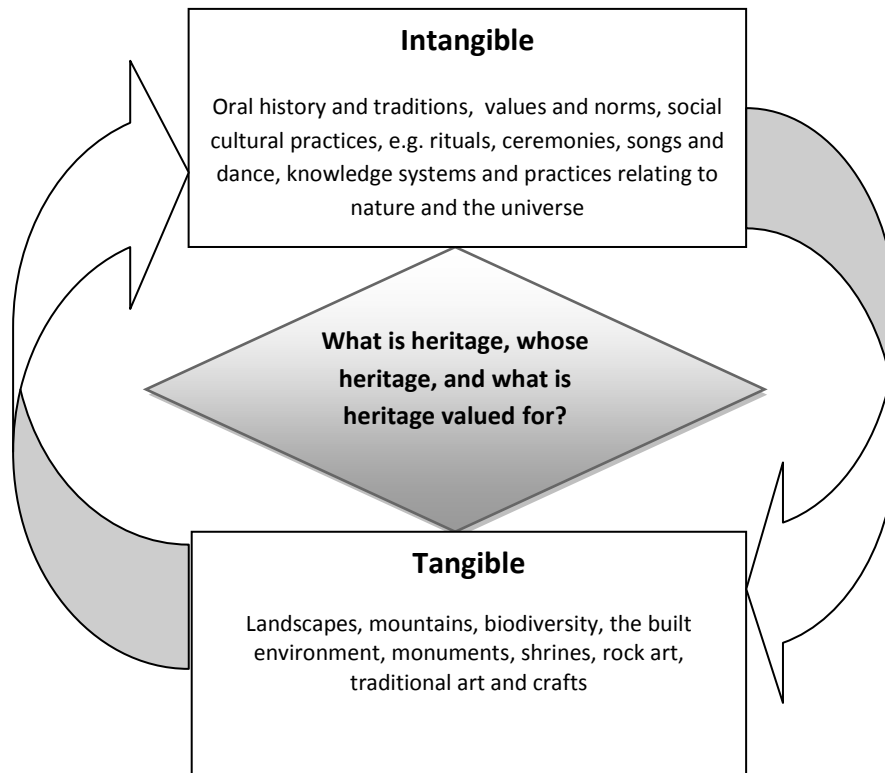
Figure 2: *The interaction between tangible and intangible heritage and how this influences the way heritage is constructed*

As discussed above, heritage constructs are influenced and shaped by both tangible and intangible aspects tied to that which we perceive as heritage (De la Torre, 2002; Mason, 2002; Deacon, 2004). To illustrate this I use an example of pottery. Pottery as an intangible cultural practice draws its meaning and value from the tangible clay pots that it produces for use by people. Both the practice and the object resulting from it are dialectically related and to preserve them requires a holistic and relational thinking. Pottery as a cultural practice has evolved over time within Africa (Elias, 1970, cited in Smith & Riley, 2009; Benjamin, 1973, cited in Smith & Riley, 2009). As people changed from cooking using traditional clay pots such as *tsaiya* and *shambakodzi* in the case of Zimbabwe, to using modern enamel pots, pottery as a practice and the clay pots it produced lost value, and became extinct in some parts of the country. What then emerged within the country is, as Benjamin (ibid.) pointed out, mechanised pottery and mass production of clay pots for foreign tourists. So pottery as an intangible cultural art lost its aura, and the clay pot lost its functionalities (that of cooking and holding water), becoming decorative or aesthetic. The picture below, taken at Great Zimbabwe monument, shows how shape and functionality of traditional

Zimbabwean pottery has evolved over time. Note how the clay pots are arranged starting with the original towards the most modern, and oriented to satisfy the taste of visiting foreign tourists.

Figure 3*: A collection of pottery made by local women at Great Zimbabwe cultural village*

As already noted, over-emphasising one aspect of a heritage resource, be it tangible or intangible, over another is often problematic, and has varying implications for heritage resource management practice. This is because tangible and intangible aspects of a heritage resource are dialectically related (Ouzman, 2003; Katsamudanga, 2004).

In rounding up the discussion on how I worked with the concept of heritage, I re-emphasise that the only thing that is certain about heritage is that people interpret it differently (Graham et al., 2000; Smith, 2006). Apart from this I also argue that heritage is a discursive and ontologically relational concept, hence it is generally "what we choose" (Steyn, 2011: 9). I further argue that working with such a fluid concept of heritage is more likely to allow us to be tolerant and accommodative of the diversity of cultures and practices inherent in post colonial southern Africa. In a recent study (Dichaba, 2010) talked about how a shift from constructing heritage as monumental to being a cultural landscape allowed for inclusion of rural communities' views and values concerning heritage sites in post colonial Botswana.

Another point needing re-emphasis is that our constructs of heritage also influence the way we frame and constitute heritage management and education practices (Head, 2000). It determines the way we develop and work with policy. For education it shapes the way we interpret and present heritage to the learner or general public. If we construct heritage as narrowly natural or tangible, we often run into the problem of failing to recognise and harness the interconnected nature of forms of heritage to strengthen and situate management and education practices. This thesis further argues that overemphasis of natural over cultural heritage, or tangible over intangible heritage, which is still apparent in post colonial southern Africa, renders current heritage management and education practices inadequate for addressing the challenges that the heritage sector in the region is faced with (see Section 1.2.1 and Chapters Eight and Nine). The need to work with a broader and inclusive construct of heritage in both management and education practices is critical, and adds significance to the goal and focus of this study (see Section 1.3).

2.2 Heritage education as a practice

In this study heritage education refers to teaching and learning approaches and activities adopted in varied education settings to convey information about heritage with the aim of raising awareness and developing attitudes, values, knowledge and skills relevant for the sustainable management of heritage resources (Shava & Zazu, 2012). In developing this conceptual framework of heritage education I drew from scholars such as Hunter who postulated that:

> Heritage education is an approach to teaching and learning about history and culture that uses information available from the material culture and the human and built environments as primary instructional resources. The heritage education approach is intended to strengthen students' understanding of concepts and principles about history and culture and to enrich their appreciation for the artistic achievements, technological genius, and social and economic contributions of men and women from diverse groups. Heritage education nourishes a sense of continuity and connectedness with our historical and cultural experience; encourages citizens to consider their historical and cultural experiences in planning for the future; and fosters stewardship towards the legacies of our local, regional, and national heritage. (1988: 12).

Important to note and of interest to this study is that, as Hunter (ibid.) stipulates, heritage education seeks to promote stewardship towards the sustainability of heritage

resources. Similarly Leeuw-Roord (2004), Saunders (2007) and Shava and Zazu (2012) further argue that heritage education entails critical engagement of learners with heritage issues in order to mobilise action towards heritage resource preservation, conservation and sustenance. Heritage education is therefore conceptualised in this study as an integral part of heritage (Dumbrell, 2012). The role of heritage education in supporting conservation of heritage resources is made explicit by Deacon (2004) when she claimed that learners who are aware of their heritage can understand their role in heritage conservation better.

Heritage education is in this study further conceptualised as a form of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), hence the suggestion to frame it as Heritage Education for Sustainable Development (Crawhall, 2008). The reason for this is briefly highlighted in Chapter One (see Section 1.3), is developed further in this chapter and later revisited in Chapter Nine (see Section 9.2). Positioning heritage education within the broader framework of ESD adds value to this study's quest to contribute towards the development of heritage education practices within which heritage construct inclusivity (in this case increased representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs) is not only politically driven but has a strong sustainability agenda (see Section 9.2). Inclusivity (which in this study encompasses recognition of diverse cultures and responsiveness to contextual realities) as one of the keys features of ESD is fundamentally concerned with the possibility of a sustainable future (Muchemi & Crawhall, 2008). Even though Education for Sustainable Development does not downplay the significance of socio-political justice, it does address such matters in a more nuanced manner than maybe is the case of contemporary heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven). Crawhall (2008) argues that Education for Sustainable Development allows for the possibility of achieving intercultural inclusivity in a way that is not defined by winners and losers or by violent conflicts and gross human rights violations. Therefore within the framework of ESD, opportunities exist to rethink the role of heritage education in post colonial southern Africa and refocus it towards sustainability of the region's heritage resources (see Section 9.2).

Education for Sustainable Development further advocates for education practices which reflect the inter-cultural knowledge, skills, perspectives, and priorities of local

people, in the case of this study their constructs of heritage with a vision to enhance their agency to protect and sustainably use local resources (UNESCO, 2004 & 2010; Muchemi & Crawhall, 2008; Tilbury, 2011). Therefore the role of heritage education as proposed in this study goes beyond addressing socio-political injustices only (Malegapuru, 1999; Sirayi, 2007; Mhlungu, 2009) towards provision of learning experiences which foster stewardship towards the sustainability of local heritage resources. Furthermore because Education for Sustainable Development, as noted by UNESCO (2004), Tilbury (2011) and Lupele and Lotz-Sisitka (2012), pedagogically entails use of socio-culturally situated teaching and learning approaches that can enhance critical thinking, problem solving and learner's active participation, it is a potentially valuable framework for thinking about the kind of heritage education practices required in the context of post colonial southern Africa (see Sections 2.4 and 2.5).

However, in making this proposition I am fully aware of the fact that Education for Sustainable Development has its own shortfalls, and is a notion that has not yet been fully evidenced (Jickling, 1992 & 2006; Tilbury, 2011). What I argue for is that, without losing its identity, as an educational field of practice, heritage education in post colonial southern Africa may benefit from working with some of the principles of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD).

2.3 History of Heritage Education

The history of heritage education in southern Africa is not well documented and in this study I am only able to provide a synopsis (Mhlungu, 2009; Shava & Zazu, 2012). At a broader level, the history of heritage education dates back to the 1960s and grew out of the realisation of the importance of the built environment and its ability to provide people with a sense of history and place (Hunter, 1988). The built environment provided a tangible link to people's history and for that it needed to be preserved. According to Leeuw-Roord (2004), the primacy of heritage education then derives from the realisation that people cherish and protect that which they value. Preservationists saw the need to educate people about their past by using, as Hunter (ibid.) pointed out, the historic built environment as a classroom, and such thinking is still very prevalent within contemporary heritage education practices. Saunders (2007) argued that heritage and history are inter-related; hence whilst the historians are

concerned with what happened in the past, the heritage practitioner is concerned with the preservation of those aspects of the past which can be used to educate the public. This early desire to save the historic built environments has been extended over the years to other heritage aspects of society, including archaeology, palaeontology, natural history and personal artefacts, oral histories, documents and photographs (UNESCO, 2006). Yet the educational premise remains the same that people will not appreciate and protect unless they understand the importance of these tangible and intangible heritages resources of the past (Saunders 2007).

By the 1970s heritage education programmes had become popular across much of the Western world and its colonies. In Australia (a country with a similar colonial history to southern Africa) the orientation of heritage education programmes in museums was towards supplementing the school curriculum through introducing students to original works of art (Griffin & Paroissien, 2011). The idea that heritage education is restricted to museums and is often linked to the formal school curriculum (as will be alluded to later in this study, can be understood from this historical perspective (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven).

Heritage education exists and unfolds in different forms, practices, and activities and with varying levels of depth and purpose over time and space (Shava & Zazu, 2012). Examples of these range from the interpretation and presentation of a heritage site or object to the public, to the conduction of cultural festivals within which people can interact and learn more about specific cultures. Heritage education as an educational field of practice has also evolved over time taking different orientations, forms, and perceived roles as broadly outlined in Table 2.1 below. These changes are linked to changes in the ways heritage has been understood and constructed, as already discussed earlier in this chapter (see Section 2.1.3). These changes are important for thinking about heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa, as is elaborated later in this chapter.

Table 1: Shifting trends in heritage perceptions and heritage education approaches

From	Towards
A focus on tangible heritage aspects	A focus on balancing tangible and intangible heritage aspects
A focus on architecture and environmental beauty (aesthetic value/narrow ontology)	Significance in terms of the past, present and future society (broader ontology)
Nationally and internationally based heritage focus	Social, ethnic, community based and intercultural heritage focus
Educator/instructor as the expert	Educator as a facilitator of education processes
Static, objective, classification based, positivistic learning approaches	Dynamic, emotive, flexible and constructivist learning approaches
Heritage as rigid, intolerant and inherited	Heritage as a source of renewal, a lever of transformation and a means of mediation between cultures
Singular heritage constructs and representations	Plural/multiple representations of heritage resources that give voice to previously marginalised groups and communities who are stakeholders in heritage resources

Source: Shava and Zazu (2012)

From Table 1 one can begin to appreciate the fact that the need for heritage construct inclusivity is not only located within the historical context of post colonial southern Africa but is also tied to our evolving understanding of heritage itself, and the emergence of heritage education as a practice over time. For southern Africa this extends to periods before, during and after colonisation and directly leads to the debate on issues of construct representation and use which this study seeks to interrogate in detail.

2.4 The role of heritage education

The role of heritage education in supporting the sustainable management and use of local heritage resources is already widely acknowledged and is rooted within the history of heritage education itself, as discussed in Section 2.3. At an international level, institutions such as UNESCO, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), continue to argue that heritage education is an important part of the entire heritage management practice (UNESCO, 2006 & 2010; Dumbrell, 2012). Within southern Africa and notably in South Africa, the importance of heritage

education is also acknowledged and confirmed by the existing heritage policy and legislative frameworks. For instance the South African National Heritage Resources Act no. 25 of 1999 states that:

> To ensure that heritage resources are effectively managed (a) the skills and capacities of persons and communities involved in heritage resources management must be developed; and (b) provision must be made for the ongoing education and training of existing and new heritage resources management workers. (Section 5.2: 16).

Drawing from this, SAHRA's (2010: 17) Policy and Guidelines for Management of Living heritage also confirmed the importance of education by claiming that "educating members of the public is necessary to develop public interest and appreciation of heritage resources" (SAHRA, 2010: 9). The assumption, as already pointed out earlier in this section, is that interest in and appreciation of local heritage resources increase people's agency to conserve these resources (Hunter, 1988; Deacon, 2004; Saunders 2007). An example of such a shift in interest and perceived role of heritage education is found in the way the South African National Parks, conventionally a "nature" conservation organisation, is reorienting its environmental education programmes to encompass or make explicit heritage aspects. South African National Parks' Mapungubwe education centre is unique in that it incorporates both conventional environmental education and heritage education perspectives, making it a potential case of what Crawhall (2008) called Heritage Education for Sustainable Development. The emphasis and interest in the role of heritage education in the management of heritage resources is not only restricted to South Africa. Other countries in southern Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe included are also implementing various heritage education initiatives. In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, more detail on heritage education practices observed in each of these countries is provided. Drawing on available literature, the perceived roles of heritage education include:

2.4.1 Developing a sense of ownership, identity and responsibility

Heritage education is critical in developing a sense of ownership, identity and responsibility within communities (Sirayi, 2007). Through ongoing education local communities can develop a sense of identity and ownership needed to encourage them to actively participate in the management of local heritage resources. Such a sense of ownership, identity and ultimate responsibility is critical within the context of post

colonial southern Africa, given the region's contested history of colonialism and persistent marginalisation of local people in the management of heritage resources (see Section 1.2.1). In Chapter One I pointed out how colonialism resulted in local people losing their identity to, and ownership of local heritage resources. Therefore the role of heritage education in addressing this needs no emphasis. Carefully constituted heritage education programmes have the potential to help heritage practitioners mediate challenges inherent in the region.

2.4.2 Fostering a deeper understanding and appreciation

Heritage education fosters a deeper understanding and appreciation of the value of heritage resources. Heritage education programmes, such as those taking place within museums and heritage sites, formal and informal settings provide learning experiences that can stimulate and encourage the public to collect, preserve, interpret, celebrate, present and disseminate their heritage (UNESCO, 2002, 2010). The relationship between an in-depth understanding and appreciation of one's heritage and one's consciousness of the need to protect and use heritage resources wisely is already widely recognised (Deacon, 2004; Saunders, 2007; Makhoba, 2009).

2.4.3 Enhancing social cohesion, access, enjoyment and participation

Heritage education has the potential to enhance equal access, and participation of different ethnic and social groups in the protection, management and enjoyment of heritage resources (UNESCO, 2003). To this effect heritage education can play a vital role in promoting social cohesion and national unity (Sirayi, 2007). Within post colonial southern Africa, heritage education, as Fairweather (2006) claimed, has the further potential to promote respect and tolerance of cultural diversity thus enhancing social cohesion and national unity. The South African NHR Act no. 25 of 1999 emphasises the importance of education and awareness by claiming that "a better understanding of cultural heritage by citizens promotes reconciliation, understanding and respect amongst people thereby contributing to a unifying South African identity" (NHRA, 1999: 16). For example the coat of arms of South Africa (which is a national heritage symbol), if properly used within education processes can help learners to appreciate their past, and the need to unite in diversity. The motto of the coat of arms "*ke.e/xarra/ /ke*" (Khoisan language) means "people who are different working together" (Bredekamp, 2009).

2.4.4 Promoting critical thinking and creativity

Heritage education provides valuable opportunities "to educate youth and children to be critical, and creative thinkers" (UNESCO, 2002:18). Critical and creative thinking are valuable ingredients for personal and social development (UNESCO, ibid.). Within a region like post colonial southern Africa in which society is constantly evolving, the need to allow the youth to be creative and reconstruct own heritage is of paramount importance. Deacon (2004) pointed out that heritage education is concerned with both the past and the present allowing learners to create and celebrate their own heritage. Heritage education if properly constituted can go beyond just the dictation of the past by the older generation to the youth, towards critical engagement of learners with issues around heritage to interpret events and objects based on their own viewpoints (Hein, 2005; Hooper-Greenhill,. 2007).

Heritage education can therefore play an important role in enhancing heritage resources management, use and enjoyment. However like many other educational processes, the ultimate impact or long term impact of heritage education is multi-faceted and not easy to determine (Hein, 2005; Republic of South Africa, 2010b). Although heritage education in southern Africa has remained an under researched field of practice (see Section 1.3) its role and value in promoting sustainable management of heritage resources, is beginning to be appreciated (Makhoba, 2009; Shava & Zazu, 2012). This study is one such effort with potential to promote more research into heritage education.

2.5 What kind of heritage education is needed within southern Africa?

Even though heritage education is perceived as playing varying and important roles in society, including promoting the conservation of heritage resources, not all heritage education practices have the potential to do so (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven and Nine for a critique of current heritage education practices). Given the diversity of challenges inherent in post colonial southern Africa (see Section 1.2.1) it is valuable to critically think about the kind of heritage education practices that are best suited for the region. One of the key features of such heritage education is its being inclusive and responsive to contextual realities (UNESCO, 2003 & 2010; Shava & Zazu, 2012). The notion of inclusivity as already pointed out allows for respect, recognition and representation of multiple heritage perspectives (Kelly & Ni'laore, 2005). Outlined

below are some of the key features required of heritage education practices in a region like post colonial southern Africa.

If heritage education in post colonial southern Africa is to measure up to its perceived roles as discussed in this chapter, it is necessary to constitute it in ways that take into considerations the following view points:

    i.   Heritage education needs to be contextually relevant to learners' reality and everyday world views and should inculcate into children a sense of ownership, identity and responsibility for local heritage resources (UNESCO, 2002, 2004 & 2006; Saunders, 2007). As pointed out by Deacon (2004) and Chirikure and Pwiti (2008), a sense of ownership and identity often translate into agency to ensure sustainable conservation of local heritage resources.

    ii.   Instead of simply attempting to uncover or reconstruct the past, heritage education should involve acknowledging the ways in which interpretations of heritage are context bound and value laden (Graham et al., 2000; Department of Basic Education, 2010). Heritage education should not be concerned with whether one piece of heritage is historically more "correct" than another; instead it should be respectful of all periods of history as opposed to undue emphasis on one era at the expense of others (Graham et al., 2000: 2). It should rather strive for multiple interpretations acknowledging that there are many histories of the same place (Frederikse [1982] 1990; UNESCO, 2010).

    iii.   Heritage education should recognise that culture is not static, but dynamic and always changing, emergent and adapting to contemporary contexts (Jokiletho, 1999; Art Council of Mongolia, 2007). Heritage representation should articulate these changes and help learners to celebrate, grieve and appreciate their past, at the same time allowing them to move forward with greater vision. As Lowenthal (2005) pointed out, not all heritage is uniformly desirable. In southern Africa the history of colonisation is a reality which learners need to learn about, but care must be taken that the learning of this past does not become disempowering to the same learners.

    iv.   Good heritage education is inclusive, and acknowledges that there are multiple interpretations of heritage, many of which are marginalised and excluded

(Shava & Zazu, 2012). Inclusive heritage education practices should endeavour to capture these multiple histories and interpretations and emphasise that all are worth learning about. In post colonial southern Africa where the concept of heritage and its interpretation and representation are contested, such inclusivity in education practices takes on added significance (Kelly & Ni'laore, 2005). The importance of inclusivity is crucial in spaces of contested identity and multiple heritages such as is the case of post colonial southern Africa (see Section 1.2.1).

v. Heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa need to encompass the idea of critical pedagogy, acknowledging the fact that the ways in which heritage objects are selected, put together, contextualised and written or spoken about within heritage education contexts are manifestations of dominant socio-political discourses (Smith, 2006; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Makhoba, 2009). Heritage educators must therefore seek to ensure that learning opportunities provided within the premises of heritage education do not make learners passive recipients of what Smith (2006) call authorised heritage discourses, for to do so would be denying them space for critical thinking and creativity that, as pointed out in Section 2.3, heritage education is expected to provide.

vi. Following from point (v) above heritage education also needs to be undertaken in ways that encourage children's creativity and imagination. Heritage education should not be only the dictation or prescribing of oral history to children but should be student centred and imaginative (UNESCO, 2002; Hein, 2005). This involves use of participatory teaching and learning approaches that allow learners to be creative and also question dominant heritage discourses. Pedagogy which provides space for learners to critically engage in discussion about real issues of representation, ownership and interpretation of their heritages are needed (Shava & Zazu, 2012). Allowing learners to create their own heritage is important in that it helps them to realise that heritage, whilst ontologically and historically grounded, is itself a discursive concept with varied meanings and interpretations (Head, 2000; Graham et al., 2000; Smith, 2006).

vii. Heritage education should not be perceived as a preserve of the elite and (as often misinterpreted) the domain of scientists and other heritage professionals (Shava & Zazu, 2012). Rather, it should be popularised through formal and non-formal practices allowing for increased access of local people to learning opportunities (Makhoba, 2007 & 2009; Mhlungu, 2009). Heritage education should promote participation of local communities as well as underscore the importance of using local sources of knowledge such as oral traditions, myths, and legends. For a region characterised by persistent marginalisation of indigenous cultural heritages (see Section 1.2.1) such an education is indispensable. In southern Africa institutions providing heritage education services need to be proactive and make their services easily accessible. Such initiatives have been observed in the region and are discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

The desired features of heritage education as overviewed above provide the basis against which this study critiques the observed heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa. The same framework of ideas is also useful for guiding the reorientation of current heritage education practices towards becoming meaningfully inclusive of indigenous cultures and practices.

Conclusion

This chapter provided insights into the conceptual framework used in the study. In this chapter, the concept of heritage is discussed and problematised with a view to illustrating how the complex nature of heritage shapes heritage management and education practices inherent in post colonial southern Africa. Heritage education as an educational field of practice is also discussed and historicised. The perceived role of heritage education, including that of enhancing the sustainable management of heritage resources, is highlighted. The chapter further proposes a framing of the kind of heritage education practices best suited for context of post colonial southern Africa, given the region's inherent cultural diversity and history of colonisation as overviewed in Chapter One. A conceptual framework for achieving the kind of heritage education practice required within the region is also presented. The next chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework informing the study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Introduction

Chapter Three starts by explaining why Habermas's critical social "Theory of Communicative Action" and "Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" is used in this study. The rationale for using this theoretical framework is developed by locating the Theory of Communicative Action and Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere within the broader framework of critical social theory acknowledging its roots within the Frankfurt School and traditional proponents. Chapter Three also discusses how Critical Realism was drawn on as an underlabourer across the study. The chapter makes explicit how a critical realist perspective allows for depth ontology to both the conceptual framework and Critical Discourse Analysis used within this study. This chapter then provides an overview of the theory of communicative action and structural transformation of the public sphere, starting with a brief background of Habermas himself. The chapter moves on to discuss how critical social theory allowed for an understanding of why certain heritage discourses become hegemonic while others are subjugated within post colonial southern Africa. The use of theory is made explicit by way of examples drawn from each of the three country case contexts covered in this study. Chapter Three also discusses how Habermas's social critical theory influenced the methodology, particularly the research orientation and data collection protocols used in this study. In Chapter Three a critique of Habermas's critical social theory is provided and a discussion of how these were mediated within this study ensues. The chapter therefore provides an orientation to the theoretical frameworks underpinning this study.

3.1 About Habermas

There are many sources of information regarding who Habermas is and what kind of work he has done, including what makes his work attractive or not attractive to contemporary researchers. In this study I specifically draw on some of these sources to authenticate the background information to Habermas that I present in this chapter. According to Braaten:

> Habermas was born in 1929 in Düsseldorf. He studied at the Universities of Göttingen and Zurich and received a Ph.D. from University of Bonn in 1954.

In the later 1950s he studied at the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research and he eventually became a prominent member of the "Frankfurt School" of philosophy. This School from the 1920s onward had advanced social theory of capitalist societies widely known as "critical theory" – based on Marxism but also incorporating sociology, psychoanalysis, and existential philosophy. Habermas became the most famous of the critical theorists. He was acclaimed as a leading scholar in Germany already at the age of forty. (1991:01).

Born out of the political oppression of Nazi Germany, Habermas was, according to Allan (2006: 245) "driven to produce a social theory of ethics that would not be based on political or economic power and would be universally inclusive". Allan (ibid.) and Andersen (2000) see Habermas as a critical theorist who sees humankind's hope of rational existence and emancipation through inherent processes of communication. Habermas considers his major contribution to be the development of the concept and theory of communicative action which distinguishes itself from the rationalist tradition by locating rationality in structures of interpersonal linguistic communication (Andersen, 2000; Finlayson, 2004; Smith & Riley, 2009). As already pointed out, this social theory advances the goals of human emancipation, while maintaining an inclusive Universalist moral framework (Braaten, 1991; Cahoone, 1996). Habermas currently ranks as one of the most influential philosophers in the world and was in 2007 listed as the seventh most cited and widely used author in humanities including social sciences by The Times Higher Education Guide (Andersen, 2000; Outhwaite, 2007). His work, as both Outhwaite (ibid.) and Smith and Riley (2009) confirmed, became very important in social science research helping scholars to understand the role of discourse (in the case of this study the heritage discourses) in arenas outside of formal politics. Habermas's extensive written work covers issues ranging from social-political theory to aesthetics, knowledge and language, to philosophy and as such has found use within a wide range of research fields.

3.2 Working with Habermas's Critical Social theory and Critical Realism

Acknowledging that the contested heritage discourses inherent in the current heritage management and education practices in post colonial southern Africa, as discussed in Chapter One are rooted in the order and organisation of society (see Section 1.2.1), I found Habermas's critical social theory potentially insightful. This is because Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action and the Structural Transformation of

the Public Sphere had potential to shed more light into how certain heritage discourses and constructs came to be more valued and represented than others in contemporary heritage education practices, especially with the rise of modernity and associated colonialism in the case of southern Africa (Harrison, 2013). My decision to work with Habermasian theory was also influenced by experiences of other researchers (who include Smith, 2006 Marschall, 2010, and Harrison, 2013) and the realisation that, as Outhwaite (2007: 241) claimed Habermas's critical social theory has "become one of the principal reference points" for much discussion in social science research, education, history and international relations. Central in the Frankfurt School critical social theory and important in this study are two propositions. First, critical social theory argues that there is an intrinsic relationship between the material world (money and power) and the ideas that people hold to be true (Cooks, 2004; Allan, 2006). Habermas's critical social theory interrogates how money and power (as steering media) influence the kind of communicative processes within modern day societies and that which ultimately comes to be viewed as legitimate knowledge or worldviews.

Secondly, in resonance with Althusser (1971) and Gramsci (1992), critical social theory positions nation state (government) and capitalism (economic enterprises), both of which are associated with the rise of modernity, as not *disinterested* parties in determining national ideology, discourses and cultural hegemonies (Allan, 2006; Smith & Riley, 2009). A classical example illustrating nation state interest in determining heritage discourses and that locates well within this study, is that of the contested history of the Great Zimbabwe monument in Zimbabwe, where Sinclair, cited in Frederikse 1982, making reference to archaeological research on the origin of monument, testified that:

> I was the archaeologist stationed at Great Zimbabwe. I was told by the then-director of the Museums and Monuments organisation to be extremely careful about talking to the press about the origins of the [Great] Zimbabwe state. I was told that the museum service was in a difficult situation, that the government was pressurising them to withhold the correct information. Censorship of guidebooks, museum displays, school textbooks, radio programmes, newspapers and films was a daily occurrence. Once a member of the Museum Board of Trustees threatened me with losing my job if I said publicly that blacks had built Great Zimbabwe. He said it was okay to say the yellow people had built it, but I wasn't allowed to mention radio carbon dates.

It was the first time since Germany in the thirties that archaeology has been so directly censored. (1982: 10-11).

The above example shows how the colonial government of Rhodesia sought to influence and downplay any knowledge claim linking local indigenous people to the origin of the Great Zimbabwe monument. Research (archaeology/history) as an educational enterprise or public sphere was in this case hijacked or colonised by the system world and used to represent views that make political sense to the colonial government. Even the strategic rationality use of language is also apparent in this example. The phrase "it was okay to say the yellow people had built it" could be interpreted to mean that the monument was not in any way built by black people. (More examples of this nature are provided later in this chapter.)

Working with Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action and Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere and using these two propositions as a base, provided me with theoretical lenses for understanding and appreciating the contestations around heritage discourses and constructs, or what Smith (2006) referred to as the authorised and unauthorised heritage discourses inherent in post colonial southern Africa, and ultimately how these discourses played out in the three heritage education case study programmes, as discussed in more depth in Chapter Eight. As such Habermas's critical social theory provided a language of description for examining the emergence of heritage discourses inherent within post colonial southern Africa. It also provided an orienting theoretical framework shaping the methodological design and construction of data collection tools (Creswell, 2008). In Chapter Four I elaborate on how I ensured that the research methodology, particularly the data collection provides what Habermas (1987) referred to as ideal speech situations, allowing for "true" communicative action and participatory construction of knowledge about heritage and its representation in education practices (in so far as these are possible).

3.2. 1 The Critical Realist perspective of this study

Before I move on to discuss in more detail the Theory of Communicative Action and Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, it is important that I explain why and how I used a critical realist theoretical perspective as an underlabouring concept within this study. Whilst Habermasian critical theory is very valuable for

understanding the contested heritage discourses inherent within post colonial southern Africa, Critical Realism added the ontological depth required to better understand the discourses shaping the way heritage is constructed and used within the three case study sites covered in this study.

Scholars such as Grahams et al. (2000), Reid et al. (2004), Lowenthal (1985 & 2005) and Hughes (2009) have already noted the multi-layered, emergent and dialectical nature of heritage (see Section 2.1.2). However their conceptions of heritage, though epistemologically convincing, seemed ontologically deficient or under theorised. For instance Lowenthal's (2005) notion of the "nature-culture dualism" of heritage (see Section 2.1.2) does not adequately give attention to the dialectical interplay that exists between the cultural and natural dimensions of heritage nor does it explain this interplay from a solid theoretical vantage point. Reid et al.'s (2004) metaphor cited in Zazu (2008: 25) of "*we are the river and the river is us*" used to describe the close relationship between indigenous peoples' ways of living and their immediate environment, seems again to not be underpinned by any substantial ontology, save for ethnographic observational processes or what Bhaskar (1978: 69) calls "regularity determinism" or simple deductive reasoning.

A theoretical framework such as Critical Realism, that emphasises ontology as much as epistemology, is therefore valuable given the study's objective of understanding society and social phenomenon (Frisby & Sayer, 1986). It is for this reason that I deployed critical realist ontology to add depth to the manner in which heritage is conceptualised and used within the study. Critical Realism allowed me to appreciate that heritage as a phenomenon is ontologically real and that epistemologically we value and come to understand it differently (Steinmetz, 1998). Furthermore, a critical realist theoretical lens provided tools for understanding and explaining the emergent or contingent and dialectical nature of heritage (Bhaskar, 1993) and that the complexity of heritage is co-determined by a number of causal mechanisms or contextual factors. Critical Realism enabled me to appreciate that our conceptions of heritage and the value (which is emergent and contingent) we attach to that which we call heritage, is influenced by contextual factors such as in the context of post colonial southern, race, gender, history of colonisation and the ensuing modernity (Graham et al., 2000; De la Torre, 2002; UNESCO, 2006; Marschall, 2010). Depending on

context we may, as already pointed out in Chapter Two, construct heritage as cultural or natural, tangible or intangible, even if these forms of heritage exist and are related in reality. From a critical realist perspective to say heritage is natural or tangible implies that it is experienced at the level of the empirical. If it is the case of a monument like Great Zimbabwe this would imply that the stone walls, the physical structures themselves are what is heritage. To say that heritage is cultural or intangible ontologically entails that heritage manifests itself at the level of experience or the actual. It will be to confirm that, as already pointed out by Katsamudanga (2004) and Munjeri (2004), the intrinsic value of Great Zimbabwe monument is dialectically related to the cultural practices and experiences of people associated with the monument. The dialectical interplay between physical (empirical) dimensions of Great Zimbabwe monument and the cultural experiences of the people visiting or using the monument and the context within which this interplay is unfolding, are critical for understanding the real (unobservable and emergent meaning of the Great Zimbabwe monument) (Collier, 1994). Collier (1994:6) argues that "something may be real without appearing at all" and such a theoretical perspective aided my understanding of conceptions of heritage such as that of Smith (2006) who suggests that there is really no such thing as heritage (see Section 2.1). A critical realist approach to working with the concept of heritage therefore provides depth ontology. It enabled me to move beyond what is observable and experienced within the heritage management and education landscape. It also allowed me to draw on insights gained from the contextual profiling processes to further understand the factors influencing the way heritage is constructed.

On the other hand a critical realist underlabour also provided for in-depth analysis of data. Whilst Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the main tool used to make sense of data in this study, a critical realist approach because of its recognition that reality is stratified (Bhaskar, 1978; Collier, 1994) enabled me to go beyond just the surfacing of heritage discourses and explore these in more detail, seeking depth ontology, and explanations for the discourses that were apparent in empirical speech and text (see Section 8.1). Critical Discourse Analysis suffices to surface the discourses hidden within heritage policy and legislation, interview transcripts and other forms of data and critical realism allowed for detailed explanatory critique (again see Section 8.3) of the manner in which contemporary heritage education discourses and practices are

engaging with the notion of inclusivity, representation and use of formally marginalised indigenous cultural heritage perspectives. According to Steinmetz (1998: 171) "the explanatory practice of most social sciences research [such as the case of this study] is best captured by the philosophy of science position known as critical realism". Critical Realism with its close relation to Critical Discourse Analysis, as confirmed by Bhaskar and Regan (2011), provided a valuable ontological vantage point for in-depth understanding of the observed patterns and trends of working with indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices within post colonial southern Africa. Depth ontology offered by Critical Realism further helped me to examine and critique the underlying mechanisms (Sayer, 1992 & 2000; Reed & Harvey, 1992) influencing the patterns and trends in a more rigorous manner (see Chapter Five, Six and Seven). Critical Realism was therefore a valuable underlabouring concept for the entire conceptual and theoretical framework within which this study was conducted. It also complements and extends the hermeneutic research paradigm to be inclusive of not only epistemological relativism but recognition of the existence of underlying mechanisms (discourses) shaping the construction of heritage policy and practices in post colonial southern Africa (see Sections 4.1 and 4.6).

3.3 Theory of Communicative Action

Drawing from Marx, Weber, and Mead, Habermas (1984) developed his Theory of Communicative Action against the argument and claim that reason (and enlightenment) had reached a dead end and thus could not provide the required foundation for human emancipation. Habermas (1984) argued that the enlightenment project could be saved if reason was to be redefined differently (Andersen, 2000; Smith & Riley, 2009). He advocated for working with the notion of "true communicative action" made up of undistorted activities of people attempting in genuine ways to attain a clear and mutually inclusive understanding of themselves, their worldviews and cultural ideology, as well as the order and organisation of their society (Andersen, 2000; Allan, 2006; Smith & Riley, 2009). Habermas (1984) contrasts "true communicative action" aimed at understanding, and "strategic communication" whose goal of social action is pre-determined and often hidden (Harvey-Brown & Goodman, 2001:204). For Habermas both types of communication

are goal oriented but how language is used within each is what makes the two different. To quote Harvey-Brown and Goodman:

> The difference lies in the distinct relation between the goal pursued and the language used. In strategic action the relation between language and goal is one of means to end, with language reduced to a mere instrument for achieving a posited goal. In communicative action, however the goal is understanding and the precise nature of that goal is inseparable from the process of language use through which it is achieved. (2001:204).

In developing the theory of communicative action, Habermas (1984 & 1987) argued that ethical reason and substantive rationality are intrinsic to speech. Based on this Habermas (ibid.) claimed that embedded in humankind's ability to talk (communicate) lies hope for building of consensus and reasoned decisions about social action. He called this both the promise and hope of modernity (Allan, 2006: 258).

The theory of communicative action has been interpreted widely by different scholars, and in this study I also found it significant to move beyond the definitions of Theory of Communicative Action and give adequate attention to the conditions necessary for this kind of communication to happen. The praxis of Theory of Communicative Action is centred on the creation of what Habermas (1984 & 1987) referred to as the "ideal speech situation". In an ideal speech situation as Allan pointed out:

> Everyone who is competent to speak and act is allowed to partake in the conversation, full equality is granted and each participant is seen as an equal source of legitimate or valid statements. There is no sense of coercion; consensus is not forced and there is no recourse to objective standings such as status, money and power, everyone is allowed to express opinions and feelings about all topics and all speech must strive to be free from ideology. (2006: 259).

Closely related to the ideal speech situations, Habermas (1984 & 1987) further argued that true communicative action is only possible within a context of liberal political culture which recognizes and respects equality for all, and an active and integrated civic society and life world. This he called the ideal speech communities (Allan, 2006; Smith & Riley 2009).

Habermas (1984: 287) claimed that "understanding is the inherent telos of human speech" and thus his theory of communicative action is therefore concerned with showing how humankind can achieve consensus (which Habermas considered the cornerstone of society) through a process of using language to come to an understanding as opposed to a technical use of language to achieve a pre-established goal. A relevant example to illustrate this would be an imaginary situation in which a heritage educator interacts with learners as outlined below:

- **Educator 1**: *I know that the Shona people were great builders. So who do you think built the Great Zimbabwe monument?* Well in this instance it is more likely that learners are persuaded to say Great Zimbabwe was built by the Shona people. The answer and the objective of the learning are pre-determined and language is used technically to get the learners to give that particular answer.

- **Educator 2**: *There are many stories about who built Great Zimbabwe. What do the stories you have heard say about who built this magnificent monument?* Even though the answer to this question might come to be the same as above, language in this case is used to help learners think, ask each other questions, consider different sources of histories and eventually reach a common and shared understanding of who they think built the monument.

Habermas (1987) argued that such use of language fosters an understanding within which the goal (answer) can be consensually achieved. And this is what the Theory of Communicative Action is all about. The case of Educator 1 in the example above represents a case of strategic communication. The teacher purportedly asked the learners but it is clear that he or she was biased towards a certain answer already. And through this kind of language use certain heritage discourses and constructs are authorised, and others marginalised, influencing meaning making, knowledge creation and identity formation.

3.4 The life world and its colonisation by the system

Using the systems theory, Habermas (1987, 1991b) went further to point out that with the rise of modernity emerged the "system world", consisting of the state, capitalism,

and large bureaucratic multinational corporations which progressively invaded and colonised the "life world", made up of "solidarity, face-to-face contact, family community and substantive value commitments" (Smith & Riley 2009: 45). The system world as Smith and Riley (2009) pointed out relates to a scenario in which society is shaped by structures such as money and power. According to Harvey Brown and Goodman (2001) examples of the system world included the "Free" market economy and political administration both of which are steered by money and power. Within the system world consensus is still an important element but the way to reach it is often premised on strategies that make economic and political sense (ibid.). Examples illustrating this point will be given later in this chapter (see Section 3.7) but I can here say that the value of a heritage construct is judged by how much economic and political sense it makes (see Appendix 1). Given that heritage is ontologically multi-layered and used for different reasons (Graham et al., 2000; Smith, 2006) this is no surprise, as money and power are not uniformly or equitably distributed within any particular society. This scenario tends to undermine views of those whose socio-economic status is low. This looks to be the case in post colonial southern Africa (see Section 1.2.1).

On the other hand Habermas (1987 & 1991b) used a concept of the life world, as Allan (2006: 248) claimed, to refer to "the individual's everyday life as it is experienced immediately by the person, a world built upon culture and social relations, and thus filled with historically and socially specific meanings". Andersen (2000) and Allan (ibid.) further postulated that the purpose of the life world was to facilitate communication, and to provide a common set of goals, practices, values, and language that allows people to develop their own worldviews and a shared fabric of life.

Drawing from Althusser (1971), Habermas (1984 & 1987) claimed that the system world colonised the life world using what is referred to as "repressive" and "ideological" state apparatus. Repressive State Apparatus consisted of institutions (which often use coercive and military power) like the army, police, and prison, whilst Ideological State Apparatus consisted of institutions like media, the church, and school (Riley & Smith, 2009). It should be noted that all these institutions have links to nation state through policy, regulation and funding and as such are expected to act

in the interest of government and its ally, the capitalist enterprise (Cahoone, 1996; Andersen, 2000; Allan, 2006; Smith & Riley, 2009). Critical for this study is to understand that while the church was the most important ideological state apparatus in pre-capitalist societies, today this role is, as claimed by Smith and Riley (2009: 49), played by the "educational system".

Within Africa, colonialism and state formation also used education as a vehicle for gaining dominance and superiority of the coloniser over the colonised (Mazonde, 1994; Sekyi-Otu, 1996; Obanya, 2005; Mhlungu, 2009; Dei, 2011). This helps us to understand why post colonial governments in southern Africa have also undertaken a number of educational reforms aimed at decolonising the education system (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven).

Habermas sees the colonisation of the life world by the system as pathological. In this study I argue that the colonisation of the life world as denoted by Habermas is similar in both intention and orientation to the processes leading to the colonisation of the African continent by Western countries. Habermas argues that the "current relationship between the life world and system is dangerously unbalanced and that this imbalance leads to social pathologies" (Harvey Brown & Goodman, 2001: 209). In the case of this study such pathologies include commonly observable trends where the question of "what heritage is or whose heritage" is no longer collectively debated by local communities but shaped by power and money. This also helps us to understand why traditional institutions such as chiefs, who were closely connected to the life world, and who used to determine the construction of heritage and how it should be used, have through the emergence of colonialism lost power or were relegated to the periphery of decision making (see Section 1.2.1).

3.5 The structural transformation of the public sphere

According to Habermas (1991a), the public sphere was a space for democratic "public debate and intelligent exchange of ideas about fundamental questions concerning philosophy economics, politics and social organisation" (Smith & Riley, 2009: 43). The public sphere emerged in 18th century European society and represented a discursive space within which people could discuss matters of mutual interest with a view to reaching a common understanding (Allan, 2006). Habermas (1991a) saw the

public sphere as existing between a set of traditional cultural institutions and practices on the one hand and state power on the other. In this regard the function of the public sphere was to mediate the concerns of citizens and state interests. Within (southern) Africa the public sphere took the form of societal structures such as the *Kgotla* in Botswana or *Libanda* in Swaziland (Mamdani, 1996) as well as *Padare or Enkundleni* for Zimbabwe (Mararike, 1999; Sharma, 2003; Mazonde, 2004). These traditional institutions, prior to the colonisation of Africa, served to regulate the order of society, and directly determine what counts as valuable for the sustenance of society (Mamdani, 1996; Crais, 2002; Arowolo, 2010).

The public sphere (according to Habermas) also to an extent constituted a regulatory mechanism against authority of the state. It provided opportunities for citizens to question the status quo and the manner in which government was doing business. Through the public sphere, citizens were able to hold government accountable, and where necessary alter or abolish it. The public sphere was therefore a significant space for involvement of citizens in shaping European societies and associated worldviews. Cahoone (1996) and Allan (2006) described the public sphere in Europe as having two principles: firstly, access to independent and unlimited information and secondly, equal (disregard of status) participation. These two principles relate to, as already pointed out, what Habermas (1987) referred to as ideal speech communities. Structurally the public sphere consisted of cultural, political and commercial organisations such as the journals, newspapers, public assemblies, churches, coffee shops, schools, and political clubs. Its main goal was "pragmatic consensus" made possible by the inherent assumed communicative rationality (Allan, 2006: 250).

In pre-industrial societies (and in this study the pre-colonial era in southern Africa) and under feudalism or what Mamdani calls "stateless communities" (Mamdani, 1996: 41) people could meet and engage in debates around existing ideologies, cultural practices and many other issues affecting their everyday lives (Habermas, 1991a). Under these circumstances people were able to, as Purcell and Onjoro (2002:162) claimed "make autonomous decisions about their future based on sets of principles derived from their own collective ontology and own truths." In the case of post colonial southern Africa as already articulated in Chapter One (see Section 1.2.1), people were able to come to a shared or mutually inclusive understanding of

their world views and how these were to be sustained. Mamdani (1996) claimed that the *Kgotla* in pre-colonial Botswana functioned more or less like a public space where local *Batswana* people discussed issues affecting their lives openly without fear or duress from outside institutions. The *Kgotla*, as already mentioned in Chapter One (see Section 1.2.1) was, with the advent of colonisation transformed into an inorganic state institution where chiefs' verdicts were now determined by newly established policy and legislation (Sharma, 1999 & 2003; Sinamai, 2003).

Habermas (1991a) argued that things started to go wrong with the appropriation of the public sphere by the nation state, a process associated with the industrialisation of the 19th century (Harvey Brown & Goodman, 2001; Smith & Riley, 2009). In the context of Africa this appropriation took place through enactment of policy and legislation (see chapter 1) that reduced or at times totally took away powers of traditional cultural institutions and made these institutions accountable to the new colonial state authority (Crais, 2002; Burnell, 2007). Instead of chiefs being appointed through indigenous cultural processes often overseen by local spirit mediums, the chiefs were appointed by colonial state authorities such as the magistrate or district commissioner (Mamndani, 1996; Crais, ibid).

The public sphere in Europe was replaced by censored mass media (as in the Great Zimbabwe case given earlier), or according to Harvey Brown and Goodman (2001:203) "manufactured publicity that merely appears to be communication". Yet in actual fact such manufactured publicity was aimed at promoting the interest of nation states and capitalistic ideologies. To quote Smith and Riley (2009:44) "people became talked to rather than being talkers actively creating the society in which they live". The implications of the appropriation and transformation of the public sphere by the nation state were that people's views, and ideologies became "sub-altern" to those of nation state (McEwan, 2009:16). Sources of information became to be motivated by profit (economic sense) and consensus was transformed into public opinion, which Harvey-Brown and Goodman (2001: 257) argued is something that is measured through polls used by politicians and influenced by a mass media entertainment". With the colonisation of the public sphere, the order of society, cultural ideologies, and associated knowledge systems and social practices came to be determined and primarily influenced by money and power (Habermas, 1987 &

1991a). As Callinicos (2007) argued, the interest and influence of the nation state in determining what counts as true or not true, and in the case of this study, what constitutes heritage and or not, became apparent.

The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere associated with the rise of modernity and the associated marginalisation of traditional cultural institutions and their ontology and epistemologies, as argued for by Habermas (1991a) helped me to understand how the heritage discourses and the potentially conflicting constructs inherent in post colonial southern Africa emerged, as well as why the same discourses persist even beyond colonial governance. An example to illustrate the above theoretical perspectives is the case of formal education, which is associated with the rise of modernity and colonialism in the context of Africa. It is widely argued that the onset of the formal Eurocentric school system contributed to the demise of African traditional education system e.g. the intergenerational processes of enculturation which served to prepare children to fit into their own traditional (life world) and local societies (Mazonde, 1994; Sekyi-Otu, 1996; Obanya, 2005; Dei, 2002 & 2010). On the other hand, the introduction of formal education (schooling) in Europe was thought of as being a beneficial public sphere to humankind. However formal schooling, as Habermas argued, transformed into something quite different in the 20th century (Harvey-Brown & Goodman, 2001). As state interest in formal education increased, what came to be learnt within these schools ceased to be grounded within the life world. In a similar sense, formal education in the context of Africa ceased to be just about enculturation (Obanya, 2005). Instead, curriculum policies carefully crafted by what Gramsci (1992) referred to as inorganic intellectuals (state employees) determined what learners were to learn within the school system, often being that which served the interests of state, industry and commerce (Slattery, 2006; Moore, 2008; Paraskeva, 2011). Of interest to this study is the insight that schools, and the heritage education practices taking place within them, become mechanisms for perpetuating particular hegemonic or abstracted views of heritage and not what the common person thinks. The heritage constructs that are inherent in current formal heritage education practices are to a large extent shaped by and influenced by such thinking, as will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Eight.

3.6 The net effect of the colonisation of the life world and public sphere

The net effect of the colonisation of the life world, as Habermas (1987) pointed out, was that the media of exchange of the system, money and power became dominant and prevented true communicative action, and in its place put strategic communication, whose goal of social action is pre-established and often hidden (Finlayson, 2004; Allan, 2006; Smith & Riley, 2009). As Harvey Brown and Goodman (2001: 204) argued, "the intent of strategic communicative action is not to reach an understanding or agreement but simply to get others to do what the speaker wants them to do". According to Habermas (1987), answers to inequality in modern society (in this study, inclusions and the exclusions of certain heritage constructs) lie in the revitalisation of the public sphere and life world, allowing them to fight back against the colonising effect of the system (see Chapter Eight and Nine). He, as pointed earlier on, called for a revival of the public sphere within which true communicative action, consisting of open, honest and informed debate which is free from the distorting constraints of nation state ideology and power, could take place (Allan, 2006; Smith & Riley 2009). In the context of southern Africa this would entail a process of renaissance advocated for within and across all spheres of life in Africa by scholars such as Mbeki (1996) and Malegapuru (1999). The feasibility and significance of reviving traditional institutions such as chiefs within the modern cosmopolitan and globalising contexts (such as current post colonial southern Africa) remains open to debate (Cooks, 2004; Outhwaite, 2007; Delanty, 2010) and will be picked up and interrogated in detail later in Chapter Eight (see Section 8.3).

The Theory of Communicative Action and the Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, other than helping me to understand heritage discourses inherent in post colonial southern Africa, also allowed me to *re-imagine* heritage education practices as teaching and learning processes, providing space and opportunity for people to freely engage in dialogue about what constitutes their heritage, and how it must be managed and used. Constituting heritage education, along the notion of multiple public spheres as Habermas (1991a) suggested, also gives the education practices an inclusive and pluralistic orientation, enhancing opportunities for attaining heritage construct inclusivity and increased representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs. Heritage education programmes in schools, museums and heritage sites have the potential to contribute towards a vision of schools acting as public spheres

free from hegemonic ideologies, where communicative learning may take place. Whilst idealistic, Habermas's critical social theory provides such an exampler vision for education (Cooks, 2004; Allan, 2006; Smith & Riley 2009). This point is returned to in Chapters Eight and Nine.

3.7 Interpreting heritage discourses through the Habermasian theoretical lenses

Working with Habermas's critical social theory, I was able to make sense of the discourses inherent in the different heritage management and education practices covered by this study (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven). In this section I provide a brief overview of some of the heritage discourses interpreted, showing how I made sense of these using the Habermasian critical social theory. A single case is presented for each of the three countries the study covered. The idea here is to illustrate the explanatory usefulness of the theory, which I draw on further across the study (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven).

3.7.1 The case of Zimbabwe: Domboshava Rock Art Sites

In Zimbabwe the nation state interest in shaping heritage discourses is revealed in the case of reported conflicts between local communities and the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) over access to and use of the Domboshava rock art sites. According to Chirikure and Pwiti:

> Domboshava was declared a national monument by the colonial government in 1936 because of its spectacular rock art. The painted rock shelter at Domboshava contained a geological tunnel that was used by locals to communicate with their ancestors during the rain making ceremonies and in times of social stress. The creation of the national monument gave the rock art priority over living traditions. (2008:469).

The denial of access of local communities to the rock shelter caused a series of clashes which prompted the authorities to block the geological channel with concrete. After independence in 1980 National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) continued with the same colonial policy of valuing tangible over intangible heritage. Evidence of this is provided in the 1990s, when the NMMZ decided to use the Domboshawa heritage site for revenue collection through cultural tourism without meaningful consultation with the local communities (Collett, cited in Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008).

In the Domboshawa case, two claims can be made. Firstly, that with the rise of modernity, nation state formation and colonisation, communities around Domboshava lost control of and access to their valuable cultural heritage resource. The then Museums and Monument Act (in Habermasian language an example of a repressive state apparatus) allowed both the colonial and ultimately post colonial governments to take control of the Domboshava rock art site, making it part of the national estate which can be used at the discretion of the same government for political and economic development. The decision to use the site for revenue collection ahead of local people's cultural practices is therefore not unexpected. Hence through Habermasian theoretical lenses I could see how events unfolded, as modernity and colonisation came in, displacing traditional African societal systems of organisation, taking away the opportunities for local communities to engage in honest and open discussion around their cultural heritage and its perceived uses. The use of policy to take over control of local heritage resources such as the Domboshava rock art monument represented processes tied to the colonisation of the public sphere, denial of true communicative action and advancement of nation state interest and economic enterprise. This analysis was important to me because it helped me to understand why tensions and conflicts around heritage have, as I earlier pointed out persisted beyond the end of colonisation in southern Africa (see Section 1.2.1).

3.7.2 The case of Botswana: Ban of *Kalanga* language in formal education

Language is widely acknowledged as an important part of any society's heritage (UNESCO, 2003; United Nations, 2008). Aspects of culture such as indigenous knowledge and practices, beliefs, norms and values are in many cases represented through use of local language (Possey, 1989; Reid et al., 2004). The role of language in promoting cultural heritage is therefore vital as emphasised in Article 13.1 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Article 13.1 states that:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons. (United Nations, 2008: 7).

In Botswana, access to, promotion and preservation of language emerged as a thorny issue for the *BaKalanga* people. In this study I observed that the *Kalanga* language is arguably on the brink of extinction (interview #REV). The reason given is that upon

attainment of political independence in 1966 the new government in the country banned the use of *Kalanga* language in all formal schools, and other important social media. One of the interviewees commented as follows:

> After independence, immediately after independence, ehh, our first president stopped it, Seretse Khama, he said all people must speak Tshwana and only Tshwana must be spoken in schools no more Kalanga. (interview #REV)

The rationale for banning minority languages like Kalanga was premised on, even though there may have been many other associated objectives, the new government's quest to promote nation building, sovereignty and unity amongst the different tribal and ethnic groupings constituting Botswana's population (Republic of Botswana, 2001b). In practice, this meant having one official local language and unfortunately for the *BaKalanga* people that language happened to be *Setswana*, not *Kalanga*. Hence national radio and television programmes, learning support materials, and the curriculum itself were all through policy expected to use the *Setswana* language or English. This observation reveals how the nation state is, on the one hand interested in determining what counts as heritage, and on the other hand, using heritage for its own interests not those of the local *BaKalanga* people (Graham et al., 2000; Fontein, 2006; Fairweather, 2006; Jokiletho, 2009). The national becomes more important than the local or the individual's interests, a process which is characteristic of nation state formation (Habermas, 1987; 1991a; Andersen, 2000; Allan, 2006). In one of the in-depth interviews undertaken for this study, it emerged that banning of the teaching of *Kalanga* language in schools is being questioned and efforts to reintroduce it exist (Mamdani, 1996). In the interview a member of the Mukani Action Campaign, a grass roots project formed to revive *Kalanga* language, said:

> In our project we are writing Kalanga books, which were stopped from schools, in trying to revive Kalanga language which was stopped in schools and it's no more being taught in schools, our children don't know Kalanga, that's why ourselves we are writing the books. There is no way Kalanga language can vanish, it is spoken, it is only that our government has no interest in it; it should be spoken and returned into schools (interview #REV).

It is not surprising therefore that one of the problems that the Mukani Action Campaign project is faced with is lack of government support and funding. Whilst the goal of promoting *Kalanga* as a language sounds noble from a life world (cultural position), if one looks at it through the Habermasian theoretical lenses the goal does not make political or economic sense for the state and thus is not a priority for funding

either from the business sector or government fiscus. Put simply the ban of *Kalanga* language in national media such as formal education represents the colonisation of the *BaKalanga* people's life world and advancement of nation state interests in determining heritage and using it for nation building and other political gains (Ranger, 2004; Fontein; 2006; Smith, 2006).

3.7.3 The case of South Africa: the construction of heritage within the State of the Nation Address

Within the South African context observed examples illustrating nation state interest in determining heritage discourses, and use of heritage to foster national unity and political credence are many, but in this section I will highlight just one of them. This is the case of how heritage was constructed within the country's 2012 State of Nation Address (see Appendix 1). In the 2012 State of the Nation Address, the country's president, Jacob Zuma was quoted as saying:

> As part of promoting social cohesion, this year we will undertake and continue many heritage projects. Museums and centres to be unveiled will include the 1980 Matola Raid museum in Maputo, the Ncome museum in KwaZulu-Natal, phase 2 of the Freedom Park museum and the Steve Biko heritage centre in Ginsberg in King Williamstown. We have also prioritised the homes and graves of former ANC Presidents and other national heroes including Thomas Maphikela, Lillian Ngoyi, Walter and Albertina Sisulu, Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge, Robert Sobukwe and others. (Republic of South Africa, 2012: 13).

Other than how heritage is constructed within the State of Nation Address, what is made explicit here is the use of heritage for nation building and social cohesion (Deacon, 2004; Fontein, 2006; Sirayi, 2007; Bredekamp, 2009). Without disputing the significance of the heritage projects prioritised in this address, one can appreciate that even if these are not the only important heritage projects the country needs to embark on, from a nation state point of view these are the projects that make political sense. Hence what we see here is the legitimisation of particular ways of thinking, talking and writing about heritage (Smith, 2006; Dawn, 2012). It is also clear that the language used to construct heritage and what it can be used for, in this case points to a predetermined goal, as in the case of what Habermas (1984 & 1987) labelled strategic communicative action. Those who are privy to the history of South Africa can also understand why heritage is represented in this way (see Section 4.5.2). Closely linked to this, it is also possible to appreciate why post apartheid heritage policies such as NHR Act no. 25 of 1999 appear to construct heritage in similar ways (see Section

4.5.2) and emphasise the role of heritage for nation building, unity and social transformation (NHR Act no. 25 of 1999; Sirayi, 2007; Swart, 2008; Makhoba, 2009). However, if we look at this case through Habermas's critical social theory, we see how certain ways of constructing and using heritage can become hegemonic (Swart, 2008). We can also understand why the same hegemonic constructs are planted into the education system at times in pursuit of inclusivity which in itself intentionally and unintentionally often becomes exclusive of the other (see Section 5.4 and Section 8.3). This way of dealing with legacies of colonialism, as is the case in post apartheid South Africa, may paradoxically fail to enhance the sustainability of the country's heritage resources, an argument that is further developed in Chapters Eight and Nine.

3.8 Habermasian theory and research methodology

The theory of communicative action and structural transformation of the public sphere influenced the design of the study and required that I consider the following:

- o Firstly I needed to ensure that the research orientation acknowledges the importance of shared understanding and the notion that what is important, as Habermas (1987) argued, is how we, through language use, can enhance communicative action and the process of coming to an understanding of (in the case of this study) issues around contemporary heritage discourses and how these determine education practices.

- o Secondly I needed to ensure that the data collection protocols, i.e. the focus group interviews, generative workshops and in-depth interviews are, to the extent possible, providing "ideal speech situations and public spheres" in which every research participant is respected, diversity of thought is accepted and valued, and opportunities to be heard are granted.

Working with Habermasian theory therefore had implications for the way this study was carried out. Chapter Four provides more information on how I gave the research methodology, to borrow Gustavson's (2009: 17) terminology a "Habermasian spin".

3. 9 Critique of Habermasian Critical Social Theory

As I worked with critical social theory as discussed above it was important to reflect on some of the shortfalls of Habermasian theory. Acknowledging these critiques and

discussing their implications was an important strategy for enhancing the trustworthiness and rigour of the study. I also discuss how I mediated some of the shortfalls, by drawing on McKernan's (2008) critical curriculum theory (to interrogate heritage education as curriculum) and Critical Realism as an underlabourer providing depth ontology across the entire study (see Section 3.2.1). The following are some of the major critiques of Habermasian critical social theory:

3.9.1 Questioning the basis upon which Habermasian theory emerged

Habermas's critical social theory has been criticised on various fronts (Cooks, 2004; Smith & Riley, 2009). Post structural critics, like Foucault, question whether the Enlightenment project, upon which Habermas developed his theory, can or indeed should be salvaged (Cooks, 2004; Allan, 2006). Post structuralists see Enlightenment as having reached a dead end and also no longer having the potential to provide theoretical tools to understand the evils or problems of modern society (Smith & Riley, 2009). However, critical realists are critical of the realism of post structuralism, and refuse to accept a loss of rationality or reason, even though they accept that truth is fallible.

3.9.2 Idealising the life world and public sphere

Other critics of Habermas's critical social theory have pointed to the utopian aspects of Habermas's work. Habermas is specifically critiqued for *idealising* both the life world and the public sphere and not seeing them as social systems with their own hegemonic dominance and inequalities. For instance, feminist scholars argue that the life world was a fundamental locus of patriarchal oppression, thus state intervention in the family and private life has been a positive rather than negative development (Cooks, 2004; Smith & Riley, 2009). Feminist scholars, elaborating the above, argued that state intervention helped to address in some way issues of domestic violence legislation and child support payments. Closely related to this argument is the claim that Habermas also seemed not to have acknowledged the inequalities that were inherent in the 18th century public spheres such as his classical example of coffee houses. Not all people had access to the coffee houses and as Smith and Riley (2009: 44) pointed out, "the coffee houses were chiefly frequented by educated and affluent men", and by formal or informal means that implied exclusion of the working class, women and minorities. Similarly even the traditional structures in pre-colonial

southern Africa such as the *Kgotla* or *Padare* that Mamdani (1996) talks of, have also been critiqued for being patriarchal and acting as centres of male dominion. Even the existence of freedom of expression or "ideal speech situation" ascribed to the *Kgotla* is questionable, as by its nature the *Kgotla* had its own hierarchical structures of power and decision making (Sharma, 1999 & 2003). In a foreword to the booklet entitled *The Tswana Traditional Kgotla*, Mpulubusi (1997) further alluded to inequalities inherent within the *Kgotla* when he is cited as saying that:

> The Kgotla was a semi-circular structure of poles which varied in size to accommodate as many people or men as possible at the exclusion of *basadi*, women. Men gathered at *Kgotla* according to their status, ability and social role. The lesser men, *bathlanka*, sat on the periphery and made marginal contributions. (NMMAG, 1997: 1).

It is therefore important to realise that not all was good about pre-colonial societal structures and ways of governance, as is the case with Habermasian theoretical concepts

3.9.3 Single unified public sphere as unrealistic

A related problem is that Habermas tended to depict a single unified public sphere, where as in reality, and more so, in modern and differentiated societies (Africa included), it may be more useful to think of "mediated" multiple public spheres, as already pointed out, organised around communities defined by race, gender, sexuality and religion (Outhwaite, 2007: 244; Smith & Riley, 2009:44). From this critique emanates the metaphor used in this study of "re-imagining heritage education as framed within the notion of multiple public spheres" allowing for the cultural diversities inherent within post colonial southern Africa to be accommodated, deliberated or reconciled. Agyeman (2002) and Levinson (2009) in their critique of multicultural education also allude to the same notion (see Section 8.3).

3.9.4 Utopian nature of Habermas's work

Another critique of Habermas's work relates to his failure to stipulate "how much" communicative action is needed for the reproduction of the life world (Cooks, 2004: 34 drawing from Cooke, 1994; Allan, 2006). According to Harvey-Brown and Goodman (2001) and supported by Smith and Riley (2009: 46), Habermas has "relatively little to say about concrete ways of building a better world". Allan (2006)

claimed, with regard to the utopian aspects of Habermas's work that "what Habermas gives us is an ideal − not in the form of fantasy but in the sense of an exemplar vision". What falls short in Habermas's critical social theory are realistically plausible institutional forms that can support revitalisation of the life world. Such institutions, I suppose, may include a broad based media (contextualised education included), grass-roots social movements, and civic activism (which in some cases may also become hegemonic counter-public spheres if not carefully constituted).

It is therefore important to ensure that re-orientation of current heritage education practices, to increase representation and use of indigenous cultural heritage, as envisaged in this study is not done in a counter-hegemonic manner (see Sections 8.3.5 and 9.3). If this is not considered carefully the potential of contemporary heritage education practices to enhance the sustainability of heritage resources in the region, may continue to be questionable.

3.9.5 A distinction without difference

Habermas is also critiqued for attempting to refine the distinction between the life world and system, and failing to see that the boundaries between the two are in "actual fact very porous" (Cooks, 2004: 34). In strengthening her argument Cooks (ibid.) reminded us that the same individual inhabiting the life world is also an employee in the economic or government sector making the boundaries even more blurred. Borrowing a phrase from Hegel, Cooks (2004: 34) referring to Habermas's attempt as stated above, called this "a distinction without difference". Related to the same critique is also the problematic distinction of public concern from private concern. And such a critique thus makes Habermas's social theory a bit of an incomplete project, as Harvey Brown and Goodman (2001) claimed.

3.10 Critical Curriculum Theory and Heritage Education practices

The ultimate aim of this study, as already pointed out in Chapter One is to generate ideas to inform ongoing process of reorienting current heritage education practices towards becoming heritage construct inclusive. Realising that Habermas's critical social theory was neither saying much about education as a practice nor providing a language to articulate issues around relevance and quality of education, I found McKernan's (2008) "critical curriculum theory" a valuable extending theoretical

framework. Critical curriculum theory, as Slattery (2006) pointed out, derives from post Marxist theorists of the Frankfurt school of which Habermas is a member. It is grounded in the same philosophical foundations of questioning socio-economic structures and the way school curriculum tends to enslave subjected classes and their knowledges. This provided tools for rethinking heritage education practices as emancipatory in orientation, deploying a liberating pedagogy (see Section 2.5 for the kind of heritage education needed in post colonial southern Africa). Critical curriculum theory advocates for education which promotes and re-emphasises the need to work with what Habermas referred to as emancipatory knowledge, the kind of knowledge that transcends the opposition between technical and practical forms of knowledges (Giroux, 1994). Such knowledge, it is proposed, is generated through communicative action rather than a teacher giving communiqués. It is knowledge developed through learner participation rather than by acquisition only.

Critical curriculum theory offers "a fresh alternative for education in the postmodern era that engenders social justice" (Slattery, 2006: 228). In post colonial southern Africa social justice (and social transformation) is a thorny issue (see Section 1.2.1). It continues to shape and influence the constitution and orientation of (heritage) education practices in the region (Jansen, 1991; Deacon, 2004; Mhlungu, 2009).

Also important to note is that "critical curriculum theory", as postulated by McKernan (2008: 7), views curriculum as a "selection from culture". It is value laden, and a dynamic process driven by agendas of power and knowledge. Here I saw how critical curriculum theory is coherent with Habermasian theory, explaining the connections between nation state influences and the constitution of the educational curriculum. McKernan (2008: 7) further talks about "how every society sets up schools in order to induct learners into the culture that is the ways of society". He sees culture and education as inseparable, and claimed that education itself is *acculturation*. McKernan (ibid.) thus conceives of education as concerned with intergenerational passing on of cultural knowledges and practices necessary for the sustenance of society. The implication of this thinking is that heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa need to be responsive to the diversity of cultures inherent in the region.

Drawing on Giroux (1994), McKernan (2008:08) further claimed that "the curriculum of our schools is also a product of politics and interest groups". He, just like Habermas, acknowledged the role of nation state and capitalist enterprise interests in influencing educational ideology and ultimately curriculum practice. This point is already adequately discussed and what is important to highlight here is that McKernan (ibid.), Giroux (1994) and other critical curriculum theorists make explicit that which is implied within the Habermasian theory relating to nation state interests in education.

Through McKernan (2008)'s critical curriculum theory I was therefore able to develop an argument for the need to reorient current heritage education practices towards becoming socio-culturally situated, and responsive to the immediate needs and interests of local communities, not just the nation state and commerce. I used McKernan's (2008) language of education as acculturation not in its narrowest sense but in a sense that acknowledges the need for heritage education to be both locally and nationally relevant, recognising that heritage resources are valued and used differently within societies, and at different levels, as Graham et al. (2000) and Smith (2006) pointed out. I also used McKernan's ideas around curriculum development, principles for the selection of content, and approaches to teaching and learning that are empowering to the learner. Through this I critique current heritage education practices especially those that still employ teaching and learning approaches which can be easily classified as what Freire (1970: 64) called the "banking concept of education", in which learners are perceived as being unconscious of their world, and as "empty vessels" into which heritage educators deposit their knowledge and views of what heritage is or should be constructed as.

Working with critical curriculum theory allowed further re-imagining of contemporary heritage education practices as both informative and transformative, fostering, in sync with the Habermasian theory, and the critical realist underlabourer, moral consciousness and a sense of interconnectedness amongst learners and societies within which they live. In this sense heritage education practices such as the ones discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven e.g. field interpretation of heritage objects, focus weeks, cultural festivals, and culture hut concept would not be used for the sake of indoctrinating the learners into a particular political or cultural ideology.

McKernan (2008) raised the difficulties of applying the culture concept in shaping education curriculum. He pointed out that because we live in a multicultural society (referring to America but also applicable to post colonial southern Africa) with pluralist values, customs and traditions, it becomes challenging to conceptualise and constitute curriculum as simply a selection from culture. Based on this argument, McKernan (ibid.) suggested that this is why in practice, formal education (institutionalised heritage education practices in the case of this study) emphasise "formal bodies of knowledge" or what Smith (2006) referred to as "authorised heritage discourses" or constructs of heritage that are official and legitimate, lest we forget, from the point of view of nation state interests. This point resonates with what Harvey Brown and Goodman (2001) see as one of the shortfalls of the Habermasian theory which assumes that single unified public sphere and associated forms of communicative action result in a shared and common understanding. This is however neither possible nor particularly useful, given the diversity of cultures and thought inherent in modern day societies. Such thinking had significant implications for this study as it provided further insights into the practicalities of attaining meaningful heritage construct inclusivity within contexts that are highly culturally diverse such as in the case of South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe (see Section 1.1).

If heritage education practices are to be culturally inclusive, a key question would be whose culture will count, given for instance that South Africa has eleven official languages denoting different cultures and ethnic tribes (DACST, 1996). Another question to think about is of what value is inclusivity in such culturally diverse contexts? Elaborating on the utopian nature of the Habermasian theory and its emphasis on consensus (shared understanding), Harvey Brown and Goodman (2001) and Delanty (2010) argue that, given the cosmopolitan nature of modern day societies, reaching consensus is neither easy nor may it be useful. The value of consensus and the argument that decisions reached through consensus are somehow not stable or do not last long, have implications for the way education should be constituted. This made me think critically about what heritage construct inclusive education practices could look like and how they could be sustained over time, within culturally diverse and changing contexts like that of post colonial southern Africa (see Chapter 8).

Critical curriculum theory aided by the critical realist perspectives which underlabour this study (see Section 3.2.1), allowed for a deeper understanding of challenges embedded within both the discourse of inclusive heritage education and heritage education itself as a field of practice. Critical realist underlabouring of McKernan's ideas provided ontological perspectives upon which to make subjective knowledge claims regarding heritage construct inclusivity, its value and feasibility in the context of post colonial southern Africa. McKernan's (2008) critical curriculum theory, together with critical realism, allowed for further identification, understanding and appreciation of some of the underlying mechanisms motivating, constraining or enabling achievement of heritage constructs inclusivity in the three education programmes covered in this study. The same theory also provided insight that guided the development of realistic and practical recommendations (not utopian views, but practical, social theories and directions for transformative praxis, as discussed above) for reorienting heritage education practices in southern Africa (see Section 9.3). Critical curriculum theory and critical realism provided lenses for thinking about the possibilities of moral consciousness and inclusive heritage education curricula, in which liberating pedagogies are deployed to enable learners to critique the relevance and value of existing heritage constructs in meeting society's current socio-cultural, economic and political needs (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1994; Slattery, 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework that informed this study. The chapter opened by pointing out why I worked with Habermas's critical social theory and underlaboured it with critical realism. It then provided an overview of the two Habermasian theoretical perspectives used to inform this study, namely communicative action and structural transformation of the public sphere. Using examples, the chapter illustrates how Habermasian theoretical perspectives were used within the study. More examples showing how critical social theory was used to make sense of the observed discourses around heritage management and education practices in post colonial southern Africa, were given and briefly discussed. Chapter Three further discussed why and how McKernan's (2008) critical curriculum theory was

used to deepen understanding of issues directly relating to heritage education and curriculum practice. In summary Chapter Three sought to orient the reader to the theories that informed this study. Further insight into the value of these theories can be found as the chapters unfold where I continue to explicitly draw on and work with these theories.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS: METHODS AND DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

In this chapter I provide a comprehensive overview of the methodology and research methods used. First the chapter orients the reader to the critical hermeneutic research orientation within which this study is framed and how critical realism underlaboured this orientation. A discussion on why such an orientation to research was chosen as well as why a case study method was used, is provided. The chapter provides the reader with an overview of how I planned to generate data. The chapter discusses in detail the three data generation phases, namely contextual profiling, the modelling workshops and the in-depth interviews. Alongside the discussion of the three data generation phases, the chapter also reports on how ethical and trustworthiness issues were embedded within and across the entire research processes. An overview of the data corpus and how it is managed is also presented in this chapter. The chapter ends by providing an overview of how I worked with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a framework for data analysis. Justification for using CDA, its relationship to critical realism and critical hermeneutics is given, and examples of how I actually analysed the data are also provided.

4.1 Research methodology: Critical Hermeneutical

In sync with the Habermasian critical social theory and the critical realist underlabouring, this study is framed within a critical hermeneutic research orientation. Critical hermeneutics evolved from traditional hermeneutics and amongst its proponents are Nietzsche, Ricoeur, and Jurgen Habermas (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000; Benton & Craib, 2001; Itao, 2010). The history of hermeneutics dates back to the seventeenth century and was associated with interpreting the spiritual truth of the Bible but later found use in human sciences, where according to Benton and Craib (2001:103), it entailed investigation of intentional human behaviours and human institutions. According to Delanty (2005), the word 'hermes' refers to the messenger of gods and entailed interpretation as a communicative process. Hermeneutics is also associated with processes of understanding between traditions and culture (Dilthey, 1961, cited in Benton & Craib, 2001; Gadamer, 1976; Grondin, 2002; Delanty, 2005;

Kinsella, 2006). In its traditional orientation hermeneutics was therefore concerned with the interpretation of written texts, especially texts in the areas of literature, history, religion and law (Grondin, 2002; Delanty, 2005; Kinsella, 2006).

Of relevance to this study is that hermeneutics argues that understanding is historical and that understanding (knowledge) itself is historical and open to historical change (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000; Benton & Craib, 2001). According to Benton and Craib (who are critical realist researchers), proponents of hermeneutics claim that:

> Understanding is paradoxical, involving a "hermeneutic cycle"; we cannot know the part without understanding the whole of which it is a part, and at the same time we cannot understand the whole without understanding the parts that make it up. (2001: 104).

Understanding therefore involves a constant movement from the whole, in this study the historical context of post colonial southern Africa, to the part, which are the heritage discourses, epistemologies and education practices under investigation in diverse contexts. Embedded in this notion of hermeneutics is the search for depth of understanding achievable through dialectical thinking. This way of describing hermeneutics relates well to the critical realist ontology underlabouring this study. Collier (1994: 259) makes the link between critical realism and hermeneutics when he argued that "because critical realism is sensitive to the "deep analysis" of minute particulars in the human sciences, many research methods which are familiar to postmodern perspectives (hermeneutics being one of them) can be consistently deployed in a wider critical realism framework". Similarly Corson (1999a: 121) cited in Patton (2002) further argued that "a critical realist application of such research methods as ethnography, historical analysis, conversational analysis and critical discourse can offer a form of hermeneutics that both interprets and explains human phenomena from different angles".

In addition, the critical realist dialectical movement from ontology to the idea and back again, also coheres with Critical Discourse Analysis frameworks as expounded by Fairclough, Sayer and Bhaskar, all of whom were used to make sense of data in this study (Fairclough, 1995; Janks, 1997; Bhaskar & Regan, 2011). As will be elaborated later in this chapter, the Critical Discourse Analysis framework used to

analyse data in this study entailed a process of making sense of data against situational contexts in an iterative or dialectical manner (see Section 4.6).

In practice the critical hermeneutic methodology and a critical realist ontological framework meant that in order to understand heritage discourses inherent in post colonial southern Africa and how they influence heritage construct inclusivity (increased representation and use of indigenous cultural heritage) within contemporary heritage education practices I needed to develop an in-depth understanding of the region's historical context and use this understanding to iteratively make sense of data. This iterative engagement with context and phenomenon studied allows for depth of understanding.

Habermas extended traditional hermeneutics towards being critical in orientation, arguing that in its traditional form hermeneutics provides an understanding of the phenomenon studied but does not allow for the critique of the tradition or way the phenomenon unfolds. Habermas criticised the conservatism of previous forms of hermeneutics, especially Gadamer's work, because the focus on tradition seemed to undermine possibilities for social criticism and transformation (Habermas, 1971 & 1980; Outhwaite, 1988; Kinsella, 2006). He also criticised Marxism and the Frankfurt School for not recognising the hermeneutical dimension of critical theory. Habermas (1978) cited in Harvey Brown and Goodman argued that:

> Critical theory in literary studies is ultimately a form of hermeneutics, i.e. knowledge via interpretation to understand the meaning of human texts and symbolic expressions including the interpretation of texts which are themselves implicitly or explicitly the interpretation of other texts. (2001:203).

Critical hermeneutics has evolved to become a more widely defined discipline of interpretation theory, including the entire framework of the interpretive process, encompassing written, verbal, and nonverbal communication (Kinsella, 2006; Itao, 2010).

Because of its critical orientation, this study needed to go beyond just the understanding of heritage discourses inherent in post colonial southern Africa and how these influence current heritage education practices to critiquing (see Section 8.3) the way indigenous heritage constructs are being represented and used within the

same education practices, based on an ontological understanding of the same heritage constructs and discourses. For this reason I found critical hermeneutics underlaboured by critical realism, as proposed by critical social theorists like Habermas and Bhaskar, a suitable research framework for this study.

4.2 The case study method

Consistent with its critical hermeneutic and critical realist orientation, requiring closer scrutiny of studied phenomenon, this study was designed to use a case study method. Bassey (1999:75) described a case study as the study of a singularity which is chosen because of its interest to the researcher. Robson (1993:40) defined a case study as the development of detailed knowledge about a single "case" or a small number of related "cases". He pointed out that the case study research method is of particular interest to a researcher wishing to gain a rich understanding of the context of the subject being researched. Janse van Rensburg (2001:16) concurred with Robson (ibid.) when she argued that the case study method enables a researcher to look at individual or small groups in a naturalistic setting, enabling the researcher to generate rich and detailed qualitative data on a phenomenon of interest. Furthermore Gillham (2005) argued that case study helps the researcher to understand what lies behind the observable aspects of the studied phenomenon, as is also the interest of critical realism. Case study method seeks to uncover the underlying reasons behind the observable aspects of phenomena under study (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Gillham, 2005).

Bassey (1999) identified three categories of educational case studies as "theory seeking and theory testing case studies", "storytelling and picture-drawing case studies", and "evaluative or exploratory case studies" (Yin, 2003). Yin (1994) in a similar classification of case study methods, pointed out to the variations within case study research frameworks. He classified case studies into three categories, namely "multiple case studies", "qualitative or quantitative case studies" and "exploratory case studies" (Scholz & Tietje, 2002).

The case study method enables the researcher to "close in" on real life situations, in the case of this study, the heritage education practices and discourses shaping the way these education practices represented and use indigenous heritage constructs in selected contexts (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 235). Flyvbjerg (ibid.) further argued that the

advantage of the case study method is that it affords the researcher "proximity to reality" thereby allowing the researcher to gain a deeper and richer understanding of the phenomena being studied. Consistent with Flyvbjerg (2006), Nietzsche (1969) cited in Flyvbjerg (ibid.) claimed that case study method allows for a focus on "little things" which, when closely examined, reveal themselves to be pregnant with paradigms and discourses. Such a research method was critical for this study because it allows for what Marston (2004) referred to as a micro-analysis of social contexts, within which I sought to uncover the hidden discourses that shapes the way heritage education is practised in the wider context of post colonial southern Africa.

Patton (2002), Creswell (2008) and Yin (2009) further argue that the case study method allows for a closer and more detailed examination of desired phenomena in its natural setting. Bloor & Wood (2006:27) also claimed that "case study can capture the unique character of people and groups through their ability to generate detailed holistic data". Drawing on Simmons (1996), Bloor and Wood (ibid.) also argue that case study has the capacity to reveal surprising discoveries.

Commenting on the use of case study method in qualitative research, Zainal (2007) argues that although case study method remains controversial (Flyvbjerg, 2006 also talks of the same contestations), it is widely recognised in many social science studies especially when in-depth explanations of a social behavior are sought.

The case study method was used in this study because of its ability to allow me to get closer and gain an in-depth understanding of heritage education practices in the case study sites (Stake, 1995; Connole, 1998; Welman & Kruger, 2002; Patton, 2002; Bloor & Wood, 2006). The case study method also enabled me to get closer to written documents, and other materials within which discourses and ontologies shaping and influencing the way heritage education is constituted, are embedded. In sum, the case study method allowed me to focus on only one site amongst the many in each of the three countries covered in this study. This was important because in this study I was more concerned with depth of understanding than with covering more sites.

This study was therefore framed within an exploratory multiple case study design involving three country-based heritage education programmes. The three case

programmes are: education programmes at Albany Museum in South Africa, Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana and Great Zimbabwe monument in Zimbabwe (Yin, 1994; Lloyd-Jones, 2003). In the next section I discuss why I chose to work with these three heritage education programmes.

4.2.1 Selecting the case study heritage education programmes

Careful selection of data-rich cases, as pointed out by Flyvbjerg (2006) and supported by Yin (2009) and Hamilton (2011) is a very important aspect of the case study method. In this study I used purposive sampling to select the three case study programmes. According to Marshall (1996), purposive (also known as strategic or judgmental) sampling is the most common sampling technique in qualitative research. It entails that the researcher actively selects the "most productive" sample to answer the research questions (Marshall, 1996: 523; Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996). Leedy and Ormrod (2005) also talked of purposive sampling as identifying knowledgeable and informative participants. Such careful and strategic selection of data-rich cases was made possible by the contextual profiling process that I undertook as an integral part of this study (Marshall, ibid.; see Section 4.3.1). Flyvbjerg (2006: 229) stated that a strategic approach to selection of cases allows for identification of "typical" cases with potential to reveal more information about the situation studied. Marshall (1996: 523) as already highlighted above, called these typical cases "the most productive samples".

Purposive sampling is often based on a framework of variables developed from the researcher's knowledge of the study area or phenomenon, the available literature and evidence from initial research processes such as contextual profiling in the case of this study (Marshall, 1996; Flyvbjerg, 2006).The selection of heritage education programmes at Great Zimbabwe Monument, Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana and that of Albany Museum in Grahamstown, South Africa was therefore based on the following criteria. Firstly, the heritage education programme at Great Zimbabwe is well established dating back to pre-independence, and works with visitor school groups and the general public in the country. According to the senior education officer of the programme, approximately 8000 school learners visit Great Zimbabwe monument every year, making it one of the busiest heritage education programme in the country (Haruzivishe, J. personal communication, September 9, 2010). The

monument itself, a declared World Heritage site, is also typical of how tensions between local communities and state institutions play out (Frederikse, 1990; Ndoro, 2005; Fontein, 2006; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008), making it a data rich site in relation to the focus of this study.

Secondly the heritage education programme at Albany Museum, the second oldest museum in South Africa (established in 1855) is also well established, was pioneered in 1939 and receives between 10 000 - 16 000 learners every year (Education at Albany Museum, 2009: 2). The education programmes also run a mobile museum service to formerly marginalised farm and rural areas, making it a potentially rich case study for exploring issues of heritage construct inclusivity, notwithstanding that all its programmes are being transformed to align with South Africa's social transformation and inclusivity agenda, and associated curriculum changes (see Chapter Five). The Albany Museum case study also provided me with a chance to work with school teachers. Through the museum's education programme and its links to formal education I was able to reach twelve senior phase teachers and engaged them within four generative workshops (see Section 4.2.3).

The third heritage education case study was that of Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana, where an exciting heritage education initiative (Mapoka photo cultural project) aimed at educating school children about local *Kalanga* cultural practices, is being run (Zazu, 2010; see Chapter 7). This project, though small, illustrates attempts by the post colonial government of Botswana, drawing from the country's vision 2016 and the National Policy on Culture of 2001, to increase recognition and representation of local cultures in both heritage management and education practices (Republic of Botswana, 2001b). Thus, given the focus of this study, Supa Ngwao Museum education programme was also considered a data rich case.

Other than the three education programmes being the "most productive" or "typical" cases, to borrow Marshall (1996) and Flyvbjerg's (2006) terminology, with the potential to reveal valuable information regarding discourses shaping heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa, these cases were also chosen because of their convenience (Berg, 2004; Gillham, 2005; Creswell, 2008). Marshall (1996:523) argued that "there is an element of convenience sampling in many

qualitative studies". He further pointed out that convenience sampling is the least costly to the researcher. Albany Museum is within reach from Rhodes University where I conducted this study, Great Zimbabwe monument is also easily accessible from the city of Kwekwe where I stay when in Zimbabwe, and Supa Ngwao Museum was the nearest museum in Botswana from Kwekwe. It was important to consider convenience as resources allocated to this study were limited (see Section 9.1.1.2). The selection of the three case sites was therefore undertaken using both purposive and convenience sampling strategies.

4.3 Data collection protocols

Data generation in this study comprised three phases namely contextual profiling, followed by generative workshops and participant observation, and ending with in-depth interviews. The table below provides more information on the sequence of data generation. Each of the three data generation phases is discussed in detail in this chapter (see Sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3).

Table 2: Summary of research phases, data collection protocols and objectives

Phase	Data collection protocols	Research objectives
Phase one (1) Contextual profiling	• Document analysis • Review of literature on heritage discourses • Focus group interviews at each of the three case study sites • Field observation focusing on heritage education practices [each of the sites were visited twice between 2010 and 2011 and insights gained were used to develop case reports from which this study drew on]	• Scoping, mapping and surfacing inherent **heritage discourses** and developing preliminary insights into ontology and **heritage constructs** representation and use in the heritage education practices in the three sites in post colonial southern Africa • **Historical** analysis of trends in representation and use of heritage constructs in each of the three cases • Developing a **contextual** case report of each of the three case study programmes
Phase two (2) Modelling workshops and participant observation	• Conduct four generative workshops with ten local educators in one case study site (Albany Museum/South Africa) • Interactive discussions • Video filming of workshop processes (video clips to be subjected to critical discourses analysis)	• **Probe** influence of inherent heritage discourses of social transformation and inclusivity on how educators construct heritage • Explore how educators represent and use indigenous heritage constructs within the heritage outcome component of curriculum • Surface tensions and challenges educators face in trying to attain heritage construct inclusivity (use of both **Eurocentric** and **indigenous** heritage constructs in current heritage education practices) • **Generating** ideas for working better with the notion of inclusivity

Phase three (3) In-depth probing, reflection and consolidation	• In-depth interviewing of four key informants for each of the case study programmes • Purposive sampling to identify data rich informants • A total of 12 in-depth interviews conducted. (Initially nine interviews were planned but more data rich interviewees emerged)	• **In-depth** follow up or probing of emerging insights • Seeking in-depth understanding of inherent heritage discourses and **how** they could be determining current heritage construct representation and use • Generating additional data for **cross referencing**, deepening and **validating** of emerging insights relating to focus of study • Seeking to make more **meaningful** knowledge claims regarding research focus and questions

4.3.1 Contextual profiling

This process entailed undertaking preliminary document analysis, conducting focus group interviews and observations of heritage education practices in each of the three countries. The process of contextual profiling allowed for understanding of the field of heritage management and education within the context of post colonial southern Africa. In line with the hermeneutic orientation of this study, contextual profiling therefore allowed for an understanding of the "whole" within which heritage education practices (the "part") are to be iteratively interpreted and explained (Gadamer, 1976; Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000; Benton & Craib, 2001).

In South Africa, a total of five focus group interviews, involving members of the Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRAs) were conducted. The provinces that participated were Western Cape, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, Free State, and Gauteng. In addition I also conducted focus group interviews with four heads of units based at South African Heritage Resources Agency, head office in Cape Town. In Zimbabwe and Botswana I only managed to do one focus group interview at each of the case study sites.

According to Patton (1990) and Schurink (1998), a focus group interview is described as a purposive discussion of a specific topic or related topics taking place between eight and ten individuals with a similar background and common interest. Patton (1990: 35) described focus group interviews as a highly efficient qualitative data collection technique, providing quality control on data as participants tend to provide checks and balances in relation to each other. The advantage of a focus group interview is therefore that it is low cost and generates rich data as it goes beyond answers from just a single interviewee (Welman & Kruger, 2002; Berg, 2004;

Gillham, 2005). The focus group interviews helped me to gain insights into the current status of heritage management and education in South Africa. Focus group interviews further enabled me to have a sense of the discourses influencing heritage management and education practices in the region (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Berg, 2004). Interviews with heads of units at South African Heritage Resources Agency provided valuable information regarding the status of heritage management and education in South Africa, including the challenges of working within the country's changing socio-political context.

In addition to the focus group interviews I also observed heritage education practices at the Great Zimbabwe monument, Supa Ngwao Museum and Albany Museum. In Zimbabwe, after realising the link between the education programme at Great Zimbabwe and heritage education in formal schools, especially the culture hut concept (Nyoni & Nyoni, 2010), I went on to visit two primary schools. During these visits I observed learning processes tied to the culture hut concept at Ruvimbo, and Dambudzo primary schools in Kwekwe district, Zimbabwe.

In South Africa, because of its proximity to Rhodes University where I was based, I managed to observe heritage education practices at Albany Museum more often than the other two sites. Participant observation enabled me to gain more information on how heritage education is implemented within the case study sites. Gillham (2005) argued that participant observation is a primary data collection technique for the case study method. He claimed that "observation is the most direct way of obtaining data" (Gillham, 2005: 46). Both Scholz and Tietje (2002) and Gillham (2005) also pointed out that observation can be used in case study research at the exploratory or initial phase, after which other methods will take over. In this study I used it for exploratory purposes in the initial phase of the study. It allowed me to gain more information regarding heritage management and education practices in the region. In practice participant observation entailed that: I "watch what the participants do", I "listen to what they say" and I "ask clarifying questions" where I was not sure (Gillham, 2005: 45). Maykut and Morehouse (1994) pointed out that participant observation requires the researcher to keenly listen, observe and ask questions about what is happening and why, so as to understand the situation in full within context.

Data from the focus group interviews was captured in the form of notes. Data from field observations was captured in the form of video clips and photographs which were later edited and made ready for analysis (see Table 5). Documents collected were analysed and important sections processed into analytical memos, later subjected to different levels of critical discourse analysis or quoted directly within the thesis (see Table 5 in Sections 4.4 and 4.5 for more information on data management and processing). According to Patton (1990 & 2002) document analysis provides useful initial insights into the phenomenon studied. Emphasising the value of documents analysis, Patton (2002:112) argued that "it is also possible to conduct qualitative research using only documents". Documents collected particularly relate to policies and strategies guiding heritage management and education practices in the region. According to Gillham (2005), the weight attached to a document depends on its relevance to questions that a study seeks to answer. Table 3 below provides more information on the documents collected and the rationale thereof.

Table 3: Summary of main documents reviewed and rationale (see Table 5 for how data from these were processed and indexed)

Identity/name of document	Reason (s) for collection of Document
SOUTH AFRICA CASE STUDY	
The CenTRE concept document (2010)	Provides information on SAHRA's new education, research and training project within which this study is situated
SAHRA Information Brochure (undated)	Traces changes in heritage discourses
Living Heritage Chapter: Policy and Guidelines Principles for Management (2008)	Make explicit discourses pertaining to management and promotion of intangible heritages which apparently are closely related to indigenous heritage constructs
The White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996)	Sets the tone for discourses shaping changes in heritage conception and management in post apartheid South Africa
Year Book of South Africa (2010)	Provides information on the diversity of heritage resources in the country and the management thereof
National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999	Offers insights into post apartheid policy discourses
National Monument Council Act 28 of 1969	Gives insights into how heritage was constructed and managed during the apartheid era
Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (2010): Social Sciences Intermediate phase	Provides information regarding heritage education in formal schools
State of the Nation Address (2012)	Illustrates the way in which nation state constructs heritage to suit political imperatives of the day
Albany Museum Education Department Programme booklet (2011)	Helped me to gain more information about the education programme at Albany Museum
"Clash of commerce and Culture"; "Muni considers legal action against Heritage Resources"; "Mainstreaming heritage"; "The meaning of heritage".	Illustrates some of the challenges of managing heritage in post apartheid South Africa as well as the different perspectives to defining heritage

ZIMBABWE CASE STUDY	
The National Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe (2004)	Provides insights on changing policy discourses and emphasis on promotion of formally marginalised cultures
National Museums and Monument Act (1972)	Helps to understand policy within which heritage is managed in the country
Great Zimbabwe National Monument: Education Service flyer (1989)	Provides insights on the development of heritage education at the monument over time
Great Zimbabwe, Education Department annual report (2009)	Contains more information on some of the heritage education practices in Zimbabwe
The Great Zimbabwe monument traveller's guide (2009)	Illustrates discourses around the origin of Great Zimbabwe monument within post colonial Zimbabwe
Parks, Museums fight over Vic Falls (2010); Grade 7 General Paper racist	Shows implications of narrow constructs of heritage and how this unfolds in practice
BOTSWANA CASE STUDY	
Country Context Profile for the Republic of Botswana (2005)	Contains information on the history and current state of affairs in Botswana
Vision 2016 Policy Document	Maps out the strategies for responding to discourses inherent in the country's colonial history
Botswana National Policy on Culture (2001)	Sheds light on discourses shaping heritage management and education practices in the country
Revised History Syllabus for Junior Secondary School	Evidence of influence of post colonial heritage discourses on education
Historical Buildings in Botswana (2003)	An example of learning support materials used at Supa Ngwao. Discourses of exclusion are illustrated within this booklet
Monuments and Relics Act (1970) and the amended version of 2001	Provides understanding of how heritage management has evolved in Botswana
Uncovering Botswana Past	Provides more information on heritage resources/sites in Botswana and how they were abandoned
Handbook of Botswana (2007)	Provides More information on cultural practices in Botswana
The Traditional Tswana Kgotla (undated)	Symbolises revival of the Kgotla but also reveals the tensions between state and local traditional institutions
REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL	
Legal Framework for Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage (2002)	Provides orientation to heritage resources management at global level
International Convention on the protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)	Gives information on the need to incorporate both nature and culture aspects in management and education practices
International Convention for the Safe guarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)	Sheds light on issues associated with managing intangible cultural heritages at the global level

In this study document analysis was undertaken prior to field visits and also after field visits. The process of document analysis provided me with insights upon which I developed interview schedules for the focus group interviews that I conducted across the three case studies (Prior, 2003 cited in Lupele, 2008). Document analysis is described as a technique for generating data around a particular focal concern using written reports and publications (Flick, 1998; Gillham, 2005). Gillham (2005) further argues that document analysis epitomises the case study research method and provides useful evidence for answering research questions. In this study, document analysis generated data relating to heritage discourses determining heritage

management and education practices within the three case study programmes. It consolidated insights developed during field visits.

In summary contextual profiling enabled me to gain a wider insight into the field of heritage management and education practice within post colonial southern Africa (for more detail on data generated within contextual profiling see Table.5 in Section 4.4). This was very important given that as a researcher I had limited knowledge of heritage management as a field of practice. Other than it being the first phase of data collection and the "textual" level of critical data analysis (see Table 6 Section 4.5), contextual profiling was also for me a process of learning and getting to know better the field within which I was researching. It allowed for familiarity with the context and cultures of practice within which I was working. It also helped me to forge a working relationship with institutions and people that I worked with throughout the entire study. Insights gained through the contextual profiling process were then probed further in the second phase of data generation − the modelling workshops and participant observations which the next section discusses in detail.

4.3.2 Modelling [inquiry] workshops and participant observation

Based on the insights developed from a more in-depth analysis of data generated during the contextual profiling processes I moved on to arrange for and conducted four modelling workshops in one of the three sites (Albany Museum). The reason for conducting workshops in only one site was because resources did not allow the same to be done in the other two sites (this is discussed in detail in Chapter 9, see Section 9.1.1.2). I scheduled these workshops to take place between May and July of 2011. In total, twelve purposively selected senior phase history teachers, drawn from schools within Makana district participated in these workshops. In addition a heritage educator from Albany Museum, me and a colleague from the recently established South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA)'s Education, Research and Training centre in Grahamstown, also participated in the workshops.

Important to note is that my role within these workshops was that of a facilitator and participant observer. In line with the Habermasian critical social theory underpinning this study, it was important that the workshop processes were participatory, allowing for meaningful engagement and empowerment of participants. One way of achieving

this was to critically think about my own role and position (Gustavson, 2009). Gustavson (ibid.), in commenting on how she worked with a Habermasian approach to data collection, talked of the need to seek to neutralise existing power differences between participants and researchers such that these differences have no or little effect on the creation of consensus and processes of coming to an understanding. By positioning myself as a facilitator, and not as an expert, I wanted to provide space for the heritage educators to talk about their own practice rather than being talked to. I therefore aimed to create what Habermas called an "ideal speech situation" or "public sphere" where communicative rationality could prevail and heritage educators could engage themselves as a way of coming to an improved understanding of their own practice, and suggest areas which they thought may need change or reorientation (Habermas, 1990).

In practice I had to agree with the lead educator (subject specialist and advisor), about the possible scheduling of the workshops as well as the identification and selection of the educators to participate in the workshops. I also had to consult via telephone calls, with the selected teachers themselves about the times and venues that were convenient to them considering the distances to be travelled and their normal teaching duties. I also allowed the teachers to be free to converse in their mother *IsiXhosa* language where necessary as a way of ensuring that their views are articulated as clearly as possible.

During the four one-day workshops the teachers discussed their own conceptions of heritage. They discussed heritage education as a practice, its perceived roles and functions. The teachers had time to reflect on heritage education practices in formal schools, raising concerns related to the changing curriculum policies and principles of inclusivity, and sharing experiences of how they were working with such changes. Each teacher was given a task to prepare and present a heritage lesson that reflected the tenets of heritage construct inclusivity, as demanded by the new curriculum statements. All the demonstration lessons were video recorded (see Table 5). I used the workshops to generate discussion on the orientation, quality and relevance of current formal heritage education practices in South Africa. I also wanted to interrogate, through working with teachers, how issues of heritage construct inclusivity, as contained in post apartheid education and curriculum policy discourse

were being understood, and handled within the formal education school system in the country, and here particularly within History, a subject within which heritage is substantially embedded (Deacon, 2004; Makhoba, 2009; Koekemoer, 2010).

By modelling these lessons to their peers, valuable ideas for ensuring heritage constructs inclusivity within heritage education in formal schools were generated and critiqued, resulting in substantial learning amongst the workshop participants. All the four workshops were recorded, and the video clips were edited and made ready for analysis (see Table 5, Section 4.4). Ethical issues regarding video use and confidentiality were, as highlighted in Section 4.6, dealt with by way of getting permission from participants (also see Appendix 5).

Through the generative modelling workshops I therefore gained insight into how educators in post apartheid South Africa are dealing with issues of inclusivity within current heritage education practices. The demonstration lessons that teachers prepared and presented provided very valuable data upon which I continued to critically reflect throughout the study. I also began to get a real-life sense of some of the contextual factors that constrain or promote heritage construct inclusivity, especially the inclusion of formerly marginalised heritage perspectives in heritage education practices. Such an understanding was very important given the focus of this study.

Therefore, modelling (inquiry) workshops enabled me, to an extent not entirely possible using only document review and focus group interviews, as was the case in the contextual profiling phase, to generate valuable data, and gain a deeper level of understanding relating to heritage education practices in post apartheid South Africa (Mouton, 1996; Patton, 2002). Workshops, as argued by Lupele (2003), proved a very valuable tool for generating data. According to Denzin (1978), inquiry workshops are useful for the researcher to explore a topic that is new to him/her or for which little information is available (as was the case in this study). Armed with this additional and deeper layer of data, I was then in a better position to organise for and engage in in-depth interviews within which I made follow-ups and probed in detail some of the insights that were beginning to crystallise (Welman & Kruger, 2002; Yin, 2009).

4. 3.3 In-depth interviews

The final phase of data collection in this study entailed conducting 12 in-depth interviews with strategically selected interviewees (Marshall, 1996; Yin, 2009). Maykut and Morehouse (1994: 80) describe in-depth interviewing as "a conversation with purpose and a form of discourse shaped and organised by asking and answering questions". I had planned to conduct only nine interviews (see Table 2). However, as I went about arranging and conducting the interviews, I noted that additional data rich interviewees emerged. For instance when I arranged for an interview with the senior heritage education officer at Great Zimbabwe monument, I realised that it was important for me to also interview a local elder (*sekuru Jena*, not his real name, see interview #SJ). From the senior education officer I managed to get information mostly from the government's point of view and from *sekuru Jena* I gained insights regarding what he thought of how local communities' views and collective memories of Great Zimbabwe monuments were being perceived by NMMZ, and represented in both interpretation and presentation of the monument to the public. *Sekuru Jena* was introduced to me as the leader of the *Shona* cultural village, situated within the Great Zimbabwe cultural landscape. The interview with *sekuru Jena* generated valuable information relating to inherent and subtle tensions between local and national interests regarding ownership, management and use of Great Zimbabwe monument, as already widely reported on by previous researchers such as Ndoro & Pwiti (2001), Ndoro (2005), Ranger (2004) and Fontein (2006).

In South Africa, I had planned to interview only the education officer at Albany Museum, to elicit information regarding the museum's education programme and how it is coping with the discourses of social transformation, and inclusivity of the country's diverse cultures and associated constructs of heritage. I did not get enough information, so I needed to find additional interviewees. I therefore found myself interviewing another Albany Museum member of staff, the anthropologist (curator), from whom I managed to get useful information regarding the inclusion, curatorship and interpretation of *isiXhosa* culture within the museum programmes. I also had a chance to tour the History museum where most of the heritage artefacts and objects denoting local *isiXhosa* culture are displayed. Interviewing the museum's curator generated rich data, and improved my understanding of how Albany Museum is working around the issue of heritage construct inclusivity, particularly their efforts to

uplift representation of formerly marginalised *isiXhosa* cultures. This information also helped me to understand the sudden increase of educational activities focusing on local cultures such as the "*amaXhosa* Culture and Lifestyle" and "*Imithi nencubeko yamaXhosa*" within the museum's education programme (Education at the Albany Museum, 2009).

There were also cases where I changed my mind in terms of who to interview because, as I was making appointments for the interviews, and trying to get informed consent, some of the potential interviewees openly acknowledged their lack of information regarding what I was looking for and quickly referred me to another person. I did not regret this, as what was important, given the limited time and number of interviews planned for, was to find the most 'data rich' interviewees (Marshall, 1996; Flyvbjerg, 2006). A good example was my engagement with the Albany Museum manager, whom I had initially identified as a potential interviewee. I had an appointment with him within which I explained the aim of my study, and the kind of information that I was looking for. His response was to suggest interviewing the education officer, not even the head of education department. It later dawned on me that because of the nature of information that I needed (representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in the museum education programme), the education officer, who happened to be a *Xhosa* person herself, and working with the mobile museum, which goes out to farm and rural schools, was obviously going to be a more informative source than the museum manager. So in changing the total number of interviews conducted I was able to broaden my understanding of the rich experience of changes in the people interviewed. I considered all these experiences as critical in enhancing the trustworthiness of the data generated and ultimately the entire study.

The use of semi-structured interviews in this study was necessitated by the fact that I wanted to follow up and probe in detail, specific issues which had emerged from the contextual profiling and modelling workshops (Patton, 1990; Gillham, 2005). So I wanted the interviews to be focused on these but at the same time acknowledged that interviewees needed room to introduce other issues or freely put across their views. I found semi-structured interviews the most ideal. As Berg (2004) argued, semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to both remain focused but also provide room for inclusion of other matters or opinions and points of view (see Appendix 2).

Gillham (2005: 65) also argued that the semi-structured interview is the most important form of interviewing in case study research, for, done well, it can be the richest single source of data". Use of semi-structured interviews in this study generated very valuable data, in a way that allowed for active participation of research participants.

Because most of the persons that I interviewed had very busy work schedules I also needed to respect their time by being clear about the focus of the interviews (Flick, 1998 & 2002; Bassey, 1999). Time, I realised was a very big concern to the interviewees, and most of them openly appealed for me to be time conscious. Therefore the use of semi-structured interviews in this study was also ethically appropriate.

4.3.3.1 Selecting the interviewees

As already highlighted in section above I purposively selected persons already working in the heritage sector. I planned to specifically interview the manager of Albany Museum in Grahamstown, the head of the education department of the same museum, the director of Great Zimbabwe monument, and his senior education officer, senior heritage education officer at Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana, and finally the Chief Executive Officer of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). In addition I planned to interview three more heritage practitioners drawn from formal education and research institutions. Those initially identified nine interviewees constituted what Marshal (1996) and Yin (2009:106) respectively referred to as "most productive" or "data-rich" respondents. Realising the possible emergence of more data-rich participants, I left room for conducting more interviews, which eventually became the case. My original plan and list of potential interviewees changed as the study unfolded. The changes as I argued earlier were in pursuit of what Davies and Dodd (2002) called rigour and trustworthiness. All the twelve interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed. The table below provides information on the profiles of the persons that I interviewed within this study.

Table 4: Profiles of persons interviewed *Not real name

Names	Dates	Personal profile and main job specification
Njokweni, S.	24.05.11	Education Specialist (History/Geography subject advisor), Department of Education, Sports and Culture, Eastern Cape province
Nozipho, M.	22.09.11	Education Officer, Albany Museum: HOD, in charge of Mobile Museum programme and *IsiXhosa* cultural sessions
Pumuza, A.	30.09.11	Anthropologist, Albany History Museum: in charge of curatorship of local cultural heritage objects and practices
Paballo, M.	16.11.11	Cultural Heritage Officer, Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage site: in charge of the newly established Heritage and Environmental Education Centre
Goboza, J.	18.07.11	Head, Dambudzo Primary School (Culture hut pioneer school in Kwekwe District)
Nyathi, C.	17.07.11	Senior Teacher and Educational Trip organiser to Victoria Falls and Great Zimbabwe monument, Camelot School
Tsokota, R.	17.07.11	Deputy Head, Ruvimbo Primary school, Zimbabwe (Culture hut project pilot school)
Nemerai, Z.	21.07.11	Senior Heritage Education officer, Great Zimbabwe, and National Heritage Education Coordinator
Sekuru Jena *	21.07.11	Leader and representative of local community and cultural village at Great Zimbabwe Monument
Reverend Mothethi	05.08.11	Coordinator, Mukani Cultural Project, Supa Ngwao Museum, Botswana and writer of *Kalanga* booklets
Kitsitsoe, N.	05.08.11	Assistant Education Officer, Supa Ngwao Museum, Francis Town, Botswana

In summary, the 12 in-depth interviews conducted generated data upon which I developed an in-depth understanding of discourses (and underlying mechanisms) shaping the way heritage is constructed within post colonial southern Africa. Insights emerging from in-depth interviews also enabled me to appreciate how heritage educators are grappling with the notion of inclusivity as embedded in the discourses of social transformation, political justice and reconciliation characterising the region (Jansen, 1991; Witz, 2000; Makhoba, 2009; Koekemoer, 2010). In-depth interviews therefore proved very vital and allowed for a deeper and clearer understanding of the phenomenon under study (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Gillham, 2005; Davies, 2007). It was from this refined understanding and learning that I was able to develop answers to my research questions.

In summary the 12 in-depth interviews conducted generated data upon which I developed an in-depth understanding of discourses (or underlying mechanisms) shaping the way heritage is constructed within post colonial southern Africa. Insights emerging from in-depth interviews also enabled me to appreciate how heritage

educators are grappling with the notion of inclusivity as embedded in the discourses of social transformation, political justice and reconciliation characterising the region (Jansen, 1991; Witz, 2000; Makhoba, 2009; Koekemoer, 2010). In-depth interviews therefore proved vital and allowed for a deeper and clearer understanding of the phenomenon under study (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Gillham, 2005; Davies, 2007). And it was from this refined understanding and learning that I was able to develop answers to my research questions.

4.4 Data management

Collection of data and storing it in an easy to retrieve manner is an important aspect of the entire process of data management (Huberman & Miles, 1994). With this in mind I decided to work with O'Leary's (2004) ideas for data management and reflexive analysis. Reflexive analysis, according to O'Leary (ibid.) involves staying as close as possible to data from the initial collection, right through to drawing conclusions. Also of significance was the idea of "keeping a sense of the overall project", as the study progresses (O'Leary, 2004: 185). In practice I made sure that data generated from all the three phases was systematically organised, indexed, and processed (if interviews, transcribed, if video clips, edited) and made readily available for referencing back to when the need arose (see Table 5 below). Careful indexing of data makes it easy to reference back to sources of evidence (Davies, 2007).

Data generated in this study was stored in the form of an electronic research journal. In addition all interview transcripts and photographs were printed and hard copies filed. Copies of documents reviewed were also added into the research file. All video clips were edited and copied onto a flash drive. Systematic grouping of like data sources and indexing was done (see Table 5). Screening of data, to see which ones are more usable or useful, was also done. Data considered less valuable was not discarded but archived separately as I realised that during the course of this study I might need to go back to it. The entire process of data management and analysis was very demanding and again provided for an opportunity for a lot of learning. Having a comprehensive plan for managing data proved very useful, as it allowed me to easily access and retrieve data as and when it was needed (Davies, 2007).

In total the data collection protocol involved, 27 documents analysed (see Table 3 in this chapter), three focus group interviews, nine field observations, four one-day modelling workshops, 12 in-depth interviews. Table 5 below summarises the entire data corpus of the study.

Table 5: Summary of data collected and processed

PHASE ONE		
Data collection technique	Policy and Legislation	index
Document analysis	White Paper on Arts and Culture of 1996 [1998](SA)	#DocWP
	National Heritage Resources Act no. 25 of 1999 (SA)	#Doc NHRA
	State of the Nation Address of 2012 (SA)	#DocSNA
	National Monument Council Act no. 28 of 1969 (SA)	#DocNMC
	National Cultural Policy of 2004 (Zimbabwe)	#DocNCP
	National Museums and Monument Act of 1972 (Zimbabwe)	#DocNMMA
	National Art Council Act (Zimbabwe)	#DocNACZ
	National Policy on Culture of 2001 (Botswana)	#DocNPC
	Monuments and Relic Act of 1970 (Botswana)	#DocMRA
	Vision 2016 Policy document (Botswana)	#DocV2016
	Legal framework for the protection of Immovable tangible heritage (2002) (Regional Policy Document)	#DocLFPIM
	World Heritage Convention of 1972 (International Policy)	#DocWHC
	International Convention for the safe guarding of intangible Cultural heritage of 2003 (International Policy)	#DocICSIC
	Year Books 2008/ 2010 (SA)	#DocYRBK
	Africa 2009 Thematic Report on Legal framework for managing intangible heritage	#DocAfrica2009
	World Bank report on Cultural Heritage and Economic Development in Africa	#DocWBreport
	Heritage management and education	
	The CenTRE concept document of 2010 (SA)	#DocCenTRE
	Living heritage Chapter: Guidelines and Principles for management of intangible heritage of 2008 (SA)	#DocGPML
	The Archaeological Heritage of Zimbabwe: Master plan for Resource conservation and Development of 1994 (Zimbabwe)	#DocZMP
	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (Social Sciences intermediate phase) (SA)	#DocCAPS
	Heritage Outcome Grade 10 (SA)	#DocHO
	New Illustrated History [Text book for St VI] (by Van Jaarsveld, FA (1969)	#DocHbk 1
	Enjoying History [Text book for Grade 5/St 3] by J. Stakes)	#DocHbk 2
	Albany Museum Education Programme booklet (SA)	#DocAM
	SAHRA heritage object flyer [undated] (SA)	#DocSAHRA
	South African Association of History Educators (SA)	#DocSASHT
	Great Zimbabwe Monument; Education Department flyer of 1989 (Zimbabwe)	#DocGZflyer
	Adopt a Site Annual Report (Great Zimbabwe)	#DocAdoptGZ
	Great Zimbabwe Education Department Annual Report of 2009 (Zimbabwe)	#DocGZ report
	Great Zimbabwe Monument Travellers' Guide of 2010 (Zimbabwe)	#DocTGGZ
	Revised History Syllabus for Junior Secondary level (Botswana)	#DocHS/Bot

	Historical building in Botswana of 2003 [an educational booklet] (Botswana)	#DocSNBK 1
	Handbook of Botswana (2007)	#DocHbkSN
	Traditional Kgotla booklet of 1997 [an educational booklet] (Botswana)	#DocSNBK 2
	Uncovering Botswana Past of 2002 [an educational booklet] (Botswana)	#DocSNBK 3
	Heritage Botswana: NMMAG Journal	#DocNMMAG
	Newspaper articles: 1) Clash of commerce and culture (Mail & Guardian, SA) 2) Muni considers legal action against Heritage resources (Groccotts, SA) 3) Mainstreaming heritage, "the meaning of heritage" (Mail & Guardian, SA) 4) Parks fight museums over control of Vic Falls (The Herald, Zimbabwe)	#DocM&G 1 #DocGroccots #DocM & G 2 #DocHerald
Focus Group Interviews	Focus group interview with Gauteng PHRA	#FgI 1
	Focus group interview with Mpumalanga PHRA	#FgI 2
	Focus group with Free State PHRA	#FgI 3
	Focus group with Northern Cape PHRA	#FgI 4
	Focus group with Eastern Cape PHRA	#FgI 5
	Focus group with District Education Official (Kwekwe, Zimbabwe)	#FgI 6
	Focus group interview with heritage officers at Supa Ngwao Museum (Francis Town, Botswana)	#FgI 7
Field Observations	Field Observation at Great Zimbabwe monument	#FoGZ
	Field Observation at Supa Ngwao Museum	#FoSN
	Field Observation at the Albany Museum	#FoAM
PHASE TWO		
Generative Workshops	Workshop photos	#WrkShPhotos
	Workshop notes	#WrkShpNotes
	Workshop Demonstration lessons	#WrkShpDL lessons
	Workshop video clip	#WrkShpVideo
PHASE THREE		
In-depth Interviews	Interview with Senior Heritage officer (Great Zimbabwe)	#NM
	Interview with educator at Camelot School (Zimbabwe)	#NYA
	Interview with educator in charge of Culture hut concept (Ruvimbo School, Zimbabwe)	#TK
	Interview with elder at Karanga Cultural Village (Zimbabwe)	#SJ
	Interview with Head of Dambudzo School (Zimbabwe)	#GOB
	Interview with Senior Education officer at the Albany Museum (SA)	#AM
	Interview with Subject Specialist (History) (SA)	#NJ
	Interview with Cultural Officer (Mapungubwe National Parks, SA)	#PM
	Interview with Curator at the Albany History Museum (SA)	#PZ
	Interview with education officer at Supa Ngwao Museum (Botswana)	#NGWAO
	Interview with Coordinator of Mukani Campaign project (Botswana)	#REV

The next section (4.5) provides information concerning how data, as presented in Table 5 above, was analysed. It also helps the reader to identify chapters in which different levels of critical discourses analysis were used.

4.5 Data Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis

Data generated in this study was analysed using a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework. Fairclough defined critical discourse analysis as:

> aiming to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events, and texts and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power. (1995:132).

Similarly Locke (2004) argued that critical discourse analysis is often used in the form of critique denoting a habit of evaluating an object or situation in accordance with a system of rules, principles and values. In this study this system of principles and values are embedded in the kind of heritage education best suited for the context of post colonial southern Africa as overviewed in Chapter Two (see Section 2.5). Critical discourse analysis, as Locke (ibid.) further argued is also used by researchers, (such as myself) interested or committed to challenging the relative power bases of competing discourses such as the case between nation state and local people within the region (see Section 1.2.1).

Rogers (2004) pointed out that critical discourse analysis includes not only a description and interpretation of the discourse in context but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work. She further stated that researchers working with this perspective are concerned with a critical theory of the social order. Critical discourse analysis is therefore used as the main analytical tool for working with data in this study to develop an explanatory critique of contemporary heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa (see Chapters Eight and Nine).

Although the history of critical discourse analysis is rooted in the work of critical linguists like Fowler, Hodge and Trew, its emergence occurred at a time that coincides with growth of other critical paradigms and theories such as Habermas's critical social theory and Foucault's conception of knowledge/power relations

(Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Wodak, 2001; Billig, 2003; Rogers, 2003). Both Habermas and Foucault's work had slightly different influences on the orientation of critical discourse analysis as a research tool. The influence of Marxism and of the Frankfurt school, particularly the works of Habermas, on contemporary critical discourse analysis, is reflected in the kind of discourse analysis concerned with a critique of existing conditions of social life in the hope of transcending those conditions (Wodak, 2001; Fairclough, 2002; Locke, 2004) The Foucauldian aspect of critical discourse analysis concerns itself with issues around knowledge/power relations and how this interplay determines what knowledges and practices are privileged or sidelined (Fairclough, 2002; van Dijk, 2002; Rogers, 2003). This genre of critical discourse analysis claims that power relations are negotiated and performed through discourses (Paltridge, 2006). Critical discourse analysis has therefore a multifaceted history and of interest in this study is its association with Habermas' critical social theory, and its emphasis on the internal and dialectical relationship between ideology, language and society (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2002; Paltridge, 2006).

The reason for using critical discourse analysis (CDA) in this study is therefore two-fold. Firstly CDA allows for questioning of dominant discourses shaping the construction and representation of heritage within heritage education practices. According to Locke (2004) critical discourse analysis has potential to disturb dominant structures and unequal power relations that, in the case of this study, influence heritage education practices. Both Wodak (1996) and Janks (1997) also describe critical discourse analysis as potentially revelatory of ways in which discourses consolidate power and colonise human subjects through covert position calls.

Secondly, critical discourse analysis allows for "analysis of not only what is said, but what is left out, and not only what is present in the text but what is absent" (Rogers, 2003: 8). The need to look closely at what interviewees say and do not say about heritage, as well as what has been written and not written is critical for the surfacing of the discourses influencing heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa (Wodak, 1996; Fairclough, 2003; Rogers, 2003). Critical discourse analysis, other than simply identifying the discourses influencing construction and

representation of heritage in education, allows for in-depth analysis of the social and political context that produces those discourses (Fairclough, 2003; Paltridge, 2006). In concurrence, Marston (2004) argued that while critical discourse analysis may privilege the study of language and how it is used, it also sees language as a tool providing for a micro-analysis of relations of power shaping socio-political contexts. O'Leary (2004) also pointed out that rather than focus on simply what is said, critical discourse analysis explores language as it constitutes and embodies a socio-historic context tied to power and knowledge. According to O'Leary (2004: 199) analysis involves "critical" exploration and interpretation of data as situated within a socio-historic context such as that of post colonial southern Africa where this study is located. Smith (2006: 15), writing about heritage as a discourse, argued that "critical discourse analysis is a well-established interdisciplinary methodology for analysing discourse and discursive practice", such as the way heritage is talked about, constructed and represented within heritage education practices in the context of post colonial southern Africa.

Critical discourse analysis was therefore used because, other than its potential to uncover and explain discourses shaping heritage education practices in the region, ontologically it relates closely to critical social theory, the hermeneutic methodology and critical realist meta-theory informing this study. The concern with critique of the social order is associated with Habermas' critical social theory whereas the dialectic interplay between text and context, discourse, ideology and society, are all aspects of critical hermeneutics and critical realism (Habermas, 1980; Foucault, 1980; Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000; Benton & Craib, 2001; Bhaskar & Regan, 2011).

4.5.1 Using the three-part analytic model
Fairclough's (1995 & 2002) three-part analytic model was used to give direction and a systematic approach to the entire data analysis process. In practice, the model involves three mutually explanatory phases of data analysis, namely "description", "interpretation" and "explanation" (Fairclough, 1995; Janks, 1997). Hence in this study critical discourse analysis started with a content analysis and interpretation of each of the twelve interview transcripts, video clips and reviewed documents, before finally subjecting those areas of data sources that are representative of the discourses at play to a social analysis. The last level of critical discourse analysis (social

analysis) entails developing an explanatory critique of observed discourses, and in the case of this study how these discourses shape and influence construction of heritage and its representation in heritage education practices against the context of post colonial southern Africa as discussed in Chapter One (see Section 1.2.1). Vignettes of critical discourse analysis of selected data are given below in this chapter (see Section 4.5.2). The table below provides detail of the three levels of critical discourse analysis and chapters in which these were used.

Table 6: Summary of critical discourse analysis processes

Level of Analysis	Where used in the study	Rationale of use
Textual Analysis **(Description)**	Chapters Five, Six and Seven	Initial data analysis of relevant documents, focus group interviews, and field observations notes, photos and or video clips. This process was useful in that it enabled the researcher to gain a better understanding of the constitution and status of current heritage management and education practices in the region. It helped the researcher to develop a contextual background against which the research questions concerning the nature and orientation of heritage education practices in the selected case studies
Process Analysis **(Interpretation)**	Chapters Five, Six and Seven	Drawing on conceptual and theoretical frameworks, and the historical context of the southern African region, this level of analysis enabled the researcher to surface and deepens understanding of discourses shaping heritage management and education practices. Insights emerging allowed the research to start making subtle claim concerning issues of inclusivity and how it relates to quality and relevance of heritage education practices as observed in the three case studies
Social Analysis **(Explanation)**	Chapters Eight and Nine	The last level on analysis entailed using insights gained in level 1 and 2 to further deepen the researchers' understanding of how discourses inherent in heritage policies influence the manner in which indigenous heritage constructs are being represented and used in heritage education practices. The last level of analysis allowed for an in-depth critique of the observed forms of representing indigenous heritage constructs in education, as a mechanism for achieving inclusivity

As briefly highlighted in Table 6 above and acknowledging that discourses reproduce and reinforce themselves within social structures (policy) and through practices (Rogers, 2003; Fairclough, 2002 & 2003; Paltridge, 2006; Smith, 2006), it was important to start by exploring discourses shaping heritage policy and legislation in post colonial southern Africa, before moving on to examine influence of the same discourses on contemporary heritage management and education practices. Therefore

the first level of critical discourse analysis in this study entailed interrogating discourses shaping or embedded within heritage policy frameworks in the region. The process involved working closely with data, and drawing on literature and my understanding of the context of post colonial southern Africa (see Section 1.2.1) to identify and explain the discourses. It entailed the bringing together of what is what is said and not said, and what is written and not written with knowledge of the context to make meaning of policy narratives (Wodak, 2001; Rogers, 2003 & 2004; Roth, 2005). This process of identifying and understanding discourses involves what Rogers (2004: 107) called "foregrounding and backgrounding what is said and not said". In practice I therefore exposed strategically selected excerpts from heritage policy documents to critical discourse analysis within which I asked a number of critical questions, the answers to which had potential to shed more light on the discourses at play (sections of reviewed documents, and interview transcripts are directly quoted in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight, other data sources, i.e. workshop notes, photographs, video clips are also referenced to in the same chapters). As such presented in the next sections (4.5.2, 3, 4, and 5) are vignettes of the different levels of critical discourse analysis. Important to note is that more critical discourse analysis was actually done than is presented here (see Tables 5 and 6) and is drawn on and made explicit within the critiques that ensue in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

4.5.2 Surfacing discourses embedded within heritage policy frameworks
Box 1 below represents an example of critical discourse analysis of selected heritage policy framework within post apartheid South Africa. At the end of this section a summary and discussion of discourses shaping policy in the region is given. Reference is made to observations and insights emerging from critical discourse analysis of policy from the other two countries.

Box 1: Discourses and Policy: The case of post apartheid South Africa

National Monument Act no. 28 of 1969	National Heritage Resources Act no. 25 of 1999
"The object of the National Monuments Council shall be to preserve and protect the historical and cultural heritage, to encourage and to promote preservation and protection of that heritage, and to co-ordinate all activities in connection with monument and cultural treasures in order that monument and cultural treasures will be retained as _tokens of the past_ and may serve as an _inspiration for the future_" (Section 2A of the National Monuments Act no. 28 of 1969)	**Our** heritage is unique and precious and it cannot be renewed. It helps us to define our cultural _identity_ and therefore lies at the heart of our spiritual well-being and has the power to build our nation. It has the potential to affirm our diverse cultures, and in so doing shape our national character. **Our** heritage celebrates **our** achievements and contributes to _redressing past inequities_
Situational analysis (explanatory critique)	

By juxtaposing excerpts from policies used during the apartheid and those in use within post apartheid era, and drawing on the socio-historical context of southern Africa this analysis reveals some of the discourses shaping policy in South Africa. A key difference in the two pieces of legislation is the use of the term "our". The term "our" is over-emphasised in and across post colonial heritage legislation (NHR Act no. 25 of 1999) and a critical question to ask is why? Part of the answer lies in the colonial history of South Africa within which the struggle for freedom and democracy was characterised by the quest to regain control and access to heritage resources (see Section 1.2.1). As already highlighted in Chapter One colonialism or apartheid in the case of South Africa resulted in indigenous people becoming alienated from local heritage resources and so the quest to address the imbalances created by colonialism is central in the constitution and policy framework of the democratic South Africa (Malegapuru, 1999; Mbeki, 1996; Swart, 2008; Bredekamp, 2009). Permeating across policies promulgated within post apartheid South Africa are discourses of social transformation, reconciliation, reparation, inclusivity and political justice (DACST, 1996; Bredekamp, 2009). Another critical question to dwell on is who is "our" in this context? Again attempting to answer this questions entailed going back to the history of South Africa/southern Africa within which terms like "our" were actually central in political documents such as the Freedom Charter, which according to Oliver Tambo cited in Tambo (1987:21) is the total sum of *"our aspirations to achieve a new life"*. It is therefore critical that the discourses embedded within the changing heritage legislation be understood as a manifestation of political struggles, efforts to decolonise southern Africa and achieve inclusivity, which however, as unfolding within this study, is far from being the case. A relook at the Freedom charter exposed another interesting contradiction or ambiguity relating to terms "our" and or "people". One of the principles of the charter was "power *to the people"* or *"Amandla Ngawethu*". Again care is needed to understand who the "people" are? But in one of his speeches Tambo (1971) almost illuminated this matter. Responding to a question on who are the people to whom power must be given, Tambo responded by saying; *"let us therefore be explicit. Power to the people means in fact power to the black people"* (Adelaide, 1987:94).

Contrary to above the same Tambo (1971) claimed that the Freedom Charter is aimed at turning South Africa into a happy home not only for Black people at last but for all people. Here the term "people" takes a different meaning. It is interesting to explore how such ambiguity unfolds in heritage education practices within the country (see Chapter Five). The above analysis of the discourses contained in heritage legislation reveals the tensions and ambiguities that may have also permeated into heritage education practices (see Section 8.3). Closely related to the dilemma associated with the use of "our" and "people", the following quotes make interesting and critical reading for this study.

> I am an African. I owe my being to the Khoi and the San whose desolate souls haunt the great expanses of the beautiful Cape – they who fell victim to most merciless genocide our native land has ever seen, they who were first to lose their lives in the struggle to defend our freedom and dependence. (Mbeki 1996 cited in Bredekamp, 2009:04)

In response to Mbeki, F. W. De Klerk said;

> Although my people came from Europe more than 300 years ago, I became an African through the blood of my forebears which drenched our soils fighting for freedom. I became an African through the dedication and hard work of my forebears (F. W. De Klerk 1996 cited in Bredekamp, 2004:04).

Again what emerges clear here is the challenges associated with use of terms such African. Questions like *"who then is an Africa in today's context?" and "when does one become an Africa?" become critical in understanding how discourses of identity unfold in the form of politics of access, ownership and representation within observed heritage education practices.*

In Botswana and Zimbabwe critical discourse analysis of the heritage policy also reveals similar discourses. Preambles of the two countries' policies on culture (policies drafted in reaction to effects of colonialism) as shown below points to the desire of post colonial governments to reform policy and allow for a decolonisation (Mamdani, 1996; Dei, 2009) of how heritage is constructed, managed and represented within education. Botswana's National Policy on Culture states that:

> Vision 2016 has set a new direction for Botswana, and states that "Botswana needs bold strategies to grow into the future". A Policy on Culture is one such strategy that will take Botswana to 2016. The Policy is set to promote our pride and nation hood and to enable us to own the future by being a tolerant, compassionate, just and caring nation. Our cultural values, traditions, history and our national principles will guide our efforts and actions in the years to

come. As stated in the Long Term Vision for Botswana document, *Botho,* will become our overriding principle as we relate to our families, our communities, our nation and other nations. (#DocV2016).

Part of the preamble to the Culture Policy of Zimbabwe reads:

> Zimbabwe has a rich cultural heritage built over a long period of time. The defeat of indigenous people by settler colonialists in the first *Chimurenga* witnessed some erosion of our traditions, values and religion. Colonialism wanted to create a black man with foreign cultural traditions. Our rich cultural heritage, which withstood this onslaught, has to be promoted and preserved as it defines us as a people within the global community. Our cultural values, norms, rituals and religion have managed to shape us as a people with our own way of life, religion, beliefs and the way we relate to our environment. Our value systems and beliefs give us an identity as a people. (#DocNCP).

Emerging clearly within the above analysis is the realisation that against the history of colonisation and the marginalisation of local communities, post colonial nation states have tended to reform heritage policies to enable local people to access, own, and draw benefits from heritage resources within their immediate areas. Discourses common within most of post colonial policies include, but are not limited to, the desire for social transformation, and inclusivity (quite strong in South Africa), the need to regain access to and ownership of heritage resources, the desire to revive indigenous cultures and identity as well as the politics of nation building, sovereignty and unity. In Section 4.5.3 an analysis how of these discourses shape heritage management practices in the region is presented.

4.5.3 Heritage policy discourses and management practices

Box 2 represents an example of the analysis of how changes in policy discourses have influenced heritage management practices in post colonial southern Africa. This analysis entailed identifying sections of in-depth interview transcripts (#REV, #NM & #PZ). These sections were chosen because they reflect changes associated with policy discourses inherent in the region which are of interest to this study. The italicised text points to these changes and a critique of the discourses and practices is provided below the box.

Box 2: Influence of policy discourses on heritage management practices

Asked about how heritage management has changed in response to policy reforms in Botswana, an interviewee at Supa Ngwao museum was quoted saying:

> *The current status is that it is almost off, it is really off the ground because the __monument is now run by the local people and one side is run by the tourism section, and the other section it is the cultural side and the Kalanga__ language and culture is being revived more vigorously than ever before. And once in a year we come and commemorate and celebrate at it the Kalanga culture, you can bring your own way of dancing, your way of dancing your way of brewing beer, your way of making porridge show how you do it, so each year by the first of October we gather, this is not only consistent with the Kalanga tribe for everybody interested but after all mainly 90 percentage of them being the Kalanga themselves.* (Interview transcript #REV)

Commenting on the same issue an interviewee at Great Zimbabwe monument said:

> *"Tine" __Adopt a Site__ programme yatinayo, you heard about adopt a site programme "yatinayo" that means __we are saying this is yours__ and the keeping of this place starts with you, like we come in to assist maybe technically or so. Like "Chigumani", "Mamutse" school has adopted "Chigumani", that is along the Mutare-Masvingo road. You will find that there are elders in the area who have a committee to look after "Chigumani", the school also look after "Chigumani", and they even were given a fund from the Culture Fund to do a model of the monument at the school. You find that when buses, or cars passes they see a model of "Chigumani", they even stop and ask about the model, and they are told this is just a model the actual "Chigumani" is just so many metres around here, so you __see they feel it, they feel that this is our heritage.__* (Interview transcript #NM)

Asked to highlight some of the changes that have come as a result of the new democratic dispensation in South Africa, in as far as heritage management is concerned, the museum anthropologist said:

> *Yes there is lot that is happening due to the change and people getting involved because of the change. In our AGMs [annual general meetings] they (referring to local people) become part of the museum instead of just being so called visitors, we now don't necessarily take them as visitors we now take them as __our stakeholders__ because __we changed policies__ and are aligned much so with daily practices, and things that are not so much oppressive to them.* (Interview transcript # PZ)

A critical analysis of excerpts from interview transcripts presented in Box 2 above illustrates the impact of discourses inherent within heritage policy on the orientation and constitution of heritage management practices in post colonial southern (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven). The discourses of social transformation, inclusivity, cultural sustenance, access and ownership appear to have become strong determinants of how heritage, in its broadest sense is now constructed, managed and used within the region. However, as heritage management practices are being reformed to address the marginalisation and alienation associated with colonialism, there is need for clarity about what we mean by terms like "ours" or "African". Meanings of such terms are, as already argued, deeply embedded in the discourses inherent in the context of post colonial southern Africa. In a region like post colonial southern Africa where the narratives of globalisation results in some of the region's heritage sites/resources becoming global capital e.g. World Heritage sites (Head, 2000; UNESCO, 2006), it is important that terms like "our" or "African" be used contextually to include all people living within and or around heritage sites or resources. Otherwise, if the terms refer to a particular sector of the region's

population, we are likely to end up with a new form of exclusion from within or we simply risk ending up with formerly marginalised cultural heritages becoming hegemonic in nature (Gramsci, 1972, cited in Smith & Riley, 2009; Spivak, 1999; Swart, 2008). Issues of ownership, access and inclusive cultural representation are highly contested (see Section 1.2.1), and how valuable and feasible they are within multicultural or cosmopolitan societies (such as where southern Africa is heading), is also debatable (Dichaba, 2010; Delanty, 2010).

4.5.4 Discourses inherent within heritage education practices

Box 3 below is an example of critical discourse analysis of data aimed at developing a deeper understanding of how discourses embedded within the region's policy frameworks reproduce themselves within heritage education practices. Through the critical discourse analysis of data sources, it was possible to uncover and surface hidden discourses that inform and or shape some of the reforms taking place within the three heritage education case study programmes (Fairclough, 2002; Billig, 2003; Rogers, 2004; Paltridge, 2006). Alongside the surfacing of the discourse, the box below carries a social analysis beginning to critique the way in which education in the region is representing indigenous cultural heritages, a critique further developed later in this thesis (see Section 8.3).

Box 3: Discourses influencing heritage education practices

Data sources	Social analysis of discourses at play
Commenting about the changes that have taken place within education at Albany Museum one of the interviewee said: *Every week yes we have those programmes, the mobile museum, has focus weeks we call amaXhosa food weeks that focuses on cultural food. In that focus week we teach the learners about amaXhosa lifestyles, we teach the learners about Xhosa foods, so amaXhosa they believe in tradition and their cultures. We teach them about ingatswo traditional food, umpogkotho. They are also learning about icows they do amasiko using icows; we are doing culture using icow. And also we got [i]tradition of gulaluko that is icircumcision when the boys go to the bush and become men, and the ladies they have intonjane, way of icircumcision of girls where they are kept in a certain place for iperiod of two weeks, we call it intonjane and we teach all these in amaXhosa focus weeks. This amaXhosa weeks is a famous thing because all the schools want to come to museum and listen to these things and we cook different foods of amaxhosa, we cook umphokoqo, we cook umngqusho, we cook isigwamba and isigwamba.*	A critical analysis of excerpts from the various interviews raises a number of crucial questions. First it is clear that changes being reported in these interviews are as a result of the discourses embedded within heritage policy as discussed in Section 4.5.2. The focus on culture, through the introduction of *Amaxhosa* focus weeks (and many other initiatives [see interview #PZ, and video #FoAM] currently taking place within the education programme at Albany Museum is a reproduction of the discourses (Rogers, 2003; Paltridge, 2006) of social transformation and inclusivity inherent within policy in post apartheid South Africa. However the value of such reforms in education to both the learner and sustainability of heritage resources in the country is to a large extent not known or fully understood. So what we see is a situation whereby heritage education takes up and reinforces discourses which when subjected to

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(interview #AM)	close scrutiny reveals much more than what heritage education is perceived to do (#DocCAPS & #DocHO). Added to this observation is that though all these cultural aspects are added to the education programme at Albany Museum, the country's formal education curriculum is still to fully recognise these cultural aspects (see interview #NJ; #NM). What emerges is tension requiring clarity on what heritage education's role is and how it relates to other forms of education.
Reacting to the question of how heritage education at Great Zimbabwe has responded to the controversy over the origin of the ruins the senior heritage education officer stated that: *One of the thing is that all our education ministers are Zimbabweans, they are vocal people so their perspectives are already there when it comes to our heritage, this is one and also it's like we don't have a strong, or the other opinion being expressed, like, that we share the heritage with the Europeans, or from the European side, so you will find "kuti" at university level they debate those things at our level when we meet schools and so forth we no longer debate those issues and that is our heritage, and most of our heritage are found in rural areas, the sacred places, sacred forests, sacred caves and "tumaDzimbabwe" sites you will find "munanaZaka nanaBikita chaimo", so you find kuti these are ours.* (interview #NM)	The case of Zimbabwe is even more interesting. The fact that education at Great Zimbabwe now claims that the monument is of Shona origin (see interview #NM), regardless of other existing theories, shows how the discourse of identity, ownership and access in post colonial Zimbabwe unfolds (#DocNCP & #DocTGGZ). Also important to note is that evidence pointing to the fact this theory of Great Zimbabwe as of Shona origin is ascribed to works of recent African black archaeologists exists (interview #NM). And so when you put all these together you get a picture where nation state discourses continue to shape what counts as truth within heritage education practices but this time not from a Eurocentric vantage position but internal and nationalistic position. To learners visiting Great Zimbabwe, the monument is symbolic of Shona architectural mastery and the language use is theoretical strategic (see Habermas, 1987; 1991a). This trend in changing knowledge positions within heritage education in post colonial southern Africa needs further interrogation.
Asked to elaborate on why Albany History museum is now teaching learners about *Amaxhosa* cultural heritage objects as was not the case before democracy, the museum's anthropologist said: *It's important for the future generations, because if I can give an example of a calabash, they don't know the function of the calabash so we need to educate them about that, they don't know where it comes from , some they think it just comes near the river, they don't know, so its' important to keep this calabash for the future generation, because most of the children they are in modern schools and they just forget where they come from, so culture is important just to show them where they come from, they must know where they come from and they must keep culture of them because some of them they take the other cultures say western understand so it's important for us.* (interview #PZ)	

In the case of Botswana the influence of socio-political discourses on the orientation of heritage education was made more explicit by analysis of one of the learning support materials at Supa Ngwao Museum (the traditional Kgotla booklet) – see Section 4.5.6.

4.5.5 Discourses inherent within learning support materials

Because critical discourse analysis also entails foregrounding and backgrounding of what is said and not said (Rogers, 2004), it allowed for an analysis of learning support materials such as the booklet entitled *The Traditional Tswana Kgotla* used at Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana. Critical discourse analysis of the booklet involved asking critical questions about the origin, purpose, and use of the booklet. Answers to these questions were generated by way of bringing the country's historical context together with the observed heritage policy changes, in order to better understand the

rationale behind the production and use of such educational materials. As such the overall critical analysis and use of emerging insights are used across the study, particularly in Chapter Seven and Eight. The diagram below represents this process and a situational explanation is offered thereafter. This process of critically analysing learning support materials and other documents was done across the three case study heritage education programme.

Description of booklet
i.   What is the booklet about?
ii. Who owns the booklet?
iii. Where has the booklet come from?
iv. What were the reasons for writing the booklet?
v.   What assumptions are embedded in the booklet and its construction?

Socio-political and historical discourses

Epistemological & pedagogical discourses & their histories

The context of the booklet
i.   What were the social and political contexts surrounding the booklet
ii. What **heritage constructs** does the booklet include and exclude?
iii. Why are these constructs included or excluded?

The Traditional Tswana Kgotla

The writer of the booklet
i.   Who wrote the booklet?
ii. What were the interests of the writer and how were these shaped?
iii. What can be said about this writer?
iv. What does this booklet say about its writer?
v.   What is not said about the writer?

Socio-cultural discourses & their histories

Relational & functional discourses

Using the booklet
I.   What other information do I need to understand the booklet?
II. What alternative interpretations of the booklet are possible?
III. What relational uses are / can the booklet be subjected to – purposefully, intuitively or accidentally?

Figure 4*: Framework for the critical discourse analysis of learning support materials*

Fairclough (2002) and Rogers (2003 & 2004) argue that we can abductively infer the production and interpretation of text, such as the booklet in question above by asking where the text comes from, who produced it, and why? This is partly what I wanted to

achieve by asking critical questions relating to the booklet being used at Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana and other texts used within the three case programmes. Through asking critical questions I was able to uncover, identify, name and question some of the discourses influencing the production and use of the booklet in question (see Section 1.2.1). It is within this process of analysis that I was able to understand why this booklet is highly representative of *Batswana* cultural perspectives. The production of the booklet is aimed at reviving *Batswana* cultures notably the traditional institutions such as the *Kgotla* which has been devalued due to colonial rule (see Mamdani, 1996; Sharma, 1999 & 2003, also see interview #REV & FgI 7). Discourses of cultural revitalisation, and national identity (#DocNPC & #DocV2016), which are embedded within the country's National Policy on Culture of 2001 and Vision 2016 strategy document (see Section 4.5.2), motivated for the production of literature such as the *Kgotla* booklet to be used in education settings across the republic of Botswana (see interview #REV & #NGWAO). The policy is also very clear of the role of education in the process of reviving local cultures (see Chapter 7). The production and use of the booklet in question within heritage education in Botswana and particularly at Supa Ngwao is understood against this multi-layered background. It is a booklet motivated by the desire to increase representation and use of indigenous cultural heritage within educational settings. As overviewed in Chapter One (Section 1.2.1) and Chapter Two (Section 2.4) post colonial states use education as a mechanism to address injustices associated with colonialism.

4.6 Research ethics considerations

The study of "a contemporary phenomenon in real-life context" as in the case of this study obliged me to take note of important ethical practices (Yin, 2009:73). In this regard, informed consent, and formal institutional approval were sought from all potential and identified research participants and their respective institutions (Bassey, 1999; Cohen et al., 2000; Yin, 2009). Identified informants or potential sources of information e.g. the individual heritage educators, their heritage institutions, government departments within which the heritage education programmes fell, local people, such as *sekuru Jena*, at the Great Zimbabwe monument involved in this study were consulted and fully informed of the purpose of this study, the forms of participation in, and the possible benefits of participating in this research (Makore-Rukuni, 2001; Golafshani, 2003). Consent forms and letters seeking access and

permission were developed, copies of which I archived as records or evidence of the ethical processes.

During the contextual profiling phase, I sought permission from the Director of the Great Zimbabwe monument. A record of the emails that I sent and received from him were printed and filed (see Appendix .3). In South Africa I also visited and conducted focus group interviews with members of five Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRAs). Permission to conduct the interviews was obtained through the Grahamstown SAHRA office. Permission to visit and observe heritage education practices at Supa Ngwao Museum, was initially sought and granted in 2010 but I still had to apply for an official research permit. In 2011 I managed to get the official research permit and so could proceed with the in-depth interviews (see Appendix 4).

During the generative workshops, I also sought permission from the Department of Education, Eastern Cape Province (see Appendix 5) to work with teachers. To ensure that teachers were not going to leave their classes unattended I arranged that the one-day workshops be done during weekends or on late Friday afternoons.

During the interviewing stage I also ensured that informed consent was obtained from all of the interviewees (see Appendix 6.). The process of getting informed consent from all of the 12 interviewees entailed that I engage each of them meaningfully, explaining as honestly as possible the aims and objectives of the study (Bassey, 1999). I also needed to be careful about issues of beneficence as some of the potential interviewees needed clarity on what benefits if any would come from their participation in the study (Makore-Rukuni 2001; Golafshani, 2003). I was very careful not to cause any unnecessary expectations and anxiety (Bassey, 1999; Piquemal, 2005). For instance at Great Zimbabwe both the senior heritage education officer and *sekuru* Jena were both concerned about how previous researchers had come and gone, leaving nothing, not even copies of the final research reports for use in their work. The same concern was raised by the education officer at Supa Ngwao Museum, hence her insistence that I get an official research permit before she would allow me an official in-depth interview and permission to take photographs in the museum.

As Piquemal (2005), drawing from her experience of researching within Aboriginal communities, argued, issues of *beneficence* are very elusive and not easy to handle in research, especially where one is working with rural or marginalised communities. An interesting case in this study was my engagement with *sekuru* Jena, who from the way he agreed to be interviewed thought that he had found a person on whom he could empty all his anger and disapproval of the way NMMZ officials were treating local people, especially the location and role of the *Shona* cultural village. He was very open about his unhappiness with how the *Shona* cultural village was relocated to its current position (according to him far from its rightful place, the hill complex) and how he himself is not allowed to interpret Great Zimbabwe monument to visitors; he is only allowed to sell curios and coordinate the traditional dances within the Shona village.

In a similar case, some of the teachers who participated in the generative workshops openly expressed concern about how researchers are merely using them to gain their desired degrees. I was very careful regarding promises for the teachers. To address their concerns of beneficiation, I organised that the teachers got certificates of attendance for their effort and participation in the workshops. I also highlighted that lessons learnt and knowledge gained by participating in the workshops was going to be valuable should some of them consider enrolling for the professional development course that SAHRA and Rhodes University were developing alongside this study. Ultimately three of the teachers were accepted for the certificate course in question.

Ethical issues, such as getting informed consent, were therefore treated as an ongoing process of building a trusting and empowering relationship with research participants (Bassey, 1999). Piquemal (2005:19) argued that "the process of seeking free and informed consent is not just a contract; it is an ongoing process of renegotiation". Having consent forms signed was therefore only a part of the entire process of developing a good rapport and trusting relationship with the heritage practitioners that I worked with. That required me to remain alert to and make ongoing efforts to work with research participants in a democratic, moral, respectful, empowering manner and reconfirm that consent was ongoing. Such recurrent confirmation sought to ensure that participants were at all times at ease with the research processes. Such an

approach to ethics as already pointed out earlier in this chapter was also congruent with the critical social theory underpinning this study (see Section 3.2).

4.7 Trustworthiness

Scholarly debate on how trustworthy or credible research of a qualitative nature is has been going on for some time (Flick, 1992; Golafshani, 2003; Hamersley, 2008). Shenton (2004) argued that although many critics are reluctant to accept the trustworthiness of qualitative research, frameworks for ensuring rigour in this form of work exists. In view of this I deployed a number of strategies for enhancing the overall trustworthiness and credibility of this study. Patton (2002: 14) argued that while the credibility in quantitative research depends on instrument construction, in qualitative research, "the researcher is the instrument". With this in mind, I realised I needed to think carefully about the tools to generate data, and to deploy several strategies as outlined below.

4.7.1 Provision of sufficient information about the research context

Both Dilley (1999) and Shenton (2004) drew attention to the importance of context, in improving the trustworthiness and credibility of social research. According to Shenton (ibid.), detailed description of the area under study can be an important provision for improving credibility, as it conveys the actual situations that have been studied and the contexts that surround them. In this study, in addition to reading around the area of heritage management and education, I spent close to year developing contextual profiles of the three country specific case studies. Insights gained during the contextual profiling process enabled me to develop detailed (providing sufficient information) case stories against which knowledge claims made within this study can be understood, critiqued or interrogated. Chapters Five, Six and Seven in this thesis are dedicated to presenting sufficient information about heritage policy, management and education practices in Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe respectively.

4.7.2 Prolonged engagement with research participants

Prolonged interaction and engagement with research participants happened in different ways in this study. First, as already described, this study was three-phased and each of these phases provided space to continue working with the selected research participants. For example, the contextual profiling process assisted me to

gain familiarity and forge working relationships with institutions and people participating in the study. And throughout the years 2010, 2011 and 2012, I maintained contact and continued to work with most of the research participants. In this way my relationship with participants strengthened and the trust that emerged from this contributed to a deepening of data and insights (Piquemal, 2005; Lupele, 2008).

4.7.3 Peer review and frequent debriefing

Other than prolonged engagement with participants, I also presented and shared my research, in its proposal stage, and as it developed through to its conclusion, with a wide range of critical friends and fellow researchers. Presenting my study within the PhD weeks at Rhodes University, the Environmental Education Association of Southern Africa (EEASA) 2011 conference in Lesotho, as well as the writing of ongoing research reports, as required within the SAHRA/Rhodes University research agreement, proved very valuable in helping me to think through and reflect on the entire study. In addition, I also wrote a short paper published in the Southern Africa Journal of Environmental Education (SAJEE), Volume 28 of 2011 (see Appendix 7). The idea of sharing experiences of how the study was unfolding, is similar to what Shenton (2004: 67) referred to as "frequent debriefing sessions". These sessions provided me with a sounding board to test my developing ideas and interpretations. It also provided opportunities for scrutiny of the study by fellow peers, academics and heritage practitioners, and their feedback allowed me to rethink the way the study was developing.

4.7.4 Reflexivity

I worked with the idea of reflexivity (reflection) as proposed by Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000 & 2009). Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000: 245) claimed that reflexivity "means thinking about the conditions for what one is doing, investigating the way in which the theoretical, cultural and political context of individual and intellectual involvement affects the interaction with whatever is being researched, often in ways that are difficult to become conscious of". Working within this framework of reflexivity, throughout the entire research process, I reflected on the relationship between my research focus, the research design, data collection methods, analysis and interpretation. Put simply, I remained alert of and took into consideration

the dialectical linkages that existed amongst the different phases and processes of my study and how the theories that I worked with influenced interpretation of the data. Reflexivity also meant that I constantly needed to think about my own biases and subjectivity as I interacted with research participants and made sense of the data generated. Self-reflexivity, as discussed here, was an important strategy for enhancing the trustworthiness and credibility of this research project.

4.7.5 Highest ethical standards and procedures

Golafshani (2003) pointed out that respect of ethical matters enhances the overall trustworthiness of a research project. Careful thinking and dealing with ethical issues as already discussed in Section 4.3.4 also contributed to the overall trustworthiness and credibility of this study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005).

Conclusion

This chapter provided information relating to how I planned to conduct and then did conduct this study. The chapter discussed the research design decisions made, and why these were considered the best available for this particular study. Chapter Four provided detailed information about the hermeneutic methodology, critical realist underlabouring concepts and the case study research design within which the study was conducted. The chapter gives an overview of all the data generation protocols. These included the three data collection phases, data generation tools deployed, research ethics considerations as well issues of trustworthy and validity. The chapter also discusses how I analysed the data and made use of critical discourses analysis. It also provides examples of analysed data. Drawing on insights emerging from the analysis of data I will, in the next chapters, critically discuss current heritage education practices as observed in the three case study sites covered within this study.

**DISCOURSES INFLUENCING HERITAGE POLICY, MANAGEMENT
AND EDUCATION PRACTICES: THE CASE OF POST APARTHEID
SOUTH AFRICA**

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with illustrating how discourses inherent within the historical context of post apartheid South Africa influence the way heritage education practices at the Albany Museum represent and use indigenous heritage constructs. Because of this, the chapter starts by providing a historical overview of South Africa, helping the reader to understand the emergence of discourses which shape heritage policy and practices in the country. The reason for doing this is threefold. Firstly, it is based on the understanding that the historical context provided in Chapter One focused on the entire southern African region, whereas the net effect of colonialism does not necessarily manifest itself in the same way across the different countries. Secondly, heritage education is in this study conceived as an integral part of heritage management practice (Dumbrell, 2012; Shava & Zazu, 2012). Similarly, the hermeneutic methodology within which this study is framed requires an understanding of the entire heritage policy and management framework in each country in order to better understand the observed heritage education practices (see Chapter Four, Section 4.1). Thirdly, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) used to analyse data also emphasises the need to provide a detailed historical context to inform a situational analysis of the studied phenomenon (see Section 4.6).

Against the historical context provided, Chapter Five discusses the constitution of heritage education as observed in the Albany Museum education programme. The chapter also identifies the discourses that shape and influence heritage education practices at the Albany Museum. The chapter further raises questions concerning the implications of emerging forms of representing indigenous heritage constructs, as observed within the Albany Museum, for the quality and relevance of heritage education in post apartheid South Africa. Chapter Five is therefore a contextual overview against which a much more detailed critique of how heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa, as observed in this study, engages with the

notion of heritage construct inclusivity as determined by the region's colonial history. Important to highlight is that the following two chapters are structured in a similar way (see Chapters Six and Seven).

5.1 Historical overview

> For decades South Africa has been thought about and written about as separate from the rest of the world. Due to its history South Africa has projected itself as special and as unique, as a closed space detached from the rest of Africa. (Nuttall & Michael, 2000: 1).

The quote above provides an interesting and useful entry point into the discussion around heritage resources management in South Africa. Nuttall and Michael (2000) described South Africa as a unique country arguing that other than having a long and contested history of colonisation, the country is richly endowed with a diverse cultural heritage estate (Crais, 2002; Bredekamp, 2009). It is for its cultural diversity that South Africa is often referred to as the "Rainbow Nation" (Witz, 2000; Bredekamp, 2009). On the other hand it is important to note that even though the net effect of colonialism in southern Africa is mainly characterised by marginalisation and subjugation of indigenous people, colonialism in South Africa is deemed to have been unique because in addition to dispossessing indigenous people of their lands and resources, it also introduced a system of control based on the principles of apartheid. It is within the framework of apartheid that indigenous people in the country lost their dignity and access to resources. Policy and legislation such as the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and Group Areas Act, as well as restricting black people to marginal areas, also created a fragmented social order (Crais, 2002; Collins & Burns, 2007). Commenting on the impact of colonialism in South Africa Crais (2002: 9) argued that "apartheid was modernity gone mad". He elaborated on this by pointing out that:

> The years between 1910 and 1956 saw not only the rise of segregation but also the emergence of an increasingly authoritarian and radically oppressive state that was willing to deploy its coercive might in pursuit of social engineering on a population that was increasingly denied the capacity to confront it. (2002: 9).

It is against this colonial historical background that the discourses of "social transformation", "inclusivity" and a "nation building and unity", in post apartheid South Africa is premised (#DocWP, #DocNHRA, & #DocSN; also see Box 1 in Section 4.5.2). The same discourses can also be traced back to a speech made by former South African president Nelson Mandela during the country's first democratic

election in 1994. Mandela, cited in Crais (2002: 1), declared that "never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again suffer the oppression of one by another". Of interest to this study and discussed in detail later in this chapter and carried further in Chapter 8, is how the discourses of "social transformation", "inclusivity" and "nation building and unity" influence the orientation of heritage education in post apartheid South Africa.

South Africa, because of its history and what it has become since democracy, is in so many ways unique. The country has eleven official languages, each of which is representative of a particular ethnographically constituted culture (DACST, 1996 & 1998; Republic of South Africa, 2010a). According to a language use census report of 1996 the main languages in the country are *IsiZulu*, 22.9 %, *IsiXhosa*, 17.9%, *Afrikaans*, 14.0 %, *Sepedi*, 9.2 % followed by English, 8.6 %. Efforts to recognise, respect and accommodate all these languages in public media exist and are conspicuous within policy and legislations promulgated just after the attainment of democracy in 1994.

Besides its inherent cultural diversity, South Africa is also endowed with a rich natural (environmental) heritage. It has the third highest level of biodiversity in the world (Republic of South Africa, 2010a). The country boasts eight terrestrial ecological biomes and more than seven World Heritage sites, alongside numerous biospheres, nature reserves and national parks. The management of South Africa's national heritage estate is the responsibility of two government departments. Management of the country's natural heritage is coordinated by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism works in partnership with independent statutory institutions such as South African National Parks and South African Biodiversity Institute, as well as with provincial conservation organisations like Cape Nature and Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal.

The management of cultural heritage at national level is the responsibility of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). This department also works with independent statutory institutions such as the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), the National Art Council (NAC) and National Heritage Council (NHC), to

name a few. Figure 5 below represents the institutional framework within which cultural heritage is managed in post apartheid South Africa. Here it is important to highlight that, as discussed in Chapter Two, heritage seems to have been conceptualised as either cultural or natural within the South African context, hence the separation of its management into two government departments working with different policy frameworks, that is the National Environment Management Act and National Heritage Resources Act no. 25 of 1999. Implications of this set-up for heritage management and education practices are also of interest in this study (see Section 2.1).
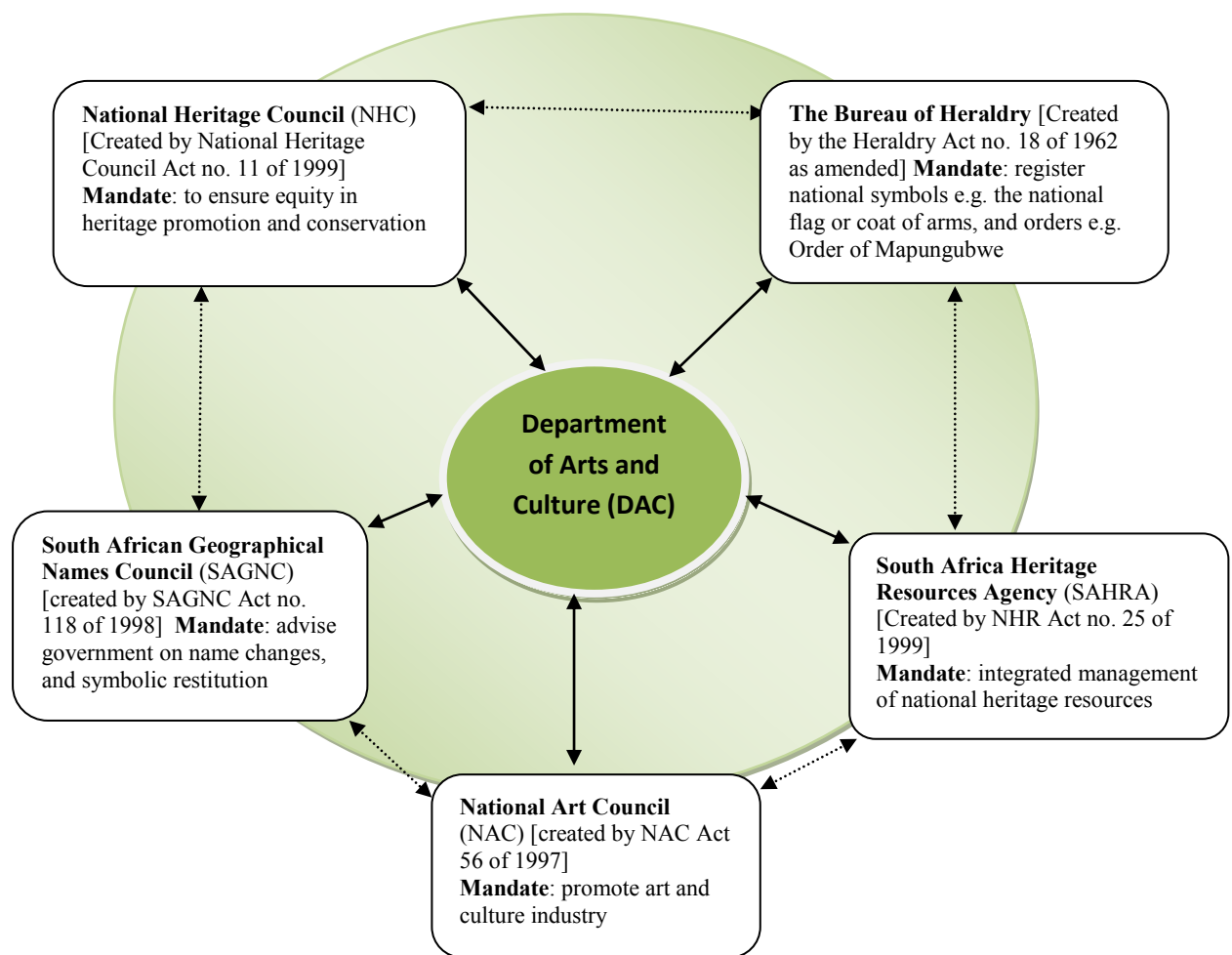
Figure 5: *Diagrammatic representations of heritage institutions in post apartheid South Africa*

Another aspect worth noting, even if it will not be fully interrogated in this study, is that in Figure 5 above, the broken arrows are used to highlight the fact that the potential synergy between and amongst heritage institutions falling within the auspices of the Department of Arts and Culture, is not being harnessed by heritage practitioners. As such, heritage management and education practices in the country

have remained largely fragmented, with different education activities undertaken within and limited to the horizons of specific heritage institutions. An example to illustrate this observation is the explicit non participation of institutions like SAHRA in the National Art Festival despite the festival being a potentially useful window for education and awareness (Lungile, T. personal communication, July 13, 2010). In Section 5.2 below, a detailed discussion of the heritage policy framework in post apartheid South Africa and the discourses that shape this framework, is provided.

5.2 Heritage policy and legislation in South Africa

An important observation made in this study is the changing discourses embedded within heritage policy and legislation in post colonial South Africa (# DocNMC & #DocNHRA; also see Section 4.5.2). As Witz pointed out:

> The political changes in South Africa in the 1990s have seen a reimagining of the nation as one that breaks with its racially exclusive past and constructs itself, through reorientation of policy and legislation towards becoming culturally inclusive. (2000:329).

In post apartheid South Africa the discourse of "social transformation" and "inclusivity" is therefore critical in helping the country to promote recognition, respect and increased representation and participation of local communities in heritage management and education practices (#DocNHRA, #DocWP' #DocGPML & #DocSN). In pursuit of achieving social transformation and inclusivity, heritage policies were substantively re-oriented, in some cases totally revamped and replaced with new ones (Swart, 2008). For instance, according to Mbangela (2000), one of the most important elements of new heritage legislation is the opportunity it provides for communities to participate in the identification, conservation and management of heritage sites. What emerges clearly is how the new heritage policies sought to promote social transformation and inclusivity, and as Bredekamp (2009) pointed out, redefine what constitutes South African heritage. A closer look at the excerpt from the National Heritage Resources Act no. 25 of 1999 below confirms this observation (#DocNHRA). The preamble to NHR Act states:

> Our heritage is unique and precious and it cannot be renewed. It helps us to define our cultural identity and therefore lies at the heart spiritual well-being and has power to build our nation. It has potential to affirm our diverse cultures, and in so doing shape our national character. Our heritage celebrates

our achievements and contributes to redressing past injustices. It educates, it deepens our understanding of society and encourages us to empathise with the experiences of the others. It facilitates healing and material and symbolic restitution and it promotes new and previously neglected research into our rich oral traditions and customs. (NHR Act no. 25, 1999: 2).

Analysis of NHR Act no. 25 of 1999 (#DocNHRA) and National Monument Act no. 28 of 1969 (#DocNMC), which determined heritage management during the apartheid era, reveals how the post colonial government of South Africa is making efforts to redress the marginalisation and injustices of the past through policy and practice reforms (also see Section 4.5.2). Other Acts influencing management of heritage in South Africa, as already highlighted in Figure 5, include the National Heritage Council Act (No. 11 of 1999) aimed at ensuring equity and social transformation within the heritage sector (, 1999, 2010). Another relevant Act is the amended Heraldry Act (No. 18 of 1962). The Act provides the legislative mandate within which the Bureau of Heraldry operates. The Bureau of Heraldry is responsible for the registering of the coat of arms, national emblems and symbols. National emblems and symbols give South Africa an identity and are thus an important part of the country's heritage (Republic of South Africa, 2010a). Examples of these include the national anthem, national flag, and national animal, bird and plant (springbok, blue crane and king protea, respectively) (DACST, 1998). The Bureau of Heraldry also advises government on the constitution of national orders. In post apartheid South African national orders include 'The Order of Mapungubwe', 'The Order of the Baobab' and 'The Order of Mendi for Bravery'. National orders are given to particular South Africans as recognition of their outstanding contribution in the history, political and economical development of South Africa. Embedded within all these related policy frameworks are the discourses of "social transformation", "inclusivity", and "nation building and unity", as was observed in the NHR Act no. 25 of 1999 (#DocNHRA) and the White Paper on Arts and Culture of 1996 (#DocWP).

Closely related to this work is the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) which advises government on the standardisation and transformation of names. The changing of names in order to address injustices of the past continues to be a sensitive heritage issue in post apartheid South Africa. Names, as Appiah (1994) and Swart (2008) argued, give people an identity and a sense of representation and in

a country like South Africa, with its cultural diversity and history of apartheid, the process of changing names as a strategy for promoting reconciliation, symbolic restitution and social transformation remains an important but challenging one. In elaborating on the challenges associated with name changes, Swart pointed out that:

> The changing of street names has at least three functions: that of 'vehicle for commemoration; that of constituting a form of symbolic reparation for human rights abuse and the function of constructing a politicised version of history. It will be argued here that whereas the first two functions are positive and relatively uncontroversial functions, the political function of constructing history through name changes is prone to manipulation and should therefore be viewed with caution. (2008:106).

It is against such a background and realisation of the value of names for identity, and representation, and the challenges associated with processes on name changes that make the work of SAGNC (#DocWP & #DocYRBK) an important aspect of heritage management in post apartheid South Africa. Also important to note within the landscape of heritage management in South Africa is the existence of the National Art Council Act no. 56 of 1997, which gave birth to the National Arts Council of South Africa (NAC). The main mandate of National Arts Council, as observed in this study (#DocWP & #DocYRBK), is to provide support for the preservation and practice of South Africa's diverse arts and cultures (#DocWP). The National Arts Council deals specifically with matters regarding the promotion of the art and culture industry. Highlights of the National Arts Council includes the annual South African Music Awards and National Art Festival (#DocYRBK), both of which seek to support and promote South Africa's diverse arts and cultures in line with the discourses of social transformation and inclusivity. Legislatively, the National Art Council Act no. 56 of 1997, which established the National Arts Council, seeks to preserve art and culture by ensuring its continued use and practice (DACST, 1998). Section 5.3 below discusses how the discourses of "social transformation", "inclusivity", and "nation building and unity" manifest within heritage management practices, as observed in this study.

5.3 Heritage management practices in post apartheid South Africa

In pursuit of nation building, social transformation and inclusivity, and the desire to address the alienation of local communities from the management, access and

ownership of local heritage resources, as highlighted earlier on in this chapter, a number of strategies are being deployed. At policy level there is the devolution of powers down to local community level, contained in the NHR Act no. 25 of 1999 (#DocNHRA) and elaborated below (see Section 5.3.1)

5.3.1 Devolution of powers

Section 8 of the NHR Act no. 25 of 1999 provides (#DocNHRA & #FgI 1-5) for a three-tier system for heritage resources management within which powers are devolved to provincial and local level institutions. Heritage resources are therefore classified into three levels as follows:

> **Grade 1**: Heritage resources of special national significance;
> **Grade 2**: Heritage resources of significance within the context of a province; and
> **Grade 3**: All other heritage resources worth conserving.

According to the NHR Act, management of Grade 1 heritage resources is the direct responsibility of the South Africa Heritage Resources Agency whilst Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities and local municipalities (including community based organisations) directly manage grade 2 and 3 heritage resources respectively (NHR Act no. 25 of 1999). However the fact that central government still controls and manages grade 1 heritage resources, which the NHR Act claims are of national significance, reflects that local communities have not yet been given full control. The rationality of central government wanting to control the most important heritage resources confirms nation state interest in determining how heritage should be used (Fontein, 2006; Fairweather, 2006). It also reflects political discourses underlying the grading of heritage resources and prioritisation of heritage projects within post apartheid South Africa (#DocSN, and also see Section 3.7.3). It is also interesting to note that the NHR Act clearly stipulates that both provincial and heritage institutions are in essence structures of government whose policy directions and membership are determined by the Member of Executive Council, who represent central government at provincial level (#DocNHRA). Devolution of power to provincial and local levels in its current state, as observed in this study, is not enough to revive the order of the day as was the case in pre-colonial times where traditional institutions were in total charge of heritage resources within their own areas of influence (see Chapter One,

Section 1.2.1) neither does it suffice to re-constitute the public spheres that Habermas envisions in his critical social theory (see Sections 3.5 and 3.6).

5.3.2 Examples of heritage management practices in post apartheid South Africa

There are numerous heritage resources management projects, all of them implicitly or explicitly resonating with the discourses of "nation building", social "transformation" and "inclusivity" as pointed out in Section 5.1. Examples of these include:

5.3.2.1 Hoyozela

Hoyozela is a Xitsonga language campaign started in 1998 (#DocWP & #DocYRBK). This was aimed at promoting respect and recognition of each of South Africa's minority languages (DACST, 1998). This project was mooted out of the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (#DocWP), which argued that every South African has a right to his or her own ethnic language, and as such all the local languages need to be promoted, respected and used within and across major public media in the country (DACST, 1996). Testimony of the impacts of this heritage project include the observed use of different, though not all local languages in the singing of the national anthem of South Africa, and proliferation of programmes in the public media using the country's diverse languages. These changes illustrate how the discourses of social transformation, inclusivity, and nation building reproduce themselves within heritage management in post apartheid South Africa.

5.3.2.2 Heroes and Heroines project

Considerable work has been done in this regard (#DocYRBK & FgI 1 & 2), including the recent declaration of Helen Joseph and Charlotte Maxette as some of South Africa's heroines and the subsequent declaration of their graves as national monuments grade 1. Thus the management of these graves became a task of SAHRA's Graves and Memorial Unit (#DocNHRA & also see Section 5.3.1). This project, because it seeks to recognise the country's formerly neglected heroes and heroines, also illustrates how the discourses of social transformation, reconciliation, and inclusivity, shape heritage management practices in South Africa. The selection and nomination processes associated with the Heroes and Heroines project remains contested (#FgI 5). A name that does not make political sense or that is not aligned to the political party of the day seems to be rarely considered. Habermas's critical social

theory helped me to understand the inclusions and exclusions as observed in this study (also see Section 3.7.3).

5.3.2.3 Legacy projects

An interdepartmental legacy committee was set up to acknowledge and honour South Africa's neglected heritage and this has resulted in projects such as the Nelson Mandela Museum at Umtata in the Eastern Cape, the Khoe and San project, a monument commemorating women contributions to the freedom struggle at the Union building in Pretoria and a commemoration of the 1839 clash at Blood river between the Voorttrekkers and Zulu warriors, to name only a few (#DocYRBK & #DocWP). Legacy projects entail the development of symbols or plaques and monuments (statues), renaming of museums, universities and or roads as contained in SAGN Act discussed earlier in this chapter, in honour of important events or individuals associated with the historical trajectories of post apartheid South Africa (#FgI 1-5). A close analysis of the 1996 White Paper on Arts and Culture (#DocWP), from which the legacy project emerged, showed how discourses of "nation building", "social transformation" and "inclusivity" as embedded in the country's colonial history (see Section 5.1), determine how heritage is constructed and managed in South Africa. It also illustrated how nations stake, as Habermas's critical social theory argues (see Chapter Three), appropriate heritage resources for their own economic and political interest.

5.3.2.4 Establishment of cultural museums

Museums provide the windows to the natural and cultural heritage of a country (Deacon, 2003; Des & Leon, 2011). At the inception of democracy, the South African government embarked on a process of restructuring the country's museums in order to establish a national museum service which is of a high standard, while reflecting the diversity of the country's cultural heritage (DACST, 1998; Bredekamp, 2009). Part of this process involved the establishment of cultural museums across the country (#DocYRBK). Cultural museums established in South Africa include the South African Cultural History Museum in Cape Town, National Cultural Museum in Pretoria, Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg and the Museum Africa in Johannesburg (DACST, 1998). An important mandate of the museums is among other tasks to

promote representation of formerly marginalised cultural heritages and the associated inclusive interpretation and presentation to the public (#DocWP & #DocAM).

The reorientation of museums from a focus on natural towards cultural is illustrative of the dominant discourses inherent in the country as already alluded to in Section 5.1. An example is that of the Albany Museum where the mission statement of the museum is now clearly biased towards nation building, social transformation and inclusivity (#DocAM). Part of the museum's mission statement reads: "to develop **transformed** and **representative** (own emphasis) collections reflecting our social and natural environment with particular reference to the Eastern Cape" (#DocAM).

From this, it is apparent that heritage resources management projects being implemented in post apartheid South Africa have embedded within themselves discourses of nation building, social transformation and inclusivity (#DocNHRA, #DocYRBK & #DocWP). Given the country's history this can be easily understood (see Sections 1.2.1 and 4.5.2). Important for this study is the realisation that the same discourses, as will be discussed in the next section, seem to have permeated into education settings and are being reproduced and reinforced through different educational reforms and initiatives (see Section 5.4).

5.4 Heritage education practices in South Africa: the case of Albany Museum
Heritage education practices in post apartheid South Africa exist and play out in different forms (Shava & Zazu, 2012). According to Shava and Zazu (ibid.) heritage education in South Africa ranges from education processes taking place within museums, formal schools, and cultural villages, to the interpretation and presentation of archaeological sites such as Mapungubwe, Cango caves and the Cradle of Mankind (see also interview #PM & #AM). Heritage education in post apartheid South Africa, as observed at Albany Museum, is to a substantive extent, shaped and influenced by the discourses of "social transformation", "inclusivity", and "nation-building" inherent in the country's heritage policy frameworks, as overviewed in Section 5.1. The case of the Albany Museum education programme illustrates how these discourses unfold within heritage education practices in the country. The case of Albany Museum sheds more light on how the same discourses influence

representation and use of indigenous cultural heritages, those of the amaXhosa tribes within the museum's education programme (see Chapter Eight)

5.4.1 Education at Albany Museum

South Africa has more than 300 museums and these range from museums of geology, natural history, archaeology, and art to mining, agriculture and now cultural museums (DACST, 1998; Republic of South Africa, 2010a). The Albany Museum is one of 300 museums in the country. Established in 1855, the Albany Museum is the second oldest museum in South Africa and was founded in 1855 (interview #AM & #DocAM). The museum comprises of the Natural Science Museum, the History Museum, the Observatory Museum, the Provost, Fort Selwyn buildings and the Drostdy Arch (#DocAM & interview #PZ). An integral part of the Albany Museum function is education.

In line with the museum's reoriented vision of nation-building and mission of social transformation and inclusivity (#DocAM), the education programme of the Albany museum is also being reoriented. Asked to comment about the changes that have taken place within the education programme since the attainment of democracy, the head of education department at the museum said:

> *Yes bhuti, we have changed a bit than in the past, and now we have a mobile museum, as I am saying reaching to the people, going to schools, this museum service goes to poor farm schools to educate learners about South Africa ... iculture.* (interview #AM).

The museum's anthropologist and curator added that:

> *Things have changed in that regard because we have now become more inclusive in our work and displays. We no longer work in a vacuum and interpret things for the people ... as if we are champions of that culture.* (interview #PZ).

The same interviewee further highlighted how the Albany Museum's perception of the general public has changed by saying that:

> *We want people to understand that museums are their institutions and not only a place where you can fold your arms and work and interpret things for the people. Yes there is a lot happening due to the change and people are getting*

involved because we now don't necessarily take them as visitors, we now take
them as stakeholders because we changed our policies. (interview #PZ).

During field observations it was also interesting to note that indigenous cultural heritage objects are now more represented (#FoAM) within the Albany History Museum (see Figure 6 below). Figure 6 shows some of the amaXhosa cultural heritage objects exhibited at the Albany History Museum.

Figure 6*: AmaXhosa calabash and pottery exhibited at the*
Albany History Museum (#FoAMphotos)

The change in composition of heritage objects exhibited within the History museum was confirmed by the museum's curator when she said:

> *What usually used to happen is to exhibit Western objects, they were not our*
> *cultures as per se, they were not inclusive but now everybody is welcome, is*
> *now feeling welcome to the museum because currently we are having an*
> *exhibition on traditional or indigenous African cultures. These are things that*
> *used not to happen.* (interview #PZ).

Changes taking place within the Albany Museum as illustrated above have had an impact on the overall orientation and focus of the museum's education programme. Asked to comment on the constitution of heritage education at the Albany Museum, the Head of Department responded by saying:

Education here is divided into two: there is in house education and out house. The outhouse is the outreach that I am running but the in house, the learners are coming here to the museum, here we have different galleries, we have mammal gallery, we have got urban space gallery, we got planet gallery, we have birds' gallery and so on. When it comes to outreach I have some projects of the museum like Mandela Day. (interview #AM).

Interpretation of heritage objects and galleries forms the basis of education practices taking place at Albany Museum (interviews #AM & #PZ) and different teaching and learning approaches are being deployed (#FoAM). Box 4 below summarises the education programme of the Albany Museum.

Box 4: Some of the educational activities at the Albany Museum

The Education Department of the Albany Museum, in line with its aim of fostering understanding, care and respect for all forms of natural, scientific and cultural life in South Africa, organise and implement interesting and informative educational programmes. The Museum's service base includes some 10 000-16 000 learners attending museum lessons each year, a Mobile Service and various outreach projects to formerly disadvantaged communities.

Some of Albany Museum's educational programmes are:

- The Earth and Space Gallery

- The Big Five in Heritage

- Exploring the Seashore

- The History of Grahamstown

- The Khoisan and *AmaXhosa* Culture and Lifestyles

- *Imithi nencubeko yamaXhosa* (Plants and Xhosa culture)

(Source: EduMuseum Vol 1 of 2009: A guide to the Education Department (#DocAM)

The Albany Museum offers different forms of education services (#DocAM and interviews #AM & #PZ) with the potential to help learners to understand heritage as a broader concept encompassing both natural and cultural aspects (see Chapter Two, Section 2.1). However, in practice, the education programme at the Albany Museum appears to have been reoriented towards achievement of social transformation, inclusivity and nation building (#FoAM & interview #AM) in ways that foreshadow the need for the educators to work with a broader construct of heritage, and one that goes beyond redress of past injustices towards greater understanding and development of a conservation ethic. The museum's vision of becoming an integral part of the community contributing to the process of nation-building through nurturing a society that is aware of the value of the past and is constructively engaged in the present in order to create a better future (#DocAM), seems to have restricted the museum's cultural heritage education programme to focus more on the history of the country than other aspects of heritage (Bredekamp, 2009; Marschall, 2010). The changes made within the Albany Museum's education programmes, as observed in this study, have tended not to go beyond focusing on issues tied to discourses of social transformation and raising awareness amongst learners and the general public on the broader view of heritage (interviews #AM & #PZ, also see Sections 2.4 & 2.5).

Initiatives such as the mobile museum seem to have been introduced as strategies for transforming the museum education services into a non racial and inclusive space for education and enjoyment (#DocAM & #DocYRBK; Gibson, 2006). How this kind of reorientation, as observed at the Albany Museum, supports sustainability of the country's heritage estate is not yet fully established. In an interview the officer in charge of the mobile museum project pointed out that:

> *This museum service goes to poor farm schools to educate learners about South Africa. We know that these schools do not have resources. So my job is to take the museum to schools, to the people who were not having access to these places.* (interview #AM).

The desire to make museum education accessible to the formerly disadvantaged sectors of society is noble and in South Africa (where issues of access to education are critical) such initiatives as the mobile museum gain added significance. Closely related to issues of access and the need to decolonise [museum] education spaces (Makhoba, 2009), efforts to encourage formerly disadvantaged peoples to visit and enjoy the services offered at the Albany Museum seem to have paid off. Asked to

comment on the composition of visitors to the museum since the inception of democracy, the museum anthropologist said that:

> *There is a change each and every year, there is a change and people who are more coming are the schools from the township with black learners and coloured learners. You know we still need to educate people to understand that this is a place for everyone. You know there are people in Grahamstown who does not know how our doors look like inside.* (interview #PZ).

Asked to explain further, the same interviewee said "we are saying the numbers of black children are increasing which is our target" (interview #PZ). Of interest here is to note how strong discourses of social transformation and inclusivity are, as well as how much they seem to be shaping education within museums. Even the use of terms like "ours" and "people" by museum officers (at times without being alert to what these terms refer to), illustrates how deeply embedded the discourses inherent within heritage policy in post apartheid South Africa (see Section 5.1) have become (see Section 4.5.2).

Also interesting was the observation that the education programme at the Albany Museum uses a range of teaching and learning approaches (#FoAM & interview #AM) which, when closely analysed, reflect the same discourses as highlighted above. The following are some of these approaches:

5.4.1.1 Focus weeks

Focus weeks are commonly used within the Albany Museum education programme. These are structured along a particular topic. Responding to a question on what the focus weeks entail the head of education department said:

> *The museum has focus weeks, an example is the amaXhosa food focus week that focuses on cultural foods, in that week we teach learners about amaXhosa lifestyles, and we teach the learners about Xhosa foods. Foods like umphokoqo, umngqusho, we discuss Xhosa cultures like gulaluko, that is circumcision or intonjane that is ritual for the girls. The amaXhosa food week is a famous thing because all the schools want to come to the museum.* (interview #AM).

During the focus weeks learners are encouraged to participate not only in the eating of amaXhosa foods but to actively volunteer to help in the preparation of the foods. Parents from local communities are also invited to help with the cooking of the foods such as *isigwamba* and *umphokoqo* (interview #AM). The focus food weeks at

Albany Museum therefore represent opportunities for children to learn by doing. As the education officer pointed out, this makes heritage education interesting for the learners (interview #AM). Craft workshops, performance in dance and other cultural ceremonies and festivals such as preparing traditional foods provide a rich participatory learning environment for learners to experience cultural heritage (Shava & Zazu, 2012). They become memorable experiences that the learners can cherish. Commenting on the importance of focus weeks such as the amaXhosa food weeks, the museum anthropologist also argued that "it is important because most of the children come from modern schools and they forget where they come from" (interview #PZ). Other cultural heritage related education initiatives run by the Albany Museum are shown in Box 4.

5.4.1.2 Special days and festivals

In addition to gallery based education activities, the Albany Museum also uses the commemoration of special days and festivals like Heritage Day, National Science Festival, the International Museum Day and Mandela Day as ways of educating people about South Africa's heritage (#DocAM & #FoAM). According to the head of department the museum participates actively in these special days. During Heritage Day, lessons aimed at promoting learning about and understanding of traditional amaXhosa cultures, including talks on *imifino* (traditional veldkos [vegetable]) and a powerpoint lecture on the power of the Calabash are offered (interview #PZ).

5.5 Education at the Albany Museum: Linkages with formal education system

The Albany Museum education department also works closely with local schools. Commenting on the museum's interaction with local schools the Head of Department said:

> *What I do, I have two workshops with the teachers, one on the importance of the museum and one on the importance of the lessons of the museum that I teach in schools. Okay the mobile museum is linked to the school curriculum because topics I teach here are also being used at school.* (interview #AM).

The link between museum education and the formal school system is also situated within the broader changes implemented in the country's education system since the inception of democracy (interview #NJ). In South Africa, the formal education system has, since 2003 also become pivotal in promoting heritage education (Department of

Education, 2003; Mhlungu, 2009; Nkwenti, 2010). In 2003 the Department of Education introduced heritage outcomes into the subject of History, which continues to be a central feature in grades 10, 11 and 12 (interview #NJ & #DocCAPS). Heritage outcomes in History require learners to research a particular heritage topic and to write a report which is submitted for examination (#DocCAPS, also see Appendix 8*)*. An interview with a local History Subject Advisor illuminated heritage education in formal schools:

> *I am the subject advisor for History senior phase. I am dealing specifically with grade 10 up to grade 12 so the History that I am dealing with is in both grades. So in History we do have heritage as a learning outcome heritage education is our learning outcome number 4, yes learning outcome number 4. So in History grade 10 to 12 we talk of heritage as the third paper as we say it is the practical. If a learner is not having a heritage project in grade 10 he is not suppose to go to grade 11, it's a requirement that those marks must be there.* (Interview #NJ).

Insights emerging from the generative workshops (#WrkShpNotes) and a review of teachers' demonstration lessons plans indicated that the heritage outcome also encourages learners to visit local museums and heritage sites searching for information which they can use to complete their projects. The History Subject Advisor further pointed out that "we need to work hand in hand with those who are working in museums" (interview #NJ). The link between education at the Albany Museum and the formal school system is therefore quite apparent. The influence of discourses of nation building, social transformation and inclusivity is also conspicuous within formal education settings. Asked to comment about the value of integrating heritage education within the curriculum, the History Subject Advisor said:

> *Heritage education is giving the community, is giving the learners a chance to rewrite our history. They are [were] areas that don't even appear in our textbooks so the heritage education outcome is giving a chance to rewrite that history.* (interview #NJ).

Based on this discourse analysis it is easy to understand why most of the objectives and topics of the new History curriculum have an orientation of social transformation and inclusivity, more so than anything else (Koekemoer, 2010). Topics requiring learners to debate "indigenous knowledge systems" or ideologies around heritage issues and public representations are imbued with the dominant discourses discussed across this chapter (#DocCAPS). Introduction of the heritage outcome into the formal

education system can therefore be viewed as motivated by the need to transform education towards becoming inclusive of the formerly marginalised indigenous cultures (Witz, 2000; Mhlungu, 2009; Koekemoer, 2010). Some of the contestations and challenges relating to the heritage outcome (see Section 8.2) can be understood from this observation (Makhoba, 2009; Koekemoer, 2010). Further to note is that the heritage outcomes in History seem to have focused on certain eras of history leaving out those histories considered not politically important (Koekemoer, 2010). According to Koekemoer (2010: 10) "the period stretching from 1850 to 1948 is simply not focused on", a finding that was also confirmed in a document analysis of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (#DocCAPS). A critical question to ask would be 'why this is the case?' From this one can infer that the heritage outcome seems to have been based on a narrow concept of heritage as history, as well as the selection of which histories to cover, is also determined by the politics of the day (McKernan, 2008). The implications of this, for the potential of heritage education in post apartheid South Africa, as observed in this study, to promote sustainable management of heritage resources, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8 (see Section 8.3)

In this study museum education emerged to be a very important component of the heritage education landscape in post apartheid South Africa. In museums such as the Albany Museum, learners can learn a considerable amount about different natural and cultural heritage objects and how these relate to their lived experiences (Shava & Zazu, 2012). Museums provide a rich collection of objects of both natural and cultural orientation within one place making them easily accessible to learners (Kelly & Ni Laoire, 2005; Des & Leon, 2011; Szekeres, 2011). However, the manner in which the Albany Museum's education programme has responded to discourses of nation building, social transformation and particularly the inclusion of indigenous local cultures and histories (the amaXhosa culture), is contested. This is because whilst museum education in post apartheid South Africa is expected to and should support nation building, social cohesion and unity in diversity (as captured in the country's coat of arms), its focus and goals need also to encompass development of a sense of responsibility and stewardship towards local heritage resources. As it stands, the education programme at the Albany Museum can be easily misinterpreted to have defined heritage limited to history and history that is steeped in controversy (see

Section 1.2.1). Kros (2003) and Deacon (2004) argue that heritage and history, though similar, are not necessarily the same, and that to conceive of heritage as limited to history, is problematic.

The influence of discourses of social transformation and inclusivity on the orientation and constitution of educational initiatives such as the mobile museum, the amaXhosa food weeks, and special days like the Mandela Day is apparent, but what may not be certain is the value that the added educational initiatives have added to the overall education programme of the Albany Museum. Scrutinised from a different angle one can also see that some of the educational initiatives of the Albany Museum seem to be promoting certain ideologies around heritage and undermining others (#DocNHRA & #DocNMC, also see section 4.5.2). Elements of what Smith (2006) refers to as authorised heritage discourses are apparent here (see Section 2.1). Hence the selection of heritage objects to represent within the museum, the content to be learnt and approaches used within the Albany Museum's education programme appear to be shaped and influenced by the politics of the day and interests of the incumbent government (Habermas, 1984 & 1987; McKernan, 2008).

Contrary to current practices and interpretation of inclusivity as playing out within Albany Museum may need to acknowledge the multiple histories and cultures inherent in South Africa (see Section 2.5) and emphasise all of them as worth learning about, even though some may require foregrounding in the context of historical neglect and oppression (Kelly & Ni'laore, 2005; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Swart, 2008; Makhoba, 2009). Museum [heritage] education, as embedded in its history, also needs to raise awareness amongst visitors and learners of the importance of conserving heritage resources (Hunter, 1988; Damm, 2005; Saunders, 2007). In order to do this the education programmes need to also recognise the interlinkages between natural and cultural heritage (see Section 2.1). Over-emphasis on the historical and cultural aspects of heritage over other equally important perspectives, as observed within the selected Albany Museum education programmes negates the potential of the museum's education programme to help the learner conceive of heritage holistically. Implications of this thinking on the value of heritage education in the region are further discussed in Chapter Eight.

Conclusion

Chapter Five provided an overview of the observed heritage education practices at the Albany Museum in South Africa. To help the reader appreciate the constitution and orientation of the observed heritage education practices, this chapter opened by providing an orienting historical overview of South Africa, identifying and highlighting dominant discourses shaping the country's heritage policy and legislative frameworks and how the same discourses ultimately influence how heritage is constructed, managed and represented within education practices. From there the chapter provided a detailed discussion of heritage education at the Albany Museum, and problematised the way the museum's education programme reproduces and reinforces discourses of nation building, social transformation and inclusivity. The chapter argued that heritage education at the museum tends to construct heritage as limited to history and that this school of thought has left very little room for learners to learn about heritage in a holistic manner that promotes stewardship and responsibility towards local heritage resources in addition to discourses of access, ownership, redress and inclusion.

DISCOURSES INFLUENCING HERITAGE POLICY, MANAGEMENT AND EDUCATION PRACTICES : THE CASE OF POST COLONIAL ZIMBABWE

Introduction

Chapter Six provides an overview of heritage education practices in post colonial Zimbabwe. The chapter first gives a brief historical background to Zimbabwe as a country. The reason for doing this is the same as for the previous chapter (see Chapter Five). Discourses inherent within the historical context of Zimbabwe are therefore explored and followed by a discussion of how the same discourses have shaped heritage policy and management practices in the country. Examples of heritage management practices illustrating the influence of identified discourses are also given. Chapter Six then moves on to discuss the status of heritage education practices in Zimbabwe, with a particular focus on how these education practices are being shaped and influenced by the discourses made reference to above. Chapter Six also discusses how the discourses of "access and ownership", "culture and identity" and "national sovereignty" inherent within heritage policy, determine how heritage education at Great Zimbabwe represents formerly marginalised indigenous heritage constructs. Insights gained from the discussion that ensues in Chapter Six are used to further interrogate and problematise the emerging patterns and trends of representing indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa (see Chapter Eight).

6.1 Historical overview

Events leading to the colonisation of Zimbabwe date back to the 1890s: the country became a British colony in 1923, and later gained political independence and became a republic in 1980 (Beach, 1999). The effect of colonialism in Zimbabwe, though not exactly the same as that of South Africa, is similar in that in both countries indigenous people lost access to and control of their heritage and cultural practices (see Section 1.2.1). With attainment of political independence, effort to address injustices associated with colonialism and state formation are being made (Malegapuru, 1999; Ndoro & Pwiti 2001; Ndoro, 2005). Some of these efforts entailed heritage policy and

practice reforms, and are discussed in detail later across this chapter (#FgI 6, #DocNCP & #DocNMMA).

Zimbabwe is located in the southern part of Africa, and borders Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa and Zambia. The country is also rated as culturally diverse (Munjeri, 2004; Ndoro, 2005; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). The National Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe (2004: 8) describes the country as having "a rich cultural heritage built over a long period of time" (#DocNCP). Major languages in Zimbabwe are English, Shona and Ndebele, and these are also used as the medium of instruction in the country's education system (Nyoni & Nyoni, 2010). More than 60% of Zimbabwe's approximately 15 million people live in rural areas, where they continue to depend directly on local natural resources and ecosystem services (Scoones, 2009). However, societies in Zimbabwe have largely remained highly differentiated with both Christianity and tradition playing an important role in shaping people's daily lives (Beach 1999; Mararike, 1999). Zimbabwe also boasts a rich natural heritage. The country has got a number of internationally recognised national parks, World Heritage sites and biospheres, such as Hwange and Gonarezhou (#DocNCP & FgI 6). The mighty Victoria Falls which the country shares with Zambia, the Great Zimbabwe monument (a World Heritage site) in Masvingo province, and Matopos, just outside the city of Bulawayo, are some of the country's renowned heritage sites (#DocAfrica2009). In addition, the country is also endowed with valuable rock art sites, of which Domboshawa monument is one (Manyanga, 2000; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008).

Figure 7 that follows shows a map of Zimbabwe providing detail into the diversity and geographical distribution of some of the country's heritage sites.
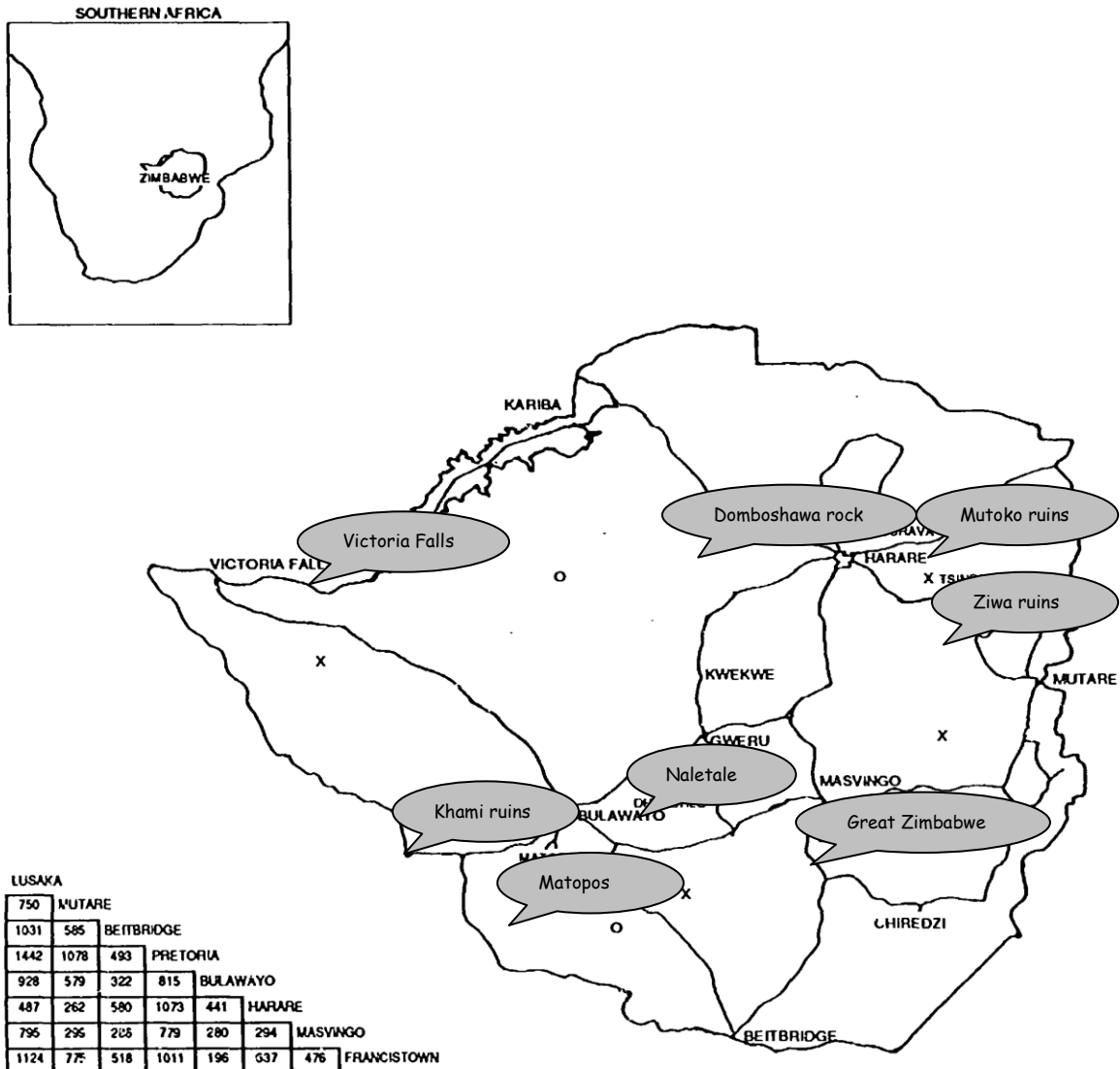
Figure 7: Map showing distribution of heritage sites in Zimbabwe (#DocZMP)

The republic of Zimbabwe is a signatory to both UNESCO's 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural heritage (commonly called the World Heritage Convention) and the recent 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (#DocWBreport). The country is also a signatory to ICOMOS's 1999 Burra Charter (Ndoro & Pwiti, 2000; Ndoro, 2005). Much of the country's heritage policy, management and education practices are therefore influenced by these global policy frameworks. The history of Zimbabwe and its memberships to international conventions significantly determines how heritage is constructed, managed and used within the country (#DocAfrica2009). As in the case of South Africa (see Section 5.1), the colonial history of Zimbabwe, and the discourses embedded in this history, shape the country's heritage policy and

legislation (#DocAfrica2009 & #DocLFPIM). Analysis of the country's policy documents (#DocNCP & #DocNMMA) revealed that the discourses of "access and ownership", "culture and identity" and "national sovereignty" are quite apparent. The same discourses can also be understood against the southern African region's contested history of colonisation and state formation (see Sections 1.2.1 & 3.7.1). Effort to address the alienation of local people in the management and enjoyment of heritage resources in Zimbabwe (Manyanga, 2000; Katsamudanga, 2004; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008), as observed in this study, are largely influenced by the discourses pointed out above (#DocNCP & #DocNMMA). Section 6.2 below discusses how the discourses of "access and ownership" "culture and identity" and "national sovereignty" shape heritage policy in post colonial Zimbabwe.

6.2 Heritage policy frameworks in post colonial Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's heritage policy framework, like in the other two countries covered in this study, has also evolved (#DocNMMA & #DocNCP). Changes in heritage policy and legislation are motivated by the need to address inequalities and marginalisation brought by colonialism (Chivaura, 2002; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). In practice the changes entailed either amendments of existing heritage policies and legislation, or formulation of totally new policies. For instance the National Museums and Monument Act no. 25/11 of 1972 has been amended a number of times. Sections 17, 42, 4, 29 and 22 of the Act were amended in 1972, 1976, 1984, 1990 and 2001 respectively (#DocNMMA). Of interest is that, as from 1984, section 4 (1) of the Act read "The national museums and other property of the Board shall be held in trust for the **"people"** (own emphasis) of Zimbabwe" (National Museums and Monument Act 25/11: 03). And as can be easily noted, the emphasis on heritage as belonging to the people of Zimbabwe, "people" being a term not explicitly defined but most likely referring to indigenous people (see Section 4.5.2), is deeply embedded in the discourses associated with the need to redress injustices of the past.

Commenting on how policy changes have allowed local communities to access and participate actively in the management of the Great Zimbabwe monument, an officer at the monument said that:

> *It's a joint venture, so we now accept that these things must be given back to the **"communities"** (own emphasis), here at Great Zimbabwe we now have a*

committee of elders who live around this place who meet once a month, to discuss about Great Zimbabwe. Like for example if they want to do their rituals what do they expect us to do? How do they want us to open up so that it's accessible even when we talk of the grass and grazing here and so on? This is what we are saying to them as communities living around Great Zimbabwe. It is to try and incorporate the local communities and as I have said. (interview #NM).

Even the use of terms such as "communities" to most likely refer to formerly marginalised indigenous people in Zimbabwe, is testimony to how language use within heritage resources management has changed since attainment of political independence in the country. Challenges associated with such strategic use of language as Habermas (1984 &1987) argued, are further problematised in Chapters Eight and Nine.

On the other hand, the observed changes in policy are also premised on the argument that heritage legislation in post colonial southern African region (Zimbabwe being part of this) has remained largely Eurocentric, fragmented and inadequate to meet the demands of the present day cultural heritage resources management (#DocWBreport & #DocAfrica2009). In a paper presented at Africa 2009's Third Regional Thematic Seminar Legal Frameworks for the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage held in Harare in 2002, Chivaura alluded to this observation by claiming that:

> Present legal instruments in Zimbabwe for cultural protection Chapter 25/11 springs from the colonial period. It was formulated to address certain issues prevailing at the time. The law has had cosmetic changes since independence however, the thrust remains the same. The definitions of heritage are also restricted to the monuments, relics and sites. The Act does not concern itself with the general community. (#DocAfrica2009).

In response, the present day government of Zimbabwe is therefore reorienting the country's heritage policy to allow for a broader and more inclusive view of heritage, one that goes beyond heritage as limited to monuments towards heritage as a cultural landscape (see Section 2.1). Where policy amendments have not been made statutory, instruments (by-laws promulgated without necessarily passing through Parliament) are used to allow for the desired changes (#FgI 6). An example illustrating this is the case of Ziwa National Monument, in the eastern province of country where local communities were allowed to embark on a bee-keeping project, even though the

National Museums and Monument Act 25/11 does not allow for this (Chauke, G. personal communication, September 6, 2010).

Besides amending the existing heritage policy and legislation a new "Cultural Policy" was formulated and enacted in 2004 (#DocNCP). The Cultural Policy as illustrated in Box 5 below appears to have been heavily influenced by the discourses of culture and identity and the need to adequately represent indigenous cultures in heritage management and education practices (Manyanga, 2000; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). The preamble of Zimbabwe's Cultural Policy of 2004 is very clear on its purpose as seen in the excerpt in Box 5 below. The last part of the preamble is very vocal about the need to revive and promote traditional Zimbabwean cultures.

Box 5: Preamble to the Cultural Policy of 2004, Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has a rich cultural heritage built over a long period of time. The defeat of indigenous people by settler colonialists in the first Chimurenga witnessed some erosion of our traditions, values and religion. Colonialism wanted to create a black man with foreign cultural traditions. Our rich cultural heritage, which withstood this onslaught, has to be promoted and preserved as it defines us as a people within the global community. Our cultural values, norms, ritual and religion have managed to shape us as a people with our own way of life, religion, beliefs and the way we relate to our environment. Our value systems and beliefs give us an identity, as a people. We are a diverse cultural and racial society which has co-existed for centuries peacefully owing to the respect and dignity given to various ethnic groups within our communities. Some of our traditional values and beliefs seem to be disappearing owing to various factors, which include colonialism, urbanisation, globalisation and acculturation. **The need to promote and preserve our cultural heritage has become more important in the face of the above factors**.

Source: Excerpt from the Cultural Policy of 2004 (#DocNCP)

Implications of both the amendments of the existing heritage policies and formulation of new policies such as the Cultural Policy of 2004 on the constitution and orientation of heritage management and education practices in post colonial Zimbabwe are of interest to this study and will be further interrogated. For instance, the promulgation of the Cultural Policy in Zimbabwe was followed by the development of a number of strategies for implementation, one of them being the need to increase content on indigenous cultures into the formal education system (#FgI 6 & #DocNCP). Also of interest to note is that alongside the changes in policy and legislation, as discussed above, a number of heritage management initiatives have been developed and are

being implemented across the country. These initiatives are discussed in detail in the next section.

6.3 Heritage management practices in post colonial Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, management of heritage resources is determined by the National Museums and Monuments Act 25/11 (Collett, 1994; Chivaura, 2002; Munjeri, 2004; Ndoro, 2005). According to Collett (1994) the NMM Act 25/11 provided for the establishment of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) whose mandate is to hold the national museums, monuments, and other heritage resources in trust for the people of Zimbabwe (#DocNMMA & #DocZMP). The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe fall within the Ministry of Home Affairs which is responsible for the day to day execution of the NMM Act 25/11 (#DocZMP).

The NMMZ has three regional nodes, each located within a key heritage site or museum (#DocNCP). Management at the regional level is the responsibility of the Regional director and his staff (Chauke, G, personal communication, September 6 2010). Also important to mention is that at each of the museums across the country is an education department in itself solely responsible for education and awareness (see interview #NM). More details on the education services of museums are provided shortly in this chapter. The NMMZ is also legislatively expected to work in collaboration with other governmental organisations with a focus on heritage such as the National Arts Council and National Gallery of Zimbabwe (#DocNMMA). The National Arts Council was created to oversee the promotion of Zimbabwe's arts and culture industry (drama, theatre, dance, songs and music), much the same as in the case of National Art Council in South Africa (#DocNACZ) Council of Zimbabwe Act [Chapter 25:07]). The National Gallery of Zimbabwe has its headquarters in Harare and is dedicated to the conservation and promotion of Zimbabwe's contemporary art and visual heritage. These heritages include sculptures, soap stone and wood carvings, fine arts and oil paintings (Willett, 2002; Winter-Irving, 2004).

6.3.1 Role of museums in heritage resources management

Museums play an important role in the protection and preservation of both natural and cultural heritage (Gibson, 2006; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). In Zimbabwe the case of the Natural History Museum is illustrative of this claim (#FoGZ). As observed during

the field visit to Zimbabwe the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo is an archive for very significant archaeological objects such as the traditional male pot that was uncovered at Great Zimbabwe monument, and which continues to shape the debate on the origins of Great Zimbabwe (see Figure 8 below).

Figure 8*: The traditional male pot kept at Natural History Museum* (#FoGZ)

One of the contested epistemological debates around Great Zimbabwe (#DocTGGZ) focuses on the origin, ownership of, identity with and access to the monument (Garlake, 1973; Beach, 1980; British Museum, 2010). By archiving cultural heritage objects such as the male pot, museums in post colonial Zimbabwe are playing a vital role in promoting discourses linking ownership and identity of the monument to indigenous people (Ranger, 2004; Fontein, 2006). Museums in Zimbabwe are therefore integral to successful management of heritage as they represent repositories of collections and information regarding heritage objects of significance to the country. For this study, this observation was critical in that it helped me appreciate

why education services provided by museums, as in the case of Great Zimbabwe, are the basis and cornerstone of the heritage education landscape in Zimbabwe (see Section 6. 4.1). It was also interesting to start thinking of how discourses discussed above have also influenced the way heritage is managed in the country, as is discussed in the next section (6.3.2).

6.3.2 Management practices at the Great Zimbabwe monument

In line with the discourses of "access and ownership", "culture and identity" as well as "national sovereignty" as highlighted in Section 6.2, the management of heritage resources in Zimbabwe has undergone substantial transformation (interview #NM). The case of the Great Zimbabwe monument is representative of these processes of transformation. At the Great Zimbabwe monument a number of heritage management strategies are underway (#FoGZ). The rationale behind the observed strategies boils down to the need to enhance local communities' access, ownership and identity with the monument (Ndoro & Pwiti, 1999; Ndoro, 2005). Conceptually these strategies are aimed at constructing and presenting the Great Zimbabwe monument to the public as a cultural landscape instead of simply as a monument (Ndoro, 2005; Dichaba, 2010; Zazu, 2011). This is because the notion of cultural landscape allows for inclusivity of the cultures tied to natural dimensions of the monument (see Section 2.1). Some of the strategies observed at the Great Zimbabwe monument shaped by the discourses "access and ownership" "culture and identity" and "national sovereignty" include:

6.3.2.1 Negotiated and semi-restricted entry and access

Entry and access by local communities to the Great Zimbabwe monument for traditional ceremonies, for example, rain making ceremonies, has been a contested issue for a long time (Ranger, 2004; Ndoro, 2005; Fontein, 2006). People of the *Mugabe* clan and those of the *Rozvi* tribe, who claim ancestral ownership of Great Zimbabwe monument, have consistently wanted to be granted exclusive permission to conduct traditional ceremonies at the monument as and when they deemed it necessary (Ndoro, 2005; Fontein, 2006). However, as confirmed by the Director of Great Zimbabwe (Chauke, G. personal communication, September 6, 2010), policy and principles for archaeological protection and conservation did not readily accommodate these demands. With the advent of independence and the reorientation of policies towards enhancing community participation in archaeological

conservation, the management of the Great Zimbabwe monument devised a strategy for a "negotiated and semi-restricted" entry and access by local communities to the monument (interview #NM). According to the senior heritage education officer at Great Zimbabwe, traditional chiefs around Great Zimbabwe are now granted exclusive entry into the monument and local women are also allowed to cut thatch grass within the monument area. He pointed out that "now Chiefs Nemamwa and Mugabe clan and other local traditional leaders can come here and do their rituals with no problems" (interview #CZNM). This was also highlighted by the director of the monument when he commented that allowing local people to cut thatch grass has reduced incidences of veld fires as these people now place more value on the thatch grass which they use for construction of their own huts and the surplus is sold to people from as far as Harare (interview #NM). The idea of opening access to local communities and encouraging them to perceive the Great Zimbabwe monument as their own heritage appears noble, but how such initiatives have influenced representation of indigenous people's knowledge systems and practices into the education programme offered at the monument, is of more interest to this particular study and is discussed later in this chapter.

6.3.2.2 Establishment of the Shona Karanga cultural village

Another strategy aimed at improving representation and involvement of local communities in the management and enjoyment of Great Zimbabwe monument is the establishment of the Shona Karanga village within the environs of the monument (#FoGZ). According to the senior heritage education officer of Great Zimbabwe, the village provides economic benefits to local craftsmen (inclusive of women) selling crafts to tourists visiting the monument (interview #NM). In addition, the cultural village provides opportunities for local people to showcase their *Shona* cultural practices (see Figure 9 below). A local traditional dance and music group performs for visitors including school groups (interview #SJ). The meaning of the songs and dances is interpreted to the visitors contributing to the visitors' overall understanding and appreciation of the Great Zimbabwe cultural landscape. Figure 9 illustrates the constitution and socio-cultural practices within the Shona-Karanga cultural village.

View of the Shona-Karanga cultural village at Great Zimbabwe monument

Traditional dance and song to entertain visitors

Women make pottery; some of their products are displayed for sale here

Sculpture carved by men at the cultural village

Figure 9*: The Shona-Karanga cultural village – a socio-cultural and economic landscape* (#FoGZ)

However, the establishment of the cultural village within the monument has had its own challenges, specifically the debates on where to locate it and the number of times that the village location had changed since its inception in 1986 (interview #SJ). In an interview, the leader of the cultural village openly showed his dissatisfaction with the village being located far away from the Hill complex or entry side of the monument. Asked to explain, he said that

> *Vakuru veMuseum vakati musha wenyu wanyanya kusvedera pedyo nemaruins, saka ngauende kure kure uko. Asika isu tirikuti maruins aya ndeedu uye chinyakare chatinoita pano apa ndicho mucherechedzo wezvaitwa pano nemadzitateguru edu [Translation in English: The bosses of the museum said the cultural village is too close to the ruins so it must be relocated to far away. But we are saying these ruins are ours and the cultural practices we are showcasing here are representative of what our ancestors were doing here.]* (interview #SJ).

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The leader of the cultural village also showed his disapproval of the fact that he is not officially allowed to talk to visitors about the monument itself other than the traditional dances and songs that are done at the village (interview #SJ). In an interview he claimed that:

> *Isuwo kuno kana varivanhu vanoshanya ava hatibvumirwe kutaura nezveGreat Zimbabwe, zvinonzi ibasa revanhu vekumuseum iroro, saka hatiziviwo hatina chokwadi naipapo. Isu tinobvumidzwa kutaura nezvemuno matigere nokuti ndomatigere [Translation to English: Here at the village when visitors come we don't talk about the history of Great Zimbabwe ruins, we are not sure, eh we are not allowed to do that eh they say this is the job of the museum people, so we are not sure of that, we are allowed to talk about this area here because this is where we live.]* (interview #SJ).

Therefore in the establishment of the Shona Karanga cultural village, the importance of the effort in improving the participation of local people in the management and interpretation of the Great Zimbabwe monument remains contested. What seems to be playing out here is a subtle tension between local and nation state interests over the monument as a heritage resource. As already mentioned, the Great Zimbabwe monument is at a national level what gives the country its identity, yet to local people the monument is of cultural significance (see Section 2.1). The implications of such tensions on how education offered at Great Zimbabwe is representing indigenous heritage constructs, are explored later in this chapter (see Section 6.4).

6.3.2.3 Technical advisory committee (TAC)

The management at Great Zimbabwe also provides for local communities to have a say in the management of the monument by way of incorporating local chiefs into the technical advisory committee of the monument (#FoGZ, interviews #NM & #SJ). Chiefs Nemamwa and Mugabe are members of the technical advisory committee of the Great Zimbabwe monument. The two chiefs, together with selected village heads, as pointed out in a discussion with the director of Great Zimbabwe monument, represent the interests of local communities in and around the monument. Involvement of local chiefs in the decision making processes regarding the monument was also confirmed in an interview with the senior heritage education officer who said:

> *Here at Great Zimbabwe we now have a committee of elders who live around this place who meet once a month, to discuss about Great Zimbabwe.* (interview #NM).

The idea of having local leadership within the decision making and management structures, such as the case of Great Zimbabwe, illustrates efforts by post colonial governments, as influenced by the discourses of "access and ownership", to empower local communities to manage their heritage. However, the extent of the powers of the technical advisory committee compared with that of the director of the National Museums and Monuments Zimbabwe, still points to the fact that the nation state is not in a position to fully let go (see Section 3.7.1). Given the political and economic value of the Great Zimbabwe monument to government, the choice between full devolution of powers to local communities and holding on is never easy (Ranger, 2004; Fontein, 2006). The same observation also determines how the monument is interpreted and presented to the learners, as is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

6.3.2.4 Local elders as tour guides

Another initiative deployed at Great Zimbabwe monument and meant to open up more space for community participation in the interpretation and presentation of the monument, is the idea of "local elders as tour guides" (#FoGZ & interview #NM). The senior education officer pointed out that:

> *Here at Great Zimbabwe we have an old tour guide with a background of the liberation war and have also worked during the colonial days. It's very interesting how his interpretation is different from the others.* (interview #NM).

According to the senior education officer, the idea of "local elders as tour guides" involved identification of local people possessing collective memory deemed adequate to interpret and present the Great Zimbabwe monument, its history, cultural values and functionality to visitors (interview #NM). The senior education officer described the initiative as having been valuable and popular with foreign tourists. Even though I did not get a chance to be guided through the Great Zimbabwe monument by such a local elderly guide, I felt the experience could have been unique and enriching from a researcher's point of view, especially getting to know the heritage *constructs,* and side of story that the elderly tour guide (educator) chose to include or exclude, and the basis for such inclusions and exclusions. The criteria of having a liberation war background mentioned here signals that there could be more embedded in the notion of "local elders as tour guides" than simply possession of collective memory. When you juxtapose this observation with the sentiments of

sekuru Jena (interview #SJ) who complained of not being allowed to talk about the Great Zimbabwe monument to visitors despite his rich knowledge of the cultural practices attached to the monument, it becomes clear that the discourse of "national sovereignty" as pointed out in Section 6.2, is at play (also see Section 6.3.2.2).

6.3.2.5 Adopt a site

Another initiative being used to increase local communities' participation in heritage resources management at the Great Zimbabwe monument and in the Masvingo region is "adopt a site" (interview #NM & #FoGZ). This approach encompasses a process of empowering communities living within or around heritage sites, whether archaeological or rock art sites, to take control of the protection and management of such resources. It is very similar to other community based natural resources management (CBNRM) practices in Zimbabwe (Nemerai, 1995). According to Nemerai (ibid.) the "adopt a site" approach was introduced by NMMZ as a way of addressing the marginalisation of local communities in the ownership, benefit and management of local heritage resources (see also interview #NM). He further said that the strategy has been tried at a number of heritage sites in Zimbabwe. In an interview the senior heritage education officer also talked of the Chigumani "adopt a site" project:

> You heard about adopt a site programme "yatinayo"[that we have]. That means we are saying this is yours and the keeping of this place starts with you. Like we come in to assist maybe technically or so. Like Chigumani, Mamutse School has adopted Chigumani that is along the Mutare-Masvingo road. (interview #NM).

Within the "adopt a site" project the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) provides limited support and the overall management of the adopted heritage site lies within the community itself. An analysis of the NMMZ 1995 annual progress report on the "adopt a site project" (#DocAdoptGZ), revealed that this strategy has great potential to mediate the tensions and conflicts between NMMZ and local communities, as already discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 (see Section 1.2.1 & 2.1).

In rounding up this discussion on how management of heritage resources in post colonial Zimbabwe has evolved in response to discourses of "access and ownership", "culture and identity" and "national sovereignty", it is important to point out that the same discourses (given that heritage education is integral to heritage management

practice) have also greatly shaped the way heritage education in the country is framed and done. There is a critical discussion of the constitution and status of heritage education at the Great Zimbabwe monument, and how the education practices are shaped by the discourses mentioned above, in Section 6.5 below.

6.4 Heritage education practices in post colonial Zimbabwe

The history of heritage education in Zimbabwe and that of Great Zimbabwe monument dates back to the colonial era, during which it was a function of the Rhodesia museum education services (#DocGZflyer). A closer look at some of the educational materials collected from both the Natural History Museum and the Great Zimbabwe monument confirms this observation (#DocGZflyer & #DocTGGZ). Brochures and pamphlets dating back to before 1980 are still available in the archives and are rich sources of information for any one intending to study heritage education practices in the country. Heritage education practices in post colonial Zimbabwe, as observed in this study, are therefore historically tied to the establishment of museums across the country. Museums, as Litzke (2002) and Kelly and Ni'Laore (2005) pointed out, provide spaces for educating people about their heritage. However it is important to note that, as Kelly and Ni'Laore (ibid.) argued, these museums are not neutral spaces. This is because the composition of objects represented within them often, as in the case at Great Zimbabwe monument, reflects dominant ideologies in society. Heritage education at the Great Zimbabwe monument is housed and coordinated by the museum located within the monument's environs (#FoGZ & interview #NM). Education practices making up the education programme of the monument, as observed in this study, include: interpretation, a school quiz, an education outreach programme and the culture hut concept, all discussed below.

6.4.1 Museum based education (interpretation)

The museum at the Great Zimbabwe monument provides opportunities for learners and the general public to learn more about the history of the monument (Nemerai, J., personal communication, September 6, 2010). This was also alluded to by a local school head who, when asked to explain why his school had just undertaken an educational tour to the monument, said:

> *Yes the learning at Great Zimbabwe is very important. I actually accompanied the children myself when they went there because I also wanted to see what is*

being taught there. In the museum we were given somebody who went with us showing us and telling us when it [the monument] was built, how it was built, who built it and what was practised there. (interview #GOB).

When asked to elaborate on who was said to have built the monument the same interviewee said:

They said it was the vaRozvi who built it and that they believe that they are people of the totem of Moyo. Eh, eh... [a bit unsure] something of that sort. They said its vaRozvi who actually built that place some long time ago, although there is actually some people before them, but they said it's the vaRozvi themselves. (interview #GOB).

Of interest to note from the interview excerpts above is that whilst the role of museum education is certainly valuable, the discourse of "identity and ownership" of the monument, as highlighted previously, remains contested (Ndoro, 2005; Fontein, 2006; British Museum, 2010). The debate on who built Great Zimbabwe has somehow shifted from a tension between the monuments having been built by the Phoenicians or by indigenous people, to contestations within different indigenous tribes themselves. It is clear that the interpretation as reported by the school head is biased towards the VaRozvi people, whereas at national level, as illustrated in the interview excerpt (interview #NM; #DocTGGZ & #DocGZflyer) below, the monument is of Shona origin, and not a particular Shona tribe. As Fontein (2006) observed, this is indicative of the government's desire to pursue discourses of "national unity and sovereignty" (see Section 6.1). Asked to comment on the contestations around the origin of Great Zimbabwe the senior heritage education officer said:

It's not like it was always like that but this is like when we began to have black archaeologists. When I joined this there was not any black archaeologist, only white, in 1983. Yes they were white but when the black archaeologists, vana (those like) Ndoro, Chipunza and Pikirayi came, they gave us lectures that these were built by indigenous people and like we can't say this group of Shona people but these are of Shona ancestors, not Mazezuru or VaKaranga. (interview #NM).

The rationale of representing the origin of the monument within education settings and public as of Shona origin is, as already highlighted above, determined by discourses of "national sovereignty" that pervade heritage policy within post colonial Zimbabwe (#DocNMMA & #DocNCP). In terms of identity and ownership, the monument is for all the people of Zimbabwe and as such its representation in

education needs to resonate with this school of thought. However as researchers like Ndoro (2005) and Fontein (2006) have already pointed out, this thinking is not always welcome to communities living around the monument, as to them Great Zimbabwe is place of cultural significance rather than a symbol of national unity (see Section 2.1). This observation illustrates challenges associated with how to be inclusive of heritage constructs related to resources in a country concerned with national unity, and a resource that is shared by competing cultures and histories such as the Great Zimbabwe monument (De la Torre, 2002). The challenge of which history to include or exclude becomes apparent here. Interesting to point out again is that because the nation state has more power and influence on what should be taught within education (Habermas, 1987; McKernan, 2008), the theory of the monument being of Shona origin prevails across heritage education at Great Zimbabwe, over others.

Asked about what is now considered as the correct answer in the school quiz question asking learners about the origin of Great Zimbabwe, the senior heritage education officer (and coordinator of the national annual schools quiz competition) said that "since 2007 our answer is that the monument was built by people of the Shona ancestors" (interview #NM). Both Habermas's critical social theory and McKernan's critical curriculum theory talk of how the nation state influences ideologies represented within the education curriculum (see Sections 3.3 & 3.10). Implications for such discourses and tensions on the quality and relevance of heritage education in post colonial Zimbabwe are however rarely raised or discussed, hence the need to further critique these in Chapter Eight (see Section 8.3).

6.4.2 National heritage schools quiz competition

Another important education initiative at the Great Zimbabwe monument is the national heritage schools quiz competition (#FoGZ, #DocGZflyer & interview #NM). The history of this competition dates back to 1993 and was initiated as a way of commemorating the International Museum Day in Zimbabwe (#DocGZreport). The 18th of May was set aside by the General Assembly of the International Council on Museums and Sites (ICOMOS) as the International Museum Day across the world and in Zimbabwe the day is commemorated by way of engaging schools in a heritage quiz competition (Nemerai, 1995). This annual school quiz competition is coordinated

by the Great Zimbabwe department of education. Asked to describe the quiz competition the senior heritage education officer said:

> *Our national quiz starts from the lowest level "yekuma" [which is] clusters "zvichikwira zvichizodaro" [going up to] then district, then regional, then national. The quiz involves all primary schools in the five museum regions of Zimbabwe.* (interview #NM).

In another interview with a local school teacher it also emerged that the desire to win the national heritage schools quiz competition motivates teachers to organise trips to different heritage sites and also to teach heritage topics within their lessons (interview #GOB). Another school teacher, who had just returned from an educational tour to the Victoria Falls (a World Heritage site), when asked about the value of such tours had this to say:

> *In other words you are saying how did pupils benefited from the trip? Yah, I think one, the pupils themselves benefited, they were able to link their Science to the actual physical thing on the ground. They were also much ready to participate in the national quiz competition coming soon.* (interview #NYA).

Therefore besides the contestations around which heritage constructs to represent or accept as the truth, the national heritage quiz competition appears to be of value, as both a learning process and a motivating factor amongst primary schools in post colonial Zimbabwe. However the changes in focus and orientation of what counts as correct, in terms of the different heritage views inherent within the country, remains contested and worth critiquing (see Chapters Eight and Nine).

6.4.3 The whole school approach (outreach education project)

The outreach project involves museum educators visiting local schools to present lectures on different heritage topics (#DocGZflyer & interview #NM). This initiative is similar to the mobile museum service in the context of post apartheid South Africa (see Section 5.4.1), but in Zimbabwe it is, as observed in this study, playing out differently and promoted by development agencies such as UNESCO and International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) (#FoGZ & interview #NM). In an interview the heritage education officer at Great Zimbabwe described the whole school approach as important, emphasising that:

> *This is more than just the conventional museum education service. This programme goes beyond the interpretation of heritage objects in museums, to cover a wide range of topics relating to our own cultures.* (interview #NM).

The whole school approach also provides for participation of other stakeholders (Chandimhara, 2004). For instance, when going out to schools, museum educators are at times accompanied by officers from other government departments (e.g. the district cultural officers or curriculum development specialists) whose work context also entails promotion of arts and culture (Chandimhara, ibid.). The outreach education project has made heritage education accessible to large numbers of school children who may not have been able to visit the Great Zimbabwe monument or nearby museums (interview #NM). Document analysis of the project report showed that in a week the outreach team reaches more than 12 000 learners (#DocGZreport), and when compared to the 8 000 –10 000 learners that visit the Great Zimbabwe monument per year, it becomes clear that this education initiative is probably making a big difference (Nemerai, N., personal communication, September 6, 2010). Asked to elaborate on how the outreach project has increased opportunities for learners to learn about local cultures, as required by policy in the country, the senior heritage education officer said:

> *This project is not like a formal school curriculum where you teach only what you want. But when our officers go out there they meet and interact with local elders who give them information which they then give to learners. So it promotes education about our cultures and they also speak about the history of the monument showing the public that this is their monument.* (interview #NM).

The role of the outreach education programme in making heritage education accessible to formerly marginalised communities, as determined by the discourses of "access to and ownership" as well as "identity and culture" (see Section 6.1) and helping learners to take pride in own culture, is apparent in the case of the Great Zimbabwe Monument. It is also apparent that the motive to make heritage education accessible as well as to open spaces for learning about local indigenous cultures is premised within the broader discourses of inclusivity inherent within the region (see Section 1.2.1). What is of further interest for this study is to critically discuss implications of initiatives such as the outreach education project on the quality and relevance of heritage education practices in Zimbabwe and the region (see Section 8.3).

6.4.4 The culture hut concept

In an interview the senior heritage education officer of the Great Zimbabwe Monument talked of another educational initiative called the "culture hut concept" Elaborating on this he said:

> *There is a programme "yavanoti"[they call] "culture hut". And in some schools it is like a school museum, where we loan them some museum artefacts for the school museum. And we also give them ideas of what to put on and so on. This project is all over the country.* (interview #NM).

The "culture hut concept" is clearly an outcome of the National Cultural Policy of 2004, and is heavily influenced by the discourses of "culture and identity", particularly the need to promote uptake of local cultures within formal school education (#DocNCP & #FgI 6). One of the strategies for achieving increased opportunities to learn about the country's diverse cultures, as already noted by previous researchers such as Nyoni and Nyoni (2010), was a proposal to establish culture huts (villages) within selected schools across the country (Chataika, J. personal communication. July 17, 2011). In an interview the teacher in charge of the "culture hut project" at Ruvimbo primary school in Kwekwe, concurred with this observation, saying:

> *Saka kana tiripano pachikoro musha iwoyu wakavakwa kuti tidzidzise vana vari kupuraimari kuno uku kuti vazive kuti kumusha kune dzimba dzakaita sei uye imba imwe neimwe inebasa rei yakamirira chii kuitira kana ivo vosangana nazvo mubvunzo ravo regrade seven zvibva zvavarerukira nokuti vanenge vachizvoonera nekupinda mukati mayo, uye vachibata zvinenge zviripo [English translation: So when we are here at this school, this cultural village was established according to a policy of government to educate the young children in urban areas about cultural life in the rural areas and villages. Children learn about culture and social studies at the village and this helps them to answer questions in their final primary year exam and they can say we know this all because we have been to the cultural village. Learners can also touch and feel the things that are found in the cultural village.]* (interview #GOB).

According to the senior heritage education officer at Great Zimbabwe the "culture hut" is representative of what can be viewed as a "mini cultural museum" in which cultural artefacts and objects are displayed (interview #NM). Cultural artefacts, ranging from clay pots (*hari*), yokes (*majoki*) and hunting gear i.e. bow and arrows (*uta nemuseve*), spears (*pfumo*) and knobkerries (*nduku*) are usually displayed within the culture hut (see Figure 10 below).

Figure 10: *Culture huts at Ruvimbo primary school in Zimbabwe and some of the cultural heritage objects displayed in the huts* (#FoGZ)

By 2005 the "culture hut concept" had become widespread, with almost all nine provinces in Zimbabwe participating (Nyoni & Nyoni, 2010). In Masvingo the heritage education department at Great Zimbabwe monument works closely with schools that have established culture huts (interview #NM). The Great Zimbabwe museum provides those schools with objects to display in the culture huts.

Whilst the number of schools establishing culture huts is on the increase, as observed by Nyoni and Nyoni (2010), not much attention has been given to the capacity building of the teachers (interviews #NM & #GOB). The senior heritage education officer talked of the need for more follow-up and support. He argued that: "what we

perhaps also need is a follow up and servicing so that people, the teachers themselves can remain interested" (interview #NM).

Whilst the "culture hut concept" sounds a noble education initiative, the extent to which it adds value to the kind of heritage education in post colonial Zimbabwe needs to be further discussed (see Chapter Eight). Implications of such initiatives on attainment of heritage construct inclusivity need to be highlighted and problematised. Such a critical analysis of the "culture hut concept" has the potential to generate insights needed to guide future engagement with processes aimed at reorienting current heritage education practices (see Section 8.3).

In summary it emerged that the constitution of heritage education at Great Zimbabwe monument is one characterised by different educational initiatives and projects. These educational initiatives seem to have been shaped and influenced by discourses of "access to and ownership", "culture and identity" as well as "national sovereignty". These discourses are embedded in the colonial history of the country and shape the way heritage is constructed and managed in post colonial Zimbabwe. Implications of this observation on the potential of heritage education to support the sustainable management of heritage resources in the country are of interest to this study and will be reflected on in detail in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Conclusion

Chapter Six opened by orienting the reader to the historical context of Zimbabwe. Discourses inherent in the country's colonial history and being reproduced within heritage policy and legislation are identified and discussed. The chapter outlines the policy framework within which heritage is managed in post colonial Zimbabwe. Institutional structures and examples of heritage management practices are described and a discussion on how the management practices relate to discourses of "access and ownership", "culture and identity" as well as "national sovereignty" is also given. The chapter further explores how the same discourses also shape and influence the way heritage education is constituted and practised at the Great Zimbabwe Monument. Chapter Six therefore helps the reader gain insights into the status of heritage education in post colonial Zimbabwe as well as how the same education practices are being used as mechanisms for redressing the injustices of colonialism and state formation, such as the marginalisation of indigenous cultures.

DISCOURSES INFLUENCING HERITAGE POLICY, MANAGEMENT AND EDUCATION PRACTICES: THE CASE OF POST COLONIAL BOTSWANA

Introduction

Chapter Seven provides an overview of how heritage education in post colonial Botswana is constituted and responding to the discourses inherent within the country's colonial history. Accordingly the chapter opens by providing a brief but relevant history of the country, helping the reader to understand the emergence of discourses shaping heritage policy and practice. Against this brief historical overview, Chapter Seven orients the reader to the heritage policy and institutional framework within which heritage resources are managed in Botswana. Discourses shaping and influencing policy are also highlighted and discussed. Chapter Seven then moves on to discuss briefly some of the heritage management practices observed in the country. The chapter again attempts to illustrate how the observed heritage management practices are reflective of the discourses inherent in the country's colonial history. In line with the focus of this study, Chapter Seven further provides a detailed overview of how heritage education in post colonial Botswana is framed and practised. The chapter highlights how the discourses embedded within heritage policy shape and influence the orientation and constitution of heritage education practices in post colonial Botswana, the case of Supa Ngwao Museum. The chapter also raises questions around implications of some of the observed education reforms on the quality and relevance of heritage education practices in the country. As in the previous two chapters, Chapter Seven therefore provides a contextual background for a critical discussion of eme8

rging trends and patterns of representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa (see Section 8.3).

7.1 Historical overview

Formerly the British protectorate of Bechuanaland, Botswana adopted its new name upon independence in 1966 (Morton & Ramsay, 1987; Parsons, 1999). The impact of British colonial rule on the way heritage is managed and used in post colonial Botswana is also still apparent (Mmutle, 2002; Segadika, 2006; Dichaba, 2010). In its

Vision 2016 policy document Botswana is described as a large country with many resources and a small population of roughly under two million (#DocV2016). The country is rich in mineral resources and is most famous for its diamond industry. According to a 2003 UNDP country profile report, Botswana's economy is largely based on diamond mining, complemented by agriculture, especially animal husbandry. Of interest to this study is that the republic of Botswana is also richly endowed with a wide range of cultural and natural heritage resources (#DocSNBK 3 & #DocNPC). These heritage resources range from pristine national parks and game reserves to the country's historic buildings (#DocSNBK 1), palaeontological and archaeological sites (see Figure 11 below). The Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Chobe National Park, north of the country, and the recently established *Kgalagadi* Transfrontier Park are some of Botswana's popular and renowned wilderness landscapes, and are representations of the country's natural heritage.

Figure 11*: Map of Botswana showing the country's heritage sites, national parks and game reserves* (#DocMRA)

As shown in Figure 11 above, some of Botswana's notable cultural heritage sites, include the Tsodilo Hills, located in the North-West district of the country and lying within the buffer area of the Okavango Delta. Tsodilo Hills, also known as the 'Mountain of Ancestral Spirits', was listed as Botswana's first World Heritage site in 2001 (Segadika, 2006). The Tsodilo Hills boasts more than 4000 outstanding prehistoric rock art paintings, an example of which is shown in Figure 12 below.

Figure 12: Rock art painting at Tsodilo, Botswana (#FoSN)

Other notable heritage sites in the country are the Chief's Grave in the *Mahalapye* district, Drotsky's Caves also near the Okavango Delta, the *Savute* heritage site found in the Chobe National Park, as well as the famous *Domboshaba* monuments near Francis Town (#FgI 7 & #FoSN). In addition to these tangible heritage resources, Botswana is also richly endowed with diverse intangible cultural heritages (#DocNPC). Most people in the country are *Batswana* (a term denoting all citizens of the republic of Botswana), and the remaining 21% are Kalanga (11%), Basarwa or Bushmen (3%), and other (7%) which includes *Kgalagadi* and whites (#DocHbkSN). Each ethnic groups has its own unique traditions and cultural practices, some of which are depicted in Figure 13 below.

Proceedings of the rain making ceremony

A drinking gourd still in use in some rural areas

Cultural artefacts exhibited at Supa Ngwao

Typical rural set up in Botswana

Figure 13*: Pictures of some of the cultural practices observed in Botswana* (#FoSN)

Significant for the focus of this study (see Section 1.3.1) is to mention that about 40% of *Batswana* people live in rural areas and as Manyanga (1999), drawing from Ellenberger (1989), argued, still practise their long time traditional and cultural practices such as the rain making ceremony, male circumcision and shrine-based practices of worshipping of *Mwali* (the supreme being in *Kalanga* or *Modimo* in *SeTswana*).

On the other hand, researchers such as Comaroff (1991) argue that indigenous religious practices in Botswana, notably respect for patriarchal ancestors, have either declined or been assimilated within popular Christian beliefs. Comaroff (ibid.) further claimed that rites of burial, wedding and birth in Botswana have been adapted to Christianity.

The impact of colonialism in Botswana, as observed in this study, is similar to that of South Africa and Zimbabwe, as already discussed in Chapters Five and Six (also see Section 1.2.1). It is against this background of a colonial history characterised by the marginalisation and subjugation of indigenous people that the post colonial government in Botswana is faced with a number of challenges. One of these challenges is the need to revive indigenous cultures and practices as well as to make heritage resources accessible to the indigenous communities (Manyanga, 1999 & 2000; Africa 2009, 2002; Dichaba, 2010). The need to address the subjugation of indigenous cultures and practices (Mitchell, 2003) and alienation of local communities (Manyanga, 2000) in the management and use of heritage resources, brought by colonialism and state formation, required that policy frameworks in the country be reviewed and transformed. Analysis of heritage policy documents in Botswana (#DocNPC, #DocV2016 & #DocAfrica 2009) revealed that the observed transformation of heritage policy and legislation is driven by, among other generative mechanisms, the discourses of "culture and identity", "national unity", as well as "access and ownership" of heritage resources (see Section 7.2). The three discourses further manifest themselves in the form of heritage management and education practices that are oriented towards increased representation and participation of local communities in the management of heritage resources (see Sections 7.3 & 7.4). For instance, the observed amendment of the Monuments and Relics Act of 2002 (#DocMRA, also see Dichaba, 2010) allowed for the introduction of "Community Based Heritage Management" as an alternative approach to management of heritage resources in the country. Influence of the above mentioned discourses on the orientation of heritage policy in post colonial Botswana is, as highlighted in Section 7.2 below, quite substantive.

7. 2 Heritage policy frameworks in post colonial Botswana

According to researchers such as Manyanga (1999 & 2000), Mmutle (2002) and Segadika (2006), even though the need to reform policy is already recognised heritage legislation in post colonial Botswana is still largely influenced by Euro-American views of heritage. Mmutle (2002) further argued that colonially inspired heritage legislations such as the Monument and Relics Act of 1970, though amended numerous times (#DocMRA), are still in use in the country. In a paper presented during the Africa 2009 workshop Mmutle (ibid.) pointed out that heritage legislation

in Botswana has remained inadequate to address inequalities brought by colonialism. She gave a historical background to the development of heritage legislation in the country starting with the 1911 Bushmen Relics and Ancient Ruins Protection, the 1934 Historic Monuments Relics and Antics Proclamations, up to the 1970 Monuments and Relics Act. It is for this reason that current efforts continue to reform or develop new policies to direct management of heritage resources in Botswana. Examples of such efforts include the drafting of a National Policy on Culture in 2001(#DocNPC). This new policy, as made explicit below, is heavily influenced by discourses oriented towards addressing the challenges associated with marginalisation and subjugation of local *Batswana* cultures and practices. The goals of the National Policy on Culture of 2001 are to:

I. Reawaken in the people of Botswana an appreciation and respect for their own culture in order to reinforce and sense of national unity and pride
II. Strengthen their sense of identity, thus sensitizing Botswana to the need to assimilate innovation within the context of their own culture. (#DocNPC).

The need to revive *Batswana* cultures for purposes of self pride and national unity as contained in the goals of the National Policy of Culture clearly reflects the influence of discourses inherent in the country colonial history. This observation can also help the reader to reflect back and make sense of what was discussed in Chapter Three regarding nation state interests in using heritage to foster social cohesion and promote nation building. It also explains why the government of the republic of Botswana proclaimed *Setswana* as the official language in the country at the expense of the other ethnic languages (see Section 3.7.2). In emphasising the role of heritage in promoting national unity and cultural identity, the National Policy on Culture argues that:

> Cultural Identity is one of the critical ingredients for nation building and attainment of national sovereignty. This does not imply a homogeneous culture, but rather, the acceptance and respect of other cultures as integral parts of the national stream (#DocNPC).

The goals of the National Policy on Culture, as presented above also help one understand why both heritage management and education practices are being reoriented towards promotion of indigenous *Batswana* cultures and practices in the country. The National Policy on Culture further emphasises the importance of cultural heritage for national identity. The policy states that:

Botswana is an independent democratic state comprising of different ethnic groups which together represent a rich and diverse cultural heritage. This heritage gives Botswana a distinctive character from which it derives its unique personality (#DocNPC).

It is clear that a lot of emphasis is put on the cultural identity and nation building, but what remains not fully explored is how national unity and cultural identity translate into sustainable management and use of the country's heritage resources. Also important to note is that the National Policy on Culture of 2001 defines culture as:

The whole complex of distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs (#DocNPC).

The definition of culture within this policy was significant for this study because it allows for construction of a broader concept of heritage as both tangible and intangible, or cultural and natural. Such a broader conception is necessary for the kind of inclusivity required of heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa (see Sections 2.1 & 2.5). Implications of policy changes on the way heritage is managed and represented in education within the context of post colonial Botswana are reflected upon below in this chapter (see Sections 7.3 and 7.4).

7.3 Heritage management practices in Botswana

Heritage legislation in Botswana, including the recent National Policy on Culture of 2001, provided for establishment of a multi-faceted institutional framework within which central government, local authorities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other stakeholders work together (#DocNPC). Within this participatory framework the legislative management of cultural heritage resources in Botswana is a function of the Botswana National Cultural Council (BNCC), which works in partnership with government line ministries, notably the Ministry of Labour and Home affairs, Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Lands, Housing and Environment, Ministry of Trade, Industry, Wildlife and Tourism, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning and the Office of the President (#DocNPC & #DocV2016). The day to day management of heritage resources in the country is the operational responsibility of the Botswana National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery (NMMAG). The National Museum,

Monuments and Art Gallery is the equivalent of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) in South Africa and the National Museums and Monuments Zimbabwe (NMMZ) in Zimbabwe (#DocMRA & #DocNPC).

Working within these institutional frameworks and influenced by the discourses referred to earlier in this chapter, a number of heritage resources management strategies and or projects are undertaken. Some of the observed strategies include the 'adopt a monument' project, research and development, and the establishment of cultural villages.

7.3.1 'Adopt a monument' project

This usually involves specified communities, with support from the National Museums Monument and Art Gallery as well as interested private sector stakeholders, adopting a particular heritage site or resource and taking over its management often with a view to draw benefits from that process (interview #REV & #NGWAO). Benefits accruing through cultural tourism are varied and include employment, and income generated through cultural dance and song, as well as the sale of traditional handcrafts to mainly visiting foreign tourists (Jones, 2009; Dichaba, 2010). A notable example of the 'adopt a monument' project is, as confirmed in one of the in-depth interviews, the successful adoption of Domboshaba monument by the local *Kalanga* people (interview #REV). Commenting on the adoption of Domboshaba monument by local communities and how such an approach is helping to promote and sustain local *Kalanga* cultures, as determined by the discourses of "culture and identity", the coordinator of Mukani Campaign programme said:

> *The current status is that it is almost off; it is really off the ground because the monument is now run by the local people. And one side is run by the tourism section, and the other section it is the cultural side and the Kalanga language and culture is being revived more vigorously than ever before* (interview #REV).

What is apparent here is how the 'adopt a monument' approach is heavily shaped and influenced by the need to revive and sustain formally marginalised cultures and empower communities to manage and benefit from local heritage resources (Manyanga, 2000; Dichaba, 2010). A similar project is reportedly taking place at Tsodilo, a World Heritage site (#FoSN), where efforts to harness local *Hambukushu* communities in both the management and interpretation of the rock art paintings is

bearing substantive fruits (Segadika, 2006). The Tsodilo case is discussed in detail later in this chapter (see Section 7.4.2).

7.3.2 Research and development

One of the mandates of the Botswana National Cultural Council, as observed in this study (#DocNPC), is to commission research into heritage resources management (Republic of Botswana, 2001a). Similarly the National Policy on Culture of 2001 further acknowledges and emphasises the role that research plays in enhancing the preservation and restoration of culture (#DocNPC). The Documentation of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) project is one of the many research projects underway in post colonial Botswana. Influenced by the discourses of "culture and identity", the project is aimed at documenting the country's diverse intangible heritage resources (#DocNPC & interview #NM). Within museums the project involved development and exhibition of ethno-historic collections reflecting the diversity of cultures inherent in Botswana. Outside of museums the documentation project involves education and awareness programmes, such as consultative workshops, road shows and radio programmes (#DocSN), aimed at enlivening the *BaTswana* intangible cultural practices.

The importance of the documentation project is evidenced by the nature of support the project gets from government (#DocV2016). In 2012 the University of Botswana's Centre for Scientific Research into Indigenous Knowledge and Innovation scaled up its IKS research after the government released six million Pula to support the project (see Appendix 9). In an interview, the officer of Mukani Action Campaign project also talked of the importance of the documentation research project. Asked to comment on the project he said:

> *You see our government is aware that most of our cultures are not written, I mean not recorded. The colonialists never wanted to see it written. And like this chief who have just died [referring to a chief who had died in Mahalapye area], he died with all his wisdom and so the young generation loses out* (interview #REV).

The documentation of the IKS project is therefore one example where discourses inherent in post colonial legislation are playing out. Figure 14 below shows the *Basarwa (Bushmen)* traditional garment which, as a result of the documentation project, became a protected intangible heritage object in contemporary Botswana.

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Figure 14: *Basarwa traditional dress, now a legally protected intangible heritage resource in contemporary Botswana* (#DocNPC & #FgI 7)

Another research project shaped by the imperatives of addressing marginalisation of local cultures is the Mapoka Photo cultural project currently exhibited at Supa Ngwao Museum in Francis Town. According to the education officer of the museum, this cultural project was carried out by children from two local primary schools in Botswana and students from Giessen University, Germany (see interview excerpt below). Responding to the question of how the project was conceptualised, the education officer at Supa Ngwao Museum said:

> *The students from Germany 'wanted to share ideas about life, how people of Botswana survive and how people in Germany survive and they wanted to see whether it's the same* (interview #NGWAO).

The exhibition of the Mapoka Photo Cultural project at Supa Ngwao Museum and its use for teaching and learning also shows how discourses shaping heritage policy find their way into the education practices. The value of such cultural innovations is from a sustainability point of view debatable (see Section 8.3). However Research and Development emerged as an important element of heritage resources management

practice in post colonial Botswana (#DocNPC). To ensure that all research conducted in the country aligns with government aims and objectives, as contained in the country's Vision 2016 (#DocV2016), the BNCC insists on all researchers wanting to conduct any form of heritage research in the country to first obtain an official permit (I had to apply for one; see Appendix 3 for a copy of Botswana research permit). Section 8 (v) of the National Policy on Culture states that:

> *One of the major functions of BNCC is to "ensure that research and films produced by external scholars, researchers and film makers comply with the national regulations and laws"* (#DocNPC).

As already pointed out the regulation that all external researchers obtain research permits is one such strategy tied to this function. However embedded within this demand is the desire to safeguard the country's heritage estate from possible further appropriation as well as ensuring that research by outsiders also promotes local cultures and practices and does not negate them, as was the case during colonial era (Mitchell, 2003; Segadika, 2006). Again the influence of the discourses of promoting "culture and identity" is apparent in this set-up.

7.3.3 Establishment of cultural villages

Another strategy being deployed in Botswana to preserve and promote the country's diverse cultural heritage is the establishment of cultural villages. The education officer at Supa Ngwao Museum confirmed this when she pointed out that "since attaining independence the government of Botswana has established a number of cultural villages" (interview #GWAO). One such village is the *Bahurutshe* Cultural Village in *Mmankgodi* where visitors are treated to a full range of *SeTswana* cultural heritage practices #FoSN). Other notable cultural villages in the country include the *Shandereka* and *Sexaxa* cultural villages in the Okavango Delta region which showcase *Bayei's* ancient heritage (Jones 2009). Important to highlight is that whilst the establishment of cultural villages in Botswana is motivated by the need to preserve and promote local cultures, as already discussed, it is interesting to note that in practice most of these cultural villages are turning out to be more concerned with money than preserving culture (Moswete, 2002; Jones, 2009). When asked about the role of cultural villages in promoting local cultures, the officer at Supa Ngwao Museum argued that:

"Kana" (when), people are now more worried about how many tourists, I mean people from outside Botswana, are coming to their village. You know these days things are hard and everyone want to make money. So yah the villages are not really about preserving the culture as per se but they do in other ways (interview #NGWAO).

This observation has also been made by other researchers in the region. For instance Moswete (2002) and Fairweather (2006) alerted us to how culture has gradually been turned into a commodity for tourism in the context of Namibia. Fairweather (ibid.) and Jones (2009) further argued that not much can be said about the extent to which cultural villages have contributed to the preservation of indigenous heritage in the region because most of the studies conducted tended to focus on cultural tourism. Important for this study is that the establishment of cultural villages across Botswana remains evidence of how discourses concerned with resuscitating formerly marginalised indigenous cultures are being reproduced within heritage management practices.

7.4 Heritage education practices in post colonial Botswana

Drawing on insights emerging from analysis of data (#DocNPC, #DocMRA & #DocV2016) it emerged that the heritage education landscape in post colonial Botswana encompasses a number of educational practices taking place within formal, non formal and informal contexts. Against the country's colonial history it also emerged that heritage education is being reoriented towards promotion of formally marginalised indigenous cultures and practices (#DocHSBots). The importance of education in supporting preservation and conservation of cultural heritage is clearly acknowledged within the Botswana's National Policy on Culture of 2001. The policy stipulates that:

> Education in every society is an institutionalized means of enculturation or cultural transmission. As such cultural continuity and understanding depend largely on the content and method of this process of knowledge development and the inculcation of social and moral values. The curriculum of the education system must be based on the Botswana culture and provide programmes and facilities aimed at teaching skills of culture centred discipline (#DocNPC).

The notion of education as a vehicle of enculturation, and the curriculum as a selection from the society, as contained in the National Policy on Culture is already alluded to by Obanya (2005) and McKernan (2008) and further problematised later in

this thesis (see Sections 3.10 and 8.3). Considering that the same policy acknowledges the diversity of cultures inherent in the country (see Section 7.2) it becomes interesting to examine how the education system in post colonial Botswana deals with issues of inclusivity. Exploring how the discourses of "culture and identity", "access and ownership" as well as "national unity" are shaping the constitution and practice of heritage education at Supa Ngwao Museum therefore becomes insightful. Described and discussed below are some of the observed heritage education practices making up the education programme at Supa Ngwao Museum.

7.4.1 Africa Only heritage radio programme: *Motswedi waDitso*

According to the education officer of Supa Ngwao Museum, one of the museum's education project is a radio programme called *Motswedi waDitso* (literally meaning 'a well of history'), dating back to 1984 (interview #NGWAO). The officer described *Motswedi waDitso* as a fifteen minute programme aired over Radio Botswana and aimed at educating and informing the public about Botswana's national heritage (interview #NGWAO & #FgI 7). The programme features and presents topics covering culture, history and the environment (see Appendix 10). In tandem with the country's quest to revive and promote indigenous cultures (see Section 7.1), 60% of *Motswedi waDitso's* coverage is on intangible cultural heritage including oral traditions and expressions, social practices and festivals (also see Appendix 10). The selection of topics for airing, as observed in this study, seems to have been determined by the discourses mentioned above inherent within the country's colonial history and reproduced within heritage policies and practices (see Sections 7.2 & 7.3). Asked about the current status of the *Motswedi waDitso* radio programme, the education officer at Supa Ngwao Museum responded by saying:

> *Motswedi waDitso radio programme for one is still here recording and airing Botswana oral traditions, last time it talked about taboos associated with cattle, Modimo onko emetsi. A cow is a symbol of wealth for most Batswana people, if you don't have it you are considered poor that is why statistically there are more cattle than people in Botswana ehh [laughing]* (interview #NGWAO).

In the same interview it was also confirmed that teachers were actually using the radio programme for teaching heritage topics within their classrooms (interview #CZNGWO & #DocHSBots). Another observation made in this study as shown in

Box 6 below is how the same *Motswedi waDitso* radio programme is also involved in other issues relating to heritage resources management in post colonial Botswana.

> **Box 6:** *Motswedi waDitso* investigates a case of "development versus culture"
> The rain making site (shrine) in *Tlokweng* is overtaken by developments of roads and sewage system. A plea has been instituted by *Batlokwa* Tribal Authorities through the Paramount Chief Puso Gaborone to protect and preserve the site. The National Museum is engaged to intervene, the Museum and Relic Act is used to halt this impending development. Radio *Motswedi waDitso* investigates the nature of the site, its location, its functional purpose and its significance. Sub chief *Matlapeng* highlights.

Source (#FoSN)

Therefore, other than being an educational resource, *Motswedi waDitso* is also involved in more than simply heritage education and awareness processes. The programme also plays an investigative role.

Also significant to highlight is that given that the radio programme is used within formal schools, as pointed out by the education officer at Supa Ngwao Museum (interview #NGWAO), it means the discourses of culture and identity which shape the *Motswedi waDitso* also cascade into formal educational settings. The programme provides opportunities for learning about Botswana's diverse cultural heritage.

7.4.2 Museum based heritage education practices: the case of the *Mapoka* photo cultural project

Education services provided by museums constitute an important part to heritage education in post colonial southern Africa (Kubanji, 1999; Shava & Zazu, 2012). The case of the Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana, as observed in this study, illustrates this observation. In a focus group interview, the education officer pointed out that the museum provides heritage education and awareness services and support to the general public and schools groups in and around the northern region of Botswana (#FgI 7). Probed for more information the education officer said: "more than 3000 school children visit the museum every year" (interview #NGWAO). Given that the country's population is less than two million (see Section 7.1), the number of learners visiting the museum is quite significant, making the education services offered at the Supa Ngwao Museum an important part of heritage education practice in post colonial Botswana.

Asked to describe the learning activities that school children undertake at the museum the education officer pointed out that:

> *I think all regional museums; I think we are doing same things. Often we give the learners a lecture, say on a particular heritage topic e.g. the importance of the Kgotla or the cultural value of cattle to Batswana people. We take learners, you saw those cultural objects [referring to exhibited objects] yes we take them around and talk about those objects. The children like it; they enjoy it* (interview #NGWAO).

When asked about how relevant the education at Supa Ngwao Museum is to learners, the education officer was quick to point out that government expect them (meaning the heritage educators) to make sure the objects displayed in the museum and their interpretation and presentation is relevant to *Batswana* cultural views (McKernan, 2008). She is quoted in an interview saying:

> *Yes that is our President, yes he want us to go to culture. He is always talking of culture. He wants us to go where we are from, yes to renew our cultur.* (interview #NGWAO).

In elaborating on her point she alluded to one of the educational exhibitions mounted at Supa Ngwao Museum called the *Mapoka* photo cultural project (#FoSN). This project is an outcome of a cultural exchange project between school children in Botswana and Germany (#FgI 7 & interview #NGWAO). In the same interview the education officer provided background information to the project when she said:

> *We have these friendships from Germany university of Giessen. They brought their students this side. They wanted to share ideas about life, how people in Botswana survive and how people in Germany survive and they want to see whether it's the same* (interview #NGWAO).

The rationale of the *Mapoka* photo cultural project, as outlined in Section 6.14 (e) and 6.16 (j) of Botswana's National Policy on Culture (#DocNCP), and alluded to earlier in this chapter, is premised on the need to integrate indigenous culture into the country's education system and also to use opportunities for cultural exchange programmes (Republic of Botswana, 2001). It is therefore an education project hugely shaped by the discourses of "culture and identity", as pointed out in Section 7.1. The goal of the Mapoka photo cultural project is therefore partly to promote local Batswana cultures.

The *Mapoka* photo cultural project exhibits pictures taken by 103 photographers from *Mapoka* representing life in the village (#FoSN & interview #NGWAO). School children from *Mapoka* and *Batanani* primary schools were given disposal cameras and asked to take pictures capturing themes representing life in *Mapoka* village (#FgI 7). Working with students from Giessen University in Germany an exhibition of the pictures was developed. Figure 15 below shows part of the *Mapoka* photo cultural exhibition at Supa Ngwao Museum.

Figure 15: *Part of the Mapoka Photo Cultural Exhibition at Supa Ngwao Museum, in Francis Town* (#FoSN)

The value of the *Mapoka* photo cultural project in supporting heritage education at Supa Ngwao Museum, as pointed out by the education officer, is very high (interview #NGWAO). She said that most school children visiting the museum were showing a lot of interest in the exhibition. Interesting to highlight is that the Mapoka photo cultural project also covers topics such as the *Kgotla* (#FoSN), a traditional institution, whose role and value was, as outlined in Chapter One (see Section 1.2.1), negatively impacted on by colonialism. This observation coupled with the production of the *Kgotla* booklet (#DocSNBK 2) illustrates how the discourses oriented towards reviving of indigenous cultures are reproduced within heritage education practice. A critical analysis of the Kgotla booklet (#DocSNBK 2) revealed that the rationality for its production revolves around the quest by the post colonial government of Botswana to address the subjugation of indigenous cultures and practices associated with colonialism (see Section 4.5.5). The booklet is therefore symbolic of the discourses of

culture and identity as noted in Section 7.1. The use of the booklet at Supa Ngwao Museum's education programme is also motivated by the same discourses.

The booklet clearly states that "the traditional *Kgotla* system in Botswana is not as effective as in the old days" (#DocSNBK 2). As already pointed out by scholars, such as Mamdani (1996) and Sharma (1999) the booklet further argues that "The Chieftainship Act and National Constitution have in theory supported the system, but in practice they have contributed to its downfall" (#DocSNBK 2). The *Kgosi* (Chief) is now a civil servant who works under the watchful eye of government and his powers are reduced (see Section 1.2.1). Given this observation a number of questions can be asked about how educators are dealing with the subtle tensions and contradictions inherent within educational initiatives such as the Mapoka photo cultural project and the Traditional Tswana Kgotla booklet. Also apparent is the challenge regarding the value and feasibility of reviving traditional institutions such as the *Kgotla* in modern day Botswana (interview #REV). This challenge is further discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Elsewhere in Botswana the influence of discourses shaped by the country's colonial history and the need to address the marginalisation and disvaluing of indigenous cultures are at play (#FgI 7). An example is that of Tsodilo museum where efforts to represent local *Hambukushu* cultures and practices are underway. In Box 7 below is an excerpt illustrating how Tsodilo museum is working towards increased community participation and representation.

Box 7: The role of the *Tsodilo* Site Museum

The Tsodilo Site Museum, which was officially opened in 2000, has two permanent exhibitions called Tsodilo and My Tsodilo. The first exhibition is a celebration of the physical landscape, geology, and archaeology and rock art of Tsodilo. It presents archaeological and ethnographic artifacts of Tsodilo and the region. The purpose of the second exhibition is to present the experiences of people who have interacted with Tsodilo. It is composed of twenty-five interviewees with quotes from the local community, tourists and researchers. Selected *Hambukushu* and Jun/hoasi stories and experiences are displayed together with those of the researchers. *The Tsodilo Site Museum, as an interpretation centre, is therefore a reflection of and a meeting place for the local community, scientists and consumers* – the tourists. By reflecting the local interpretations and featuring pictures of the ordinary people of Tsodilo, the museum becomes a space *that allows the local community to appropriate its culture*. The Tsodilo Site Museum, the only other national museum in the country, receives an annual allocation for a national visual and performing arts festival. The festival entails community celebration of the intangible heritage at Tsodilo through poetry, drama, traditional dances, stories, visits and interpretation of the sacred sites, promotion of local crafts through exhibitions and visual-arts competitions. It is expected that this visual and performing art festival will go a long way in the promotion of community ownership, participation, revival, and transfer of knowledge and significance, especially to the younger generation.

Source: (#DocNMMAG)

In summary it therefore suffices to conclude that heritage education within museums in Botswana is also influenced by the discourses of "culture and identity", "access to and ownership" as well as "national unity", as shaped by the country's colonial history and reproduced within the country's heritage policy. However, the implications of these discourses, as observed in this study, on the quality and relevance of heritage education practices in country and entire region is critiqued in Chapter 8. This is because, as noted in this study, it looks like more emphasis is on redressing issues of "access and ownership" , "culture and identity" as well as "national unity" than anything else. Considering that heritage education is perceived to play more than this, as argued for in Chapter Two (see Section 2.3), the current constitution and orientation of heritage education at Supa Ngwao Museum is worth critiquing.

7.4.3 Cultural festivals: the case of Domboshaba Monument

As part of its education and awareness programme, the Supa Ngwao Museum also organise a number of cultural festivals, one of which is the Domboshaba cultural festival (#FgI 7 & #FoSN). As already highlighted, the Domboshaba cultural festival celebrates the *baKalanga* culture (see Section 7.3). This festival, held at Domboshaba monument near Masunga village in the Greater Francis town region, takes the form of a cultural exhibition, showcasing *BaKalanga* people's tangible and intangible cultural heritage (interview #REV). The exhibition covers a range of heritage, stretching from cultural artefacts, oral traditions and collective memories to songs and dance (#FgI 7 & interview #REV). In an interview one of the officers of Supa Ngwao Museum confirmed the nature of Domboshaba Cultural festival by saying:

> *And once in a year we come and commemorate and celebrate at it the Kalanga culture, you can bring your own way of dancing, your way of dancing, your way of brewing beer, your way of making porridge, show how you do it, so each year by the first of October we gather* (interview #REV).

Because cultural festivals provide opportunities for transfer of heritage from one generation to another (Segadika, 2006), the Domboshaba cultural festival is an important part of the education offered at Supa Ngwao Museum. The festival provides spaces for both the general public and school children to participate in and learn more about the *Kalanga* heritage (interview #REV). The focus of the Domboshaba cultural festival is also, as observed in this study, determined by discourses advocating for

revival of indigenous BaKalanga cultures and practices. Other cultural festivals supported by museums in Botswana include the Exhibition on the History of Botswana Postal Services and the *Dikgafela* cultural festival, a long abandoned tradition now celebrated in *Moshupa* village (#DocNMMAG).

7.4.4 Heritage education in formal schools: the case of "culture corners"

The Botswana National Policy on Culture of 2001 also highlighted the unique role that formal education and schooling play in enhancing heritage resources management in Botswana. Section 1.2 of the National Policy on Culture states that:

> The Ministry of Education stands out visibly, as the principal public agency for enculturation through its formal school curriculum and associated extra-curricular programmes and activities (#DocNPC).

Based on the imperative of the policy, as noted above, the education system in Botswana has been reformed (#DocHSBots). Amongst the numerous generative mechanisms influencing education policy reforms in post colonial Botswana, as observed in this study, is the need to reorient the formal school curriculum towards becoming contextually responsive to or inclusive of *Batswana* people's cultures and practices (#DocHSBots). Asked to comment on how the curriculum reforms have influenced the way heritage education is done in Botswana, the education officer of Supa Ngwao Museum pointed out that some schools now have 'culture corners' to promote cultural education (interview #NGWAO). She elaborated by saying that:

> *Yes even if you visit them now at the classroom you can see there is a corner, culture corner, even outside the school they build traditional huts. Whatever you call them. So they are doing something. If you go to the classroom you can see there is a corner there, with old stuff which is culture corner* (interview #NGWAO).

From the discussion above it is apparent that changes in formal education policy and practice, as observed in this study, have also been influenced by the discourses of "culture and identity" which, as already pointed out, are embedded within the country's colonial history (see Section 7.1). The establishment of 'culture corners' within formal school classrooms signifies efforts by post colonial government to represent indigenous cultures within the formal education system. However, the implication of educational initiatives such as "culture corner" which are partly an outcome of the discourses mentioned above, on the quality and relevance of heritage education in Botswana, is still to be established. Also interesting to note is that the

"culture corner" initiative is similar to that of 'culture hut concept' in post colonial Zimbabwe (see Section 6.4.4).

Conclusion

Chapter Seven has given the reader an orienting overview of discourses shaping heritage policy in post colonial Botswana. The chapter further discussed how the discourses of "culture and identity", "ownership and access" and "national unity" which are embedded in the post colonial heritage policy frameworks, have also determined how heritage is managed in the country. Examples of heritage management strategies aimed at redressing the marginalisation of local people associated with the country's colonial history are given and discussed. Chapter Seven further provided an overview of heritage education in Botswana. In line with the focus of this study and the research questions to be answered, the chapter highlights how the observed heritage education practices are being reoriented towards becoming inclusive of the formerly marginalised indigenous heritages. The chapter also highlights and asks critical questions concerning the manner in which contemporary heritage education practices are representing indigenous heritage constructs. The questions raised are focused on in detail in the next two chapters (see Chapters Eight and Nine). Therefore Chapter Seven has shed more light on how heritage education in post colonial Botswana is constituted and influenced by discourses inherent within the country's colonial history.

EMERGING FORMS AND PATTERNS OF REPRESENTING INDIGENOUS HERITAGE CONSTRUCTS: CHALLENGES AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

Chapters Five, Six and Seven raised and discussed some of the discourses influencing the way heritage education practices represent and use formerly marginalised indigenous heritage constructs as observed at Supa Ngwao Museum, the Albany Museum and Great Zimbabwe Monument. These three chapters therefore provide a contextual overview of the status and orientation of heritage education in the Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe cases; Chapter Eight then develops a synthesis of the observed trends, challenges and implications for working with indigenous heritage constructs within the wider context of post colonial southern Africa. Drawing on literature and insights gained in the previous three chapters, Chapter Eight outlines and discusses the emerging patterns and forms of representing indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices as observed in selected heritage education practices in the region. Discourses influencing these emerging patterns and forms are also highlighted and critiqued. The chapter also points out and discusses what emerged as some of the tensions, and or challenges for working with indigenous heritage constructs within the observed contexts in post colonial southern Africa. Chapter Eight moves on to highlight and explain what emerged as some of the problems areas for working with indigenous heritage constructs in education in these contexts. Possible implications of the problem areas on the quality and relevance of contemporary heritage education practices are pointed out and problematised. Chapter Eight seeks to provide an explanatory critique of how contemporary heritage education practices are working with indigenous heritage constructs, as observed in this study.

8.1 Emerging trends and forms of representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs

In this study, in addition to identifying the forms of representation and use, I wanted to provide a critique of the way education practices in post colonial southern African contexts are working with indigenous heritage constructs. In order to do this I needed

to interrogate and make explicit some of the contextual discourses influencing the observed ways of indigenous heritage constructs representation and use. As already mentioned, chapters Five, Six and Seven have already presented some of the discourses. What is presented below are the emerging trends and forms of representation shaped by the discourses inherent within the colonial history of southern Africa. Where examples of strategies are given, these serve to further make explicit how the identified discourses manifest in practice. Also important to note is that the identified patterns and forms are often shaped by more than one discourse, as in reality all the identified discourses are concerned with addressing injustices of the colonial past. This is because the concern with addressing injustices of the colonial past (see Section 1.2.1) has been identified as the main generative mechanism shaping emergence of discourses at the level of policy and practice.

8.1.1 Reorientation of heritage content

Influenced by the above mentioned generative mechanisms and the changing discourses embedded within post colonial heritage policy frameworks, heritage education institutions (the formal school system and museums included) have reoriented the content (textual or electronic) in use within heritage education practices. The content reforms are geared towards inclusion of the formally marginalised indigenous heritage constructs. For instance in the context of post apartheid South Africa, prescribed History textbooks were, in resonance with the country's democratic policy principles, reviewed and reoriented towards becoming more inclusive, respectful and tolerant of the country's formally subjugated histories of the native Africans (#DocHSBots, #DocHBK 1 & #DocHBK 2). To achieve this, a number of strategies were deployed and one of which was a careful and subtle reorientation of the manner in which the same historical narratives were put forward. As Witz (2000) and Makhoba (2009) pointed out, in post apartheid South Africa the (History) textbooks that are being produced adopt a corrective approach to the past, excising and adding areas which were formerly excluded. Figure 16 shows an example of a case in which the content (orientation and presentation) in History textbooks was reoriented.

The changing page of history textbooks

70. Clashes with the Hottentots, and land expansion

From the ouset the White colonists came into contact with the indigenous population. Because the Company was dependent on the Hottentots for fresh meat, instructions were issued to the effect that the Hottentots should be treated in a *friendly* manner and that peace should be preserved at all costs. Anyone who maltreated a Hottentot would receive fifty lashes in the presence of the Hottentots! The policy of friendliness failed as the Hottentots remained *hostile* and dissatisfied. Why? They maintained that the White man had taken away the land that had belonged to them "down the centuries". They tried to drive out the Free Burghers by stealing their stock and setting their wheat lands alight.

When Caspar Brinckman's herdboy was killed and his cattle stolen, Van Riebeeck declared war. This was the First Hottentot War and lasted from 1659 to 1660. After the war Van Riebeeck took over the land west of the Salt and Liesbeeck rivers on the grounds that it had been conquered.

In order to protect the Peninsula against the Hottentots, Van Riebeeck contemplated digging a canal from Table Bay to False Bay but the Company refused him permission and so an eight foot high fence was erected with three blockhouses to protect the Free Burghers. The names of the blockhouses were "Kijkuit", "Keert de Koe" and "Houd den Bul".
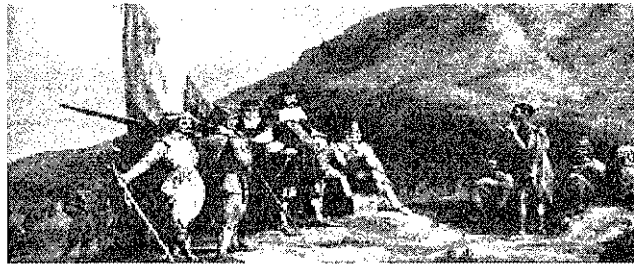
Van Riebeeck and the Hottentots

From Van Jaarsveld, F.A., 1969. *New Illustrated History Standard VI: Voortrekkerpers*

4.2 JAN VAN RIEBEECK

When Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in 1652, South Africa was not an empty country. The San (hunter-gatherers) and the Khoi-Khoi had already been living at the Cape for many years.
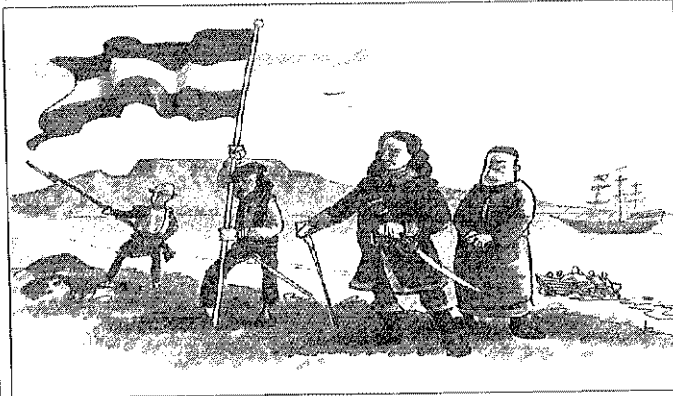
Jan van Riebeeck got to know a Khoi-Khoi man named Harry who could speak Dutch. Harry became very important to Jan van Riebeeck because he could speak to the Khoi-Khoi people and then tell Jan van Riebeeck what they said. Harry was an interpreter.
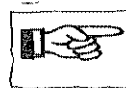
NOW FOR SOME ACTION!

What do you think Harry and Jan van Riebeeck could have said to each other at the first meeting? Act out their meeting?

From Stokes, J., 1997. *Enjoying History Grade 5/Std 3*: Kagiso Publishers

Figure 16: The changing pages of History textbooks (DocHbks)

In Figure 16 the subject matter is the history of Jan van Riebeeck and his encounters with the Khoekhoe but a closer look at the two texts show how the same history is

now being rewritten within post apartheid South Africa. The inclusion of the sentence "when Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in 1652 South Africa was not an empty country" is characteristic of the post apartheid discourse of social transformation and justice and so represents a shift in the way history as an aspect of heritage education is now being approached. Emerging here is a case whereby a discourse of war is replaced with that of friendship, and or reconciliation (Witz, 2000).

Besides reorienting content in History textbooks, it was also noted that in some cases new topics were added into the formal education curriculum, and associated learning support materials were developed, as stated by these citations (interviews #AM, #PM & #NJ). Asked why so many schools were now visiting Mapungubwe national parks, the cultural officer in charge of the interpretive centre claimed that it was because "Mapungubwe is now in their curriculum" (interview #PM). The officer elaborated by stating that "Mapungubwe is even in the curriculum for grades fours and fives so all schools should be doing Mapungubwe" (interview #PM). Therefore the addition of the history of Mapungubwe, and the socio-cultural aspects associated with people who lived and or continue to live within and around this cultural landscape, as a new topic into the formal education curriculum in South Africa, constituted a substantial change in the content and orientation of inherent contemporary heritage education practices.

Also noted in the case of post apartheid South Africa (which was observed to be similar in Botswana and Zimbabwe) was that content-oriented changes unfolded in the form of increased curation of cultural heritage objects within museums. This thinking was made explicit at Albany Museum in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. Asked about what changes has taken place since the demise of apartheid in 1994 the anthropologist and curator of the Albany History Museum pointed out that:

> *We now do curation of cultural objects like calabashes; here we have got clay and woodwork here. We have beadwork. These objects were not in the museums and so we need them to be displayed here now and so we have to do research to find out their uses and how they were made* (interview #PZ).

With the changes in the range of heritage objects exhibited in museums, as pointed out above, one can certainly postulate that the content (knowledge and practices) to be taught to learners and the general public within museum education contexts was also

in some way transformed. This was confirmed by the observation that the Albany History Museum has also started to include within its overall heritage education programme lectures which focus specifically on *Amaxhosa* cultures (see Section 8.1.4, Box 8).

Additional content oriented forms of representing indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices within the region included the development of new learning support materials (LSM) whose content was purely of indigenous orientation. In the context of post colonial Botswana, booklets such as the *Kgotla* (see Section 4.5.5), being used for education at Supa Ngwao Museum is one such example. Such developments were, as articulated in the country's revised national curriculum documents, influenced by the desire to ensure that learners in post colonial Botswana get a fuller understanding of their history and cultures (Republic of Botswana, 2001a; also see Section 7.4). The revised History syllabus for the General Certificate in Secondary Education in Botswana allowed for incorporation of new content into the learning processes. Textbooks, and other related learning support materials were also reviewed to align with the new and reformed syllabus (#DocHSBots).

In post colonial Zimbabwe a new visitor guidebook to the Great Zimbabwe Monument was developed (#DocTGGZ; also see Appendix 11). Information flyers and pamphlets on the history and socio-cultural aspects of the monument were also revised (interview #NM). A closer analysis of these education and information resource materials revealed a marked change in content (see Box 8 below). Contested and controversial issues such as the question of who built the Great Zimbabwe Monument were clearly articulated with finality, pushing forward the claim that the monument was indeed of an African origin. Similarly History textbooks covering the origin of the Great Zimbabwe Monument were also reoriented or revised to support the above theory. Box 8 shows an extract from the traveller's guide in use at the Great Zimbabwe Monument. It is testimony to the changing knowledge discourses concerning "identity and ownership" as discussed in Chapter Six (see Section 6.1).

Box 8: History of Great Zimbabwe resolved
To date, the mystery about the origins of this world attraction has since been resolved. Professional studies by archaeologists radio-carbon dates and East cost imports show that the Great Zimbabwe flourished between the 13th and 15th century. Radio-carbon dates for layers underneath the walls of the Hill Complex eliminate all possibilities of any exotic origins and fantastic ideas of Phoneians being responsible for the Great Zimbabwe architecture. It is now agreed among professionals and serious scholars that it is indigenous in all respects and it grew into a shining empire as a result of an external stimulus, the Arab Gold Trade. Great Zimbabwe was occupied from as early as the 11th century and by 1200 AD it had become a large capital of a fortune empire that was to last until 1450 AD and even beyond.

Source: Document analysis (#DocTGGZ).

Confirming the changes in the discourses and content contained within the education and awareness resource materials currently being used to interpret and present the Great Zimbabwe Monument to the public, the local museum's Senior Education Officer pointed out that even in the national heritage quiz competitions, there was a big change in what has now come to be regarded as the correct answers. In an interview, he elaborated, saying that:

> *I think that was [answer to origin of the monument] we had in 2007, I am not sure. I think it was the first section [yequiz yaibvunza kuti] of the quiz asking who built Great Zimbabwe and our answer is Shona ancestors* (interview #NM).

From the evidence presented and discussed above it is clear that within the post colonial southern African contexts observed, changes in content (at textual/electronic/object level) (motivated by the desire to address marginalisation of indigenous heritage constructs associated with colonialism) emerged as a conspicuous feature of contemporary heritage education practice.

8.1.2 Education as 'enculturation' (acculturation)

Strategies for representing and using indigenous heritage constructs discussed here relate to those cases in which the philosophical orientations appeared to revolve

around the desire to resuscitate or sustain indigenous cultures and practices which were marginalised due to Western colonisation (see Section 1.2.1). Examples of these strategies include the culture hut concept, being implemented in Zimbabwe, and Botswana, and the establishment of cultural villages in all observed heritage education practices within this study (interviews #NGWO & #NM).

The rationale behind the introduction of the culture hut concept in Zimbabwe's formal education system was, as observed by Nyoni and Nyoni (2010) and also argued for within the country's Cultural Policy of 2004 (see Chapter 6), to promote intergenerational transfer of culture to the learners. The discourse of education as a vehicle for transmission of culture has therefore shaped and influenced the introduction of the culture hut initiative into formal schools and has also added significance to the role that cultural villages play in pursuing the agenda of what Malegapuru (1999) referred to as the African renaissance.

In the case of site based heritage education practices e.g. education within museum settings, the observed emphasis on indigenous cultural heritage is also arguably influenced by the same ideology of 'education as enculturation'. Asked about why it was important for the Albany Museum to exhibit indigenous cultural heritage objects such as the calabashes, *amaXhosa* hunting gear and traditional beadworks, the museum curator responded saying that:

> *Because most of the children, they are in modern schools and they just forget where they come from, so culture is important just to show them where they come from. They must know where they come from and they must keep [i]culture of them because some of them they take the other cultures say Western. Understand. So it's important for us* (interview #PZ).

What becomes apparent in all the above case examples is that the ways in which indigenous heritage constructs are being represented and used within heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa revolve around the idea of education as an integral mechanism for the sustenance of cultures of society. Obanya (2005) and McKernan (2008) alluded to this when they argued that educational curriculum is often determined and shaped by the cultures and politics of society. Both Obanya and McKernan saw culture and education as inseparable, and claimed that education itself is 'acculturation'(Obanya uses the term 'enculturation'). The notion of heritage education as enculturation is therefore grounded in the

philosophical discourses, as McKernan (2008: 7) further pointed out, that see curriculum as a "selection from culture". Many of the observed reforms seeking to promote use of formerly marginalised indigenous heritage constructs within education settings, as observed in this study, are premised in this broader philosophical thinking of education as enculturation.

8.1.3 Substitutive and counter-hegemonic

Another observed form of representing indigenous heritage constructs within contemporary heritage education practices is whereby a certain section of an existing heritage education programme, in most cases of a Western worldview orientation, is totally substituted by an Afrocentric one (Witz, 2000). Observed cases of this nature included the removal of European History from the national education syllabus for the Junior Secondary School certificate in Zimbabwe and its replacement with African History. This was pointed out by the senior heritage officer of Great Zimbabwe monument: "yes we have actually seen a lot of things changing. In our secondary education we removed European history because it is not very useful to us" (interview #NM). At Supa Ngwao Museum in Botswana, the curation and exhibition of *Kalanga* cultural heritage objects, as illustrated in Figure 17 below, do not include the Eurocentric heritage objects which used to be exhibited in the same museum before the country's independence in 1966.

Figure 17: Part of the current collection of cultural objects exhibited at Supa Ngwao Museum (#FoSN)

A similar case is that of the Albany History Museum where, as already pointed out (see Section 8.1.1), the curatorship and exhibition of local *Amaxhosa* cultural objects is on the increase, as motivated for within post apartheid South Africa's discourses of social transformation and inclusivity (see Section 8.1.1). Of interest to note here is that the focus on *amaXhosa* cultural heritage objects, if not thought out carefully, can also end up becoming counter-hegemonic or exclusive of other equally important aspects of heritage in South Africa. This is critical as the kind of heritage education required in the context of post colonial southern Africa needs to acknowledge cultural diversity and multiple histories inherent in the region (see Section 2.5). In the same museum, there is a new project called the Busy Bees project, whose aim as made explicit in a recent newspaper article is to "collect the almost forgotten history of people of colour in the City of Saints" (#DocGroccots; also see Appendix 12). This is another case example illustrating attempts made by heritage institutions to counter the under representation of indigenous peoples' histories within contemporary museum settings.

Closely related to this case example (Busy Bee project) is name changing which, as Swart (2008) argued, can be used as a mechanism for transitional social justice. Commenting on how name changes are being deployed as a mechanism for social transformation in post apartheid South Africa, Swart (ibid.) argued against the wholesale removal of politically incorrect names. This is also a situation which can also become counter-hegemonic rather than inclusive. Researchers such as Witz (2000: 329) have also argued that the emergence of a multicultural South Africa – the 'Rainbow Nation' – requires that all eras of history and the monuments symbolising them be given equal respect.

The substitution of certain heritage perspectives with those that are, within the context of post colonial southern Africa, considered as formally marginalised, emerged as one of the strategies being used to represent indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices. The underlying discourse in this case seems to be the conception of heritage education as a tool for social transformation and justice. This appeared to be quite strong across the three countries studied, as reflected in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. A critique of this thinking appears later in this chapter.

8.1.4 Integrative and juxtaposed

At the Albany Museum in South Africa, the education programme as alluded to by the museum's education officer, has undegone a substantive review and reorientation process since 1994 (see Section 5.4). These changes relate to the museum's quest to respond to the country's new democratic constitutional discourses of "nation building" "social transformation" and" inclusivity" (see Sections 4.5.2 & 5.2).

Of interest in this study is the observation that some of the changes at Albany Museum are integrative in orientation and sought to be inclusive as compared to the earlier cases which I described as counter-hegemonic. The education programme at Albany Museum currently includes both Eurocentric heritage education lessons such as 'Behind the Scenes', 'Church treasure hunt', 'Cathedral bells', and 'Galleries interpretation', juxtaposed with a range of topics covering *Amaxhosa* cultural perspectives and practices (#DocAM & interview #AM). Box 9 below shows some of the cultural topics now offered at the Museum.

Box 9: Extract from Albany Museum education programme

AVAILABLE THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

The Khoisan: Ms Nozipho Madinda • All ages
A lesson using slides, objects, posters and working tools. Learners are shown our replica Bushman cave with paintings and are challenged to produce their own.

amaXhosa Culture and Lifestyle: Ms N Madinda • All ages
Slides, stories and some amaXhosa history told to learners of all ages. A fascinating account of an absorbing culture. Available in English and isiXhosa.

Imithi nencubeko yamaXhosa
Plants and Xhosa Culture: Phumlani Cimi
Selmar Schonland Herbarium/ISER • All ages
A powerpoint slide show and hands-on activities showing how plants are important to Xhosa traditions and why we need to look after them. **Please note that a Museum teaching box on amaXhosa lifestyle is available on loan.**

Source: 'Education 2009' (A Guide to the Education Department) (#DocAM).

In addition to the Eurocentric heritage topics pointed out above and the indigenous cultural heritage topics shown in Box 9, the Albany Museum also runs focus weeks

covering the broader *Amaxhosa* cultures and practices (interview #AM & #PZ). Within the *Amaxhosa* focus weeks, learners from different socio-cultural backgrounds learn about the diverse range of cultures and practices such as, to quote the education officer, "the preparation of traditional foods like *isigwamba* (vegetable salad), and *umngqusho* (traditional mealie-rice), *amasiko* (cultural rituals) such as *ulwaluko* (boys initiation ceremonies) and *intonjane* (initiation ceremony for girls), as well the history of the *Xhosa* people themselves (see Section 5.4.1.1).

Again in the context of South Africa the reorientation of education and awareness materials developed by South Africa Heritage Resources Agency e.g. brochures, flyers and newsletters, is also testimony to how different heritage constructs are being juxtaposed (#DocSAHRA & also see appendix 11). In this brochure heritage objects of both colonial (Western) and African origin are shown giving a fuller picture of the diversity of heritage constructs in the country. Such ways of representing indigenous people's cultural heritages in contemporary education practices is much closer to what in this study is being conceived of as meaningful heritage construct inclusivity (see Sections 1.4.4. & 2.5). By integrating topics and heritage objects covering formerly marginalised indigenous cultures and practices into the existing education programmes, heritage institutions can avoid the counter-hegemonic tendencies discussed in Section 8.1.3.

Another integrative form of representation and use of local indigenous heritage perspectives was noted at Supa Ngwao Museum's education programme in Botswana, where literature covering both Eurocentric and Afrocentric heritage perspectives is made available for school children and the general visitors to use (#DocSNBK 1 & #DocSNBK 2). Whilst learning support materials focusing on reviving Batswana cultures like the traditional *Kgotla* booklet (already referred to in Chapters Four and Seven) are in use within the Supa Ngwao Museum, it was interesting to note that there are other booklets that are Eurocentric in orientation (#DocSNBK 1). An example of this is the *Historic Buildings of Botswana* booklet, which when closely examined, seems to have conceived of heritage as being limited to Eurocentric architecture (#DocSNBK 1). Not one of the historic buildings covered in the booklet are of an African indigenous origin.

Emerging in this study is therefore an interesting scenario within which educational reforms being undertaken in the observed heritage education practices can be described on a continuum ranging between counter-hegemonic and inclusive in orientation. In addition it was interesting to note that within one heritage education programme, both forms of representation may be apparent (DocSNBK 1 & 2).

8.2 Tensions and challenges for representing indigenous heritage construct in heritage education practices

Attempts to increase representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in contemporary heritage education practices within post colonial southern Africa have not been without their own tensions (fears) and challenges. One of the objectives of this study, as pointed out in Chapter One is to also surface what might be some of these tensions and challenges as observed in this study. In this section the identified tensions and challenges are highlighted and discussed.

8.2.1 Lack of interest amongst learners and educators

Lack of interest in indigenous cultural heritages amongst educators and learners emerged as one of the challenges for achieving the desired educationally meaningful heritage construct inclusivity. As noted during the generative workshops (#WrkShpNotes), and in-depth interviews (interviews #GOB, #TK & #REV), some educators and learners perceive indigenous cultural heritages as not very useful or valuable within today's modern world. In an interview, the head of Dambudzo primary school, commenting on the teachers' attitudes about the newly established cultural village said:

> *Right when we were starting, ahh it was not very appealing to them, they were saying ah... some of these things are not really useful... and I think to some of the teachers these things do not make much sense* (interview #GOB).

The same school head later elaborated on the challenges of introducing culture into formal school education system by stating that:

> *Culture is slowly coming in now, of course they introduced culture issue eh a few years ago, just a few years ago it used to be all sport and then ahh a few leaders in schools are taking it and ehh some still think or believe it is not very useful* (interview #GOB).

Responding to a similar question on whether school children value the learning that happens within the culture village, also recently established, another head of school pointed out that:

> *Yah… we are trying, the idea of this whole thing is to try to conscientize these young people to certain things that exist in our culture like this so they are suppose to learn that's why we brought it to the school,…but they are not showing interest, you can't compare them to their parents, maparents vanhu vakura [the parents are grown ups] so they appreciate the value of this* (interview #TK).

Elaborating on the reasons for the apparent lack of interest amongst other schools in Kwekwe district in Zimbabwe to also establish cultural villages, the same educator pointed out that:

> *It's not an expensive project but I don't think it might be one of the reasons and two some of them have got simply a negative attitude they are not interested and they don't want to be associated with old things, vamwewo havachatoendika kumaruzevha, vamwe havana kumusha havaone kuti chii saka its useless for them, havachadi vakungonakidzwa nezvizvi zvirimodern izvi, and you know people are concerned about fast things fast life and so they choose modern things because these give them a better life, imagine if you are living in a hut without adequate ventilation and you see a modern house with air vents and big windows where you get water from the tap. Tap water is chlorinated and you don't get any typhoid whatever so yes some have lost interest* (interview #TK).

Commenting on the challenges faced within the Mukani Campaign Action project (see Chapter Seven) whose aim is to revive the local *Kalanga* cultures, particularly the reintroduction of *Kalanga* language back into the formal education system, the coordinator of the project said:

> *You know our children now they are trying to avoid the Kalanga culture… Like I am really saying these languages are really going out, our children don't see much value, as they go round the country they cannot interact with Kalanga, even some of our children they get bored, they shy away from the language because they will be identified as a minority group, even in funeral they would rather speak Tswana, that is the language they can write, after all that is the national language* (interview #REV).

Emphasising the point that it is not only learners who are not showing interest in cultural heritage education activities, the cultural heritage officer at Mapungubwe was, in an interview, quoted saying:

> *… and I think ah the learners', no no! educators' mindsets has also not changed in terms of heritage education, they don't have much interest because it must be the educators who say we are going to Mapungubwe as part of the*

*curriculum, I think they are not interested in some way they don't see the value or they don't understand what it is all about hence we are also trying to have workshops with educators on Mapungubwe (*interview #PM).

Lack of interest is therefore a substantive challenge for improving representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices. As Malegapuru (1999) and Nyoni and Nyoni (2010) claimed, this lack of interest in cultural issues amongst educators and learners is as a result of modernity and all the changes in lifestyles that came with it. And in the case of southern Africa this lack of interest is also arguably a direct result of colonialism, which to reflect back to Prah (1997), Dei (2002 & 2009), Mitchell (2003) and Ndoro (2005)'s observations, alienated indigenous people from their past and in some instances denigrated the value and richness of their indigenous knowledge systems and practices. Prah (1997: 18) referred to this as the "Western cultural overkill". In addition, and of relevance to this study, is the argument made by researchers such as Ndoro and Pwiti (1999), Bredekamp (2009), Munjeri (2004), and Chirikure and Pwiti (2008) that contemporary heritage policy and legislation has largely remained Eurocentric, attaching more value to colonially inspired constructs of heritage than to those of the formerly colonised peoples. A de-colonisation of the educator and learner's mind as Ngugi Wa (1986) argued for, and reform of ideological discourses and policies shaping the constitution and practice of heritage education, is in this regard inevitable.

8.2.2 Lack of capacity amongst educators
In this study lack of capacity, here defined in its broadest sense to include possession of adequate knowledge, skills and capability to engage meaningfully with learners around particular heritage topics, emerged as one of the many barriers for improving heritage constructs plurality within current heritage education practices.

Researchers such as Witz (2000), Saunders (2007), Makhoba (2007 & 2009) and Koekemoer (2010), speaking about heritage education within the formal education system in South Africa, particularly the introduction of the 'heritage outcome', made reference to this challenge (see Section 5.5 & #DocSASHT). To quote Koekemoer (2010: 11), because many educators are not trained in the heritage field "the heritage topics get done but learners learn very little". On the same note Makhoba (2009: 82), referring to this lack of capacity amongst educators in South Africa, pointed out that

"it is true that Heritage appears in the curriculum, but it is useless if the teachers do not know it" (#WrkshpNotes, #WrkshpVideos & #WrkshpDLessons). The observation that most heritage educators are not fully equipped with the necessary knowledge and pedagogy to implement heritage education in a critical and emancipatory manner, as examined in this study, is not only restricted to South Africa but extends across much of the southern African region. This observation is confirmed by some of the heritage educators interviewed within this study. A teacher from Camelot school in Zimbabwe, when asked to comment on the quality of the interpretation and presentation of Victoria Falls by the local tour guide during a recent school tour said:

> *I think he is not able to because he is not well knowledgeable about his history, because he was failing to come out clearly about the history of the Victoria Falls or maybe... eh am not sure but they need help* (interview #NYA).

In another interview and commenting about the recent developments in the heritage education field in post colonial Zimbabwe, a local school head also alluded to this lack of capacity when he pointed out that:

> *...nationally these things are just introduced into the schools and there is no staff development as to how these can be used or as to what can be included ehh within that culture centre, that becomes the head's initiative and his teachers to say what can we really do or what can we put up in the centre, so where the head has little knowledge about it there is little that is going to be learnt* (interview #GOB).

Lack of capacity amongst educators therefore emerged as an obstacle to meaningful engagement with the notion of heritage construct inclusivity. And as already pointed out by scholars like Head (2000), there is therefore need for capacity building of educators so that they are in a better position to articulate matters relating to both natural and cultural heritage constructs. Currently educators in the studied country case programmes are treating heritage education in a very superficial way. The heritage project, which is a compulsory task for learners in grades 10-12 in South Africa (interview #NJ), is a case in point where as acknowledged by the local History subject advisor in an interview, the assessment standards are far from being meaningfully achieved. Asked to comment on the quality of heritage education in formal schools she said:

> *The quality is generally I will say it's not good at all. The quality is not good because educators lack those skills of researching. That is why we have like in your sessions (referring to modelling workshops) information sharing* (interview #NJ).

The heritage outcome in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) states that the learner should be able to engage critically with issues around heritage (Department of Basic Education, 2010) but to make this happen educators must have the necessary knowledge and skills, which in this study have emerged as lacking.

8.2.3 Cultural diversity and politics of representation

Another tension regarding representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in contemporary heritage education practices, relates to cultural diversity and the fact that globalisation has resulted in many of the societies within which heritage education takes place, becoming cosmopolitan and highly cultural diverse (McKernan, 2008; Delanty, 2010). With such cultural diversity, which besides being a product of increased interaction between and amongst people of different countries was already a vivid feature within southern Africa (Ndoro, 2005), it becomes neither possible nor arguably necessary for any one heritage education programme to be fully inclusive of all the inherent heritage constructs.

A comment made by one of the interviewees, in response to why it was so difficult for the formal education system in Botswana to help revive and promote use of local *Kalanga* language in schools, illustrates how cultural diversity continues to be a barrier to increased and meaningful representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in contemporary heritage education practices. This interviewee said:

> *I think the intermarriage issue, the way we roam the global village, the way we roam the streets, they way we roam inter-country visits, you come from which country [I answer Zimbabwe] you come and marry in Botswana or you marry in Lesotho, So the intermarriage relation is playing a very very pivotal part. I as a Kalanga I will go and marry the Mkukshu in the Okavango, or I marry your sister, Shona, and in that sense she will bring the Shona language I bring the Kalanga language and our children in the middle they speak something else, they would rather opt to speak Sesthwana or rather speak English, if they are the middle part of Zimbabwe they would rather speak Shona, if there are in the southern part they will speak Ndebele, you see there it is always like that* (interview #REV).

Challenges relating to cultural diversity, increased representation and use of local people's cultural perspectives in mainstream heritage education practices in post colonial Botswana were also pointed out by the education officer at Supa Ngwao Museum. Making reference to how foreign people have become a substantive aspect of school enrolments and composition of teachers in some schools in Botswana, the officer stated that:

> *I don't know, eh because there are many people there Zimbabwe [meaning Zimbabweans], eh foreigners, like who are there so it is difficulty to teach culture because this one is from Zimbabwe, this one is from South Africa, this one is Zambian, and so we are not the same* (interview #NGWAO).

Later in the same interview, the education officer, when probed to elaborate on some of the difficulties of promoting the uptake and teaching and learning of local *Setswana* cultures within the formal education system, said:

> *We are mixed together wena, yes we are mixed together, [CZ: what do you mean exactly?] They are many people like here foreigners, we have difficulty, nowadays I don't know whether its true if you go to school a teacher who is teaching social studies is a foreigner, so this is a very big challenge because that person is from Zambia or Zimbabwe, he or she does not know exactly about Tswana culture, yes there are things that we share but some of them yes you need to be Tswana, and nowadays pupils they like English more than their language, you can find some of these small children they don't know Setswana but they are Batswana* (interview #NGWO).

The question of whose culture, whose knowledge system and social practices to incorporate into the existing heritage education practice, therefore remains largely unanswered. And in this regard it becomes critical for heritage educators to be equipped with relevant skills to mediate such challenges. As noted in Chapter Three, McKernan (2008) alerted us to the difficulties of applying the culture concept in shaping education by pointing out that because we live in a multicultural society with pluralist values, customs and traditions, it becomes challenging to view curriculum as simply a selection from culture. The point here is that often not all cultures but those of the people with the most political and economic influence (Habermas, 1987 & 1991a; Harvey Brown & Goodman, 2000) will be represented and applied in the proposed heritage education curriculum. Cultural diversity is therefore a challenge for working with indigenous heritage constructs within education in post colonial southern Africa.

8.2.4 Inadequate research and documentation

As already noted in Chapter One another problem associated with indigenous heritage constructs is that it has remained largely under researched and undocumented (Manyanga, 2000; Katsamudanga, 2004' and Dei, 2011). As such not much information is available for use, as envisaged within heritage education practices. Reflected within this study is the realisation that educators do not have adequate knowledge about indigenous heritage cultures to use within their lessons (interview #AM, #GOB & #WrkShpDLessons), hence they tend to teach and talk about those few cultural heritage perspectives which they know (Makhoba, 2009; Koekemoer, 2010).

Talking about the challenges faced by educators in South Africa concerning implementation of the heritage outcome within the formal education system, the officer at the Albany Museum pointed out that:

> *Okay it's not easy wena [friend] because most of these local cultures are not written or we don't have [i]knowledge about them. Our history museum down there is trying to do that but again a lot of research is needed, or we have to go out there and ask local people, I mean the old ones to explain so that when we explain it here its is correct, that is the challenge but we are trying* (interview #AM).

The same problem of lack of information regarding certain heritage topics, be it historical, or cultural, was also highlighted by the History subject advisor in the Department of Education Eastern Cape province, when in an interview she said:

> *The challenge of sending the learners or giving the learners a topic to research or investigate about and when they go out to the museum or wherever they go out to, the learners will find out that there is no information on a certain aspect, I would make an example of if they go to eGazini. They will get information on what whites did during the eGazini battle so that is the main challenge they are having so I will say the resources that are there are only focusing on one side of the story* (interview #NJ).

This lack of documented indigenous heritage knowledge, in the case of Mapungubwe the absence of written information on indigenous trees found within the park, was also identified as a challenge by the cultural heritage officer. In an interview she said:

> *It also links with the other challenge which is for us to be able to develop programmes that can be linked to the indigenous knowledge systems. Ah there*

is lack of information in that direction because some of the trees whatsoever we don't have the indigenous names (interview #PM).

Thus the general unavailability of relevant learning support materials (documented sources of information) to support integration of indigenous heritage constructs into existing heritage education is a major barrier for attainment of inclusivity within the region. And in the final analysis this observation boils down to, as already pointed out, lack of research and documentation that is associated with indigenous heritage in post colonial southern Africa.

8.2.5 Little room made for indigenous heritage construct initiatives within formal school timetable

Even though effort to use local elders as resource persons or heritage educators per se within contemporary heritage education practices were observed (interview #NM & #FoGZ), it was interesting to discover that in practice this strategy is hindered by a number of contextual factors. Two such factors include the low recognition given to the elders' knowledge and the limited time, if any, given to the elders to be part of the learning processes (interviews #GOB & #AM).

At Dambudzo Primary School in Zimbabwe where a culture hut concept is being pilot tested, the head admitted, that although the school aspires to use local elders to educate learners about indigenous cultural heritage, this was not quite the case in practice. Referring to this issue he pointed out that:

> *... we actually discussed with them (meaning teachers) that we would have some old people, of course they are not coming now because of the timetable, our timetable is so congested, we are actually going to have old people coming to teach what we can not teach ourselves, what we don't know, to the children, maybe at the same time teaching us also. So we are going to invite them but it is time now that is not on our side. Yes we need them because we feel we don't have all these things and some old people can teach us* (interview #GOB).

The same challenge of time was also reported at the Great Zimbabwe Monument where, even though the establishment of the Shona-Karanga cultural village was meant to provide room for visitors and school groups to interact and learn from the local elders stationed at the village (NMMZ, undated), it was noted that in most cases school children spent very little time at the cultural village. Because the tour of Great

Zimbabwe starts with the Hill complex and as observed often ends with the cultural village, and given the distance, and terrain walked during the entire tour, learners are often too tired to spend more time at the cultural village, or simply as already pointed out in Section 8.2.1 have no interest in cultural issues (interview #GOB & #TK).

Consistent with this observation, as argued by Zazu (2008) and Dei (2002 & 2010), indigenous cultural heritages have not yet gained adequate recognition within formal education systems in post colonial southern Africa. And because of this, indigenous heritage constructs have remained largely unofficial (Smith, 2006), receiving little recognition and room within formal school timetable and examinations. The observation that local elders working within the *Karanga* cultural village are not allowed to talk to visitors and school children about the history of the Great Zimbabwe Monument (#FoGZ) confirms this viewpoint (see Section 6.3.2.4). Coupled with the observation that educators who partake in educational tours to places like Great Zimbabwe are interested in helping learners to pass official examinations, it becomes clearer why indigenous heritage constructs are being superficially represented and used in contemporary heritage education practices.

Even though efforts exist to encourage heritage educators not to focus only on the examination, as was pointed out by Albany Museum education officer in an interview, more changes are needed if indigenous heritage constructs are going to be meaningfully integrated into existing heritage education practices. The head of the education department of the Albany Museum argued that "teachers must teach culture not for the examination but for knowledge" (interview #AM). Making reference to similar advocacy for recognition of indigenous knowledge systems in the academy, Dei (2002: 9) argued that what is needed is not simply the "opening up of the club to new members but rather examining the whole idea/structure of the club" (with 'club' here referring to heritage education practices). Examination of the whole idea and purpose of heritage education as reflected in Chapter Two (Section 2.4) and further recommended in Chapter Nine (see section 9.2 [VI]) stands a good chance to provide spaces for a meaningful heritage construct inclusivity.

In all these cases the nuanced tension between indigenous people's views and the official views about heritage make explicit state interests in influencing the way the heritage is interpreted and presented to the public (see Chapters One, Two and Three).

As shown in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, institutional structures such as the education system are used to promote the material, political, and ideological interests of the state (Dei, 2002; Smith & Riley, 2009). Working with indigenous heritage constructs in contemporary heritage education practices, given all these complexities, is therefore not an easy task.

8.3 Problem areas inherent within contemporary ways of representing indigenous heritage constructs

In Chapters Five, Six and Seven detailed descriptions of the observed heritage education practices are presented along with the discourses that shape them. Also earlier in this chapter the different patterns and forms of representing indigenous heritage constructs in the observed heritage education practices are identified and associated tensions and challenges discussed. Section 8.3 provides a critical analysis of what, in this study, has emerged to be the problem areas (pathologies) regarding heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa. These problem areas represent emerging issues requiring further reflection. Critical and reflexive engagement with these problem areas has the potential to generate ideas, guidelines and or recommendations for improving heritage education practices in the region, particularly around the notion of inclusivity, quality and relevance (see Section 9.2). The same problem areas are symbolic of the pitfalls that heritage educators need to be alerted to as they strive to attain heritage construct inclusivity that can translate into improved learners' agency to appreciate, protect and manage the region's heritage resources.

8.3.1 A superficial understanding of social transformation and inclusivity

In a region characterised by a contested history of colonisation and cultural diversity, within which the need to address injustices of the past is highly upheld, it is important that heritage educators fully understand not only the history (as heritage) but also the real meaning and implications of narratives such as social transformation, inclusivity, decolonisation, and reform of education practices. I argue in this study, based on the observations made, that most heritage educators have a superficial understanding of, in the case of South Africa, social transformation and inclusivity (interview #NJ & #WrkShpNotes). A closer look at the current approaches being used to work towards an inclusive heritage education practice (learning support materials included), as

already discussed in this chapter, exposes the limited understanding of social transformation and inclusivity amongst educators (#WrkShpDLessons & #FgI 6). I further claim that heritage educators often perceived social transformation and inclusivity within education as a matter of a new set of historical or cultural facts replacing an older one (Witz, 2000; Makhoba, 2009) or as in the case of museums, an increase in the numbers of black African learners visiting the museum (interview #PZ; also see Section 5.4.1). It is such limited understanding of policy narratives amongst educators that has in practice resulted in superficial reorientation of contemporary heritage education practices as observed in the selected sites covered by this study. Regarding this argument, questions that need to be given serious thought include: a) does replacing Eurocentric constructs of heritage with Afrocentric ones entail meaningful inclusivity? b) Does having 99% black learners (as in the case of Mapungubwe) visiting and engaging in a particular heritage education practice mean we have achieved social transformation and inclusivity? and c) Does a wholesale disregard of the other theories around the origin of Great Zimbabwe in favour of the post colonial narrative that the monument is of Shona ancestry make heritage education learning experiences any better? An honest and critical engagement with these few questions may help heritage educators (policy makers included) move closer to a kind of inclusivity best suited for the context of post colonial southern Africa (see Section 2.5). In the context of post colonial southern Africa in which one monument has different meanings to different people as Swart (2008) argues, heritage educators need to be equipped with critical pedagogy skills allowing for different heritage constructs to be accommodated and reconciled within education settings. In addition we may need to reflect on what Makhoba (2009: 83) cautioned us against when he pointed out that "including too many a transformation within a short space of time" in education can be problematic.

8.3.2 Ambiguous policy discourses

In addition and part of this dilemma surrounding the dominance of social transformation and inclusivity discourses, is that most of the policies (and education curriculum) in use today across much of post colonial southern Africa have remained largely ambiguous intentionally or otherwise (see Section 4.5.2). A clear example illustrating this, as already discussed in Chapter Four, is the use of the word 'our' within the preambles of the National Heritages Resources Act no. 25 of 1999, the

2004 Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe, and 2001 National Policy on Culture of the Republic of Botswana (also see Chapters Five, Six and Seven). In all these cases the discourse of 'our' permeates into the education system through policy documents such as in the case of the revised History syllabus (#DocHSBot) in Botswana and the recently introduced Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (#DocCAPS) in South Africa. Educators, unfortunately compounded by their limited knowledge and insight into the discourses shaping the meaning of the term 'our', often interpret 'our' as representing people of colour, the black African or the formerly marginalised, hence inclusivity to them means uplifting the views of these people (interview #PZ & #NM), which is maybe not wrong given the history of the region, but the how and to what extent becomes critical. The current countering of the dominant Eurocentric heritage constructs by substituting them with indigenous constructs in education, if 'over stretched' has the potential to result in making the same indigenous heritage constructs themselves become 'hegemonic' (Dei, 2002: 12). The narrow interpretation of words such as 'our' to mean black Africans, which in many cases are the dominant tribes as in the case of Botswana, is also quite a pitfall and again may result in exclusions within heritage education practices. Spivak (1999) talks of how the end of colonialism has often not benefited every grouping within post colonial states but rather resulted in a new version of colonialism from within. For heritage educators, there is therefore a need to constantly question the discourses embedded within the policies that shape and influence their work. For instance, the ban of Kalanga language in formal education which, as already mentioned was motivated by discourses of 'nation building', can in itself be problematic (interview #REV). What is necessary is a constant search for epistemologies and pedagogy that allow for a non-hegemonic representation of different heritage constructs, enhancing capabilities and agency of individuals from all sectors of society to manage and utilise heritage resources in a culturally sensitive, inclusive and sustainable manner. Commenting on the challenges of attaining epistemological dialogues within education in post colonial contexts, Andreotti (2011: 218) talks of a possibility of "seeing differently or seeing through other eyes" She argues that this is what is needed to address challenges of inclusivity within education in post colonial contexts. On the same note Spivak (2004: 526) argues for educational reforms that entail an "un-coercive re-arrangement of desires", knowledges and practices oriented towards an ethical responsibility towards the other. In all this thinking the idea is to seek for inclusivity that is beneficial to both

mankind and sustainability of heritage resources, and one that allows indigenous peoples' views of heritage to speak out, rather than being spoken for by the nation state through its ideological state apparatuses (see Sections 3.3 & 3.7).

8.3.3 Conceptual dilemmas

As already discussed in Chapter Two, and observed within this study are challenges associated with the concept of heritage and ultimately heritage education. Whilst I agree that there is no one universally agreed definition for 'heritage', I still think that a broader understanding of the term 'heritage' is an indispensable tool for all heritage practitioners, educators included. In this study sufficient evidence showing that most heritage practitioners do not have this broader understanding exists, as most educators conceived heritage as history (see Section 5.5). Yes history, as Deacon (2004) pointed out, becomes heritage when we choose which of parts of it to celebrate, but to restrict the concept of heritage to history only is worrying. Ultimately because heritage has been conceived narrowly as history, to the extent that in all the three countries' case studies covered in this study, history has been identified as the major carrier subject for the integration of heritage into the formal education system, and educators find themselves caught up in the political discourses surrounding the need to address injustices of the past (#FgI 6 & 7; #WrkShpNotes). The focus on history within the observed heritage education practices, not to say it is not important, does not ultimately make heritage education comprehensive enough to achieve its prescribed objectives as discussed in Chapter Two. In the context of post colonial southern Africa, as observed in this study, the conception of heritage as history has resulted in the politicisation of heritage education practices. Heritage education becomes as Witz (2000) pointed out, more of a mechanism for promoting agendas of particular political interests than an educational experience seeking to improve learners' agency to actively participate in the conservation, use and enjoyment of local heritage resources. Smith and Riley (2009) alerted us to this (see Chapter Three). The result is that other aspects of heritage, e.g. cultural practices, norms and values, knowledge systems and rituals are continuously being overshadowed within some of the observed heritage education practices by History topics.

Closely related to above argument is also the observed tendency in some educational initiatives, notably the culture hut concept as being implemented in Botswana and

Zimbabwe, to conflate heritage with culture (see Chapters Six and Seven). Certainly the link between heritage and culture is indisputable, but it is also problematic for heritage education to be constituted as solely the teaching and learning about culture, worse still if culture is conceived as ancient African traditions and ways of living (Nyoni & Nyoni, 2010; Koekemoer, 2010). This notion of heritage as indigenous historical culture faces the danger of being exclusive of other cultures inherent in today's cosmopolitan societies which in some way southern Africa, because of its colonial history and recent globalisation has become (interviews #REV, #TK & #GOB). Consistent with this argument, Nyoni and Nyoni (2010) critiqued the culture hut concept as an attempt to freeze culture in space and time, whereas it is widely known that culture is dynamic. Therefore the narrow conception of heritage education as revolving around culture explains the lack of interest amongst learners and educators, as already highlighted in this chapter (see Section 8.2.1). To learners, heritage education has to be more than learning only about culture as old ways of living, as this would make it less valuable to their modern everyday lives. Even though culture is an important aspect of heritage, its conceptualisation within heritage education practices needs to acknowledge its discursive and evolving nature, so that for learners it becomes the culture of the present connected to the past (see Section 2.1.3 for Benjamin's [1972] idea of culture as evolving).

There is therefore a need to revisit the way heritage educators work with the concept of heritage and help them to see heritage as a broader and multifaceted term (see Section 9.1.2). In this study conceptual clarity emerges as an area needing more attention with varying implications for heritage education practices in the region.

8.3.4 Failure to harness the nature-culture dualism

Though this relates very closely to the problem of conceptual clarity as already highlighted in Section 8.3.3, the issue at hand within this section deserves to be treated separately. In Chapter Two the concept of heritage as denoting both nature and culture (Lowenthal, 2005) was highlighted and emphasised. This dialectical "nature-culture duality" of heritage was also said to have the potential, if carefully harnessed, to allow for a far more enriching heritage education learning experience. It is against this realisation that we need to critically think about the implications of the failure by heritage educators to harness the nature-culture dualism within the observed heritage

education practices. In this study educators seemed not to be aware of opportunities existing within the culture hut concept to enrich learners' learning experiences. Using the culture hut learners can learn more than just culture, for example how the cultural practices depicted within the cultural village relate to the natural environment. This link is currently missing and as such learners continue to learn about culture as if it is not connected to nature (see Chapter Two). The same disjuncture was observed at Albany Museum where natural and cultural heritage programmes were treated as separate (see Box 4 in Chapter Five). An approach to using the culture hut as a learning resource encompassing both nature and culture has the potential not only to enrich and broaden the scope of current heritage education practices, but to make these education practices possible models for what Crawhall (2008) referred to as Heritage Education for Sustainable Development (HESD) a framework within which conventional Environmental Education (EE) and Cultural Heritage Education comes together. Efforts are therefore needed to work with heritage educators towards the development of skills and agency to approach their practice in ways that recognise and utilise the link between natural and cultural heritage constructs. Implications of conceiving culture as divorced from nature for both heritage management and education were discussed in Chapter Two. Examples of tensions that relate to this way of thinking about heritage were also given. Hence the need to work with heritage as both natural and cultural within heritage education practices must not be under-estimated. At present not much has been done in this regard.

8.3.5 Cultural diversity and heritage construct inclusivity – an elusive idea

Another issue which has emerged in this study that needs closer scrutiny is the idea of cultural diversity and inclusivity. Here the point is again slightly different from Section 8.3.1 in which social transformation and inclusivity are presented in relation to addressing injustices of the past. Southern Africa, as already shown in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, is culturally diverse with countries such as South Africa having eleven official languages each of which is representative of a specific ethnic tribe (DASCT, 1998).

Given this cultural diversity inherent in the region (see Section 1.2), is it not important to critically think about what we mean by heritage construct inclusivity and how feasible and educationally valuable it is? And whilst pondering this question are we

not also supposed to acknowledge the real life difficulties faced by an educator attempting to be inclusive whilst dealing with a class composed of children from different cultural backgrounds as is often the case in the context of post colonial southern Africa (see Section 7.4). How can this educator achieve heritage construct inclusivity without becoming too relativist and probably practising what is called targeted education in which lessons are tailor-made to speak to a particular sector of society or particular learners within the school setting. Suppose we opt to do that, does this multiculturalism (Agyeman, 2002; Levison, 2009) make heritage education promote social cohesion as it is often claimed to? And does the value of this approach to heritage education justify the arduous planning, the time and material costs required to develop culture-specific learning support materials as would be required? What emerges is that neither the educational value nor feasibility of attaining such inclusivity is fully known. Hence this is an area needing further reflection and research.

Conclusion

Chapter Eight has provided an overview of the ways in which indigenous heritage constructs are being represented and used within heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa. Contextual discourses influencing the observed forms of representing indigenous heritage constructs were further surfaced and critiqued. The chapter also highlighted and discussed the tensions and challenges that heritage educators encounter in their endeavours to attain heritage construct inclusivity within their practice Chapter Eight closed by identifying and problematising what emerged as problem areas inherent in the manner in which current heritage education practices work with indigenous heritage constructs, as observed in this study. The chapter explored and laid open for scrutiny these problem areas hoping that insights gained can be used to make recommendations for improving contemporary heritage education practices. In the next chapter (Chapter Nine) these recommendations are presented.

REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Chapter Nine provides a synthesis of the study. It also provides a critical reflection of study. The chapter starts by highlighting some of the limitations associated with the conceptualisation, design and methodological framework used in this study. The chapter also discusses techniques for mediating the possible impacts of the identified limitations on the credibility and trustworthiness of the study. Chapter Nine moves on to present and discuss the modest contribution that this study has made to the field of heritage education in post colonial southern Africa. Based on insights emerging from the findings of this study recommendations for improving heritage education practices within the region are presented and discussed. The chapter closes by pointing out and elaborating on what could be areas of interest for future heritage education research. Chapter Nine therefore concludes the study.

9.1 Reflections on the study

Conducting this study was a very enriching experience. However it is important to critically reflect back on the whole study. This reflection allows for two things. First it enabled me to point out and discuss what emerged as some of the limitations of the study. Secondly, reflection enabled me to appreciate and present the main contributions of this study to the field of heritage education.

9.1.1 Study limitations

Two issues emerged as being significant limitations of this study. The first one was the lack of previous research to draw on and the second one was limited resources, given the scope and geographical coverage of the study (see Section 1.2). Below is a discussion of the two limitations and how they were mediated.

9.1.1.1 Lack of previous research

One of the challenges that I faced which ultimately manifested itself as a significant limitation was lack of previous research from which to draw as I conceptualised and designed this study. The wide search for previous research reports that I embarked on

in the early stages of this study yielded very little information. In my quest to find information relating to heritage education practices, not only in the region but across the globe, I realized that very little research focusing on heritage education (see Chapter Two) had been done. Through Internet web searches and interaction with individuals working within the heritage sectors in the South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe I only managed to find a few research reports and journal articles focusing on heritage education. However most of these research reports and or journal articles were unfortunately biased towards the historical aspects of heritage thus falling short of how, in this study, I more broadly conceptualise heritage education.

Therefore the limited literature even if it provided useful initial insights into heritage education was arguably not substantial enough to provide the desired insights upon which to take a solid stand. Faced with this dilemma I had to accept first that heritage education is an under-explored field, and that this study would be exploratory, contributing to making a case for a need to engage in more heritage research within the region. This observation was therefore also a motivating factor.

In practice, the lack of previous research required that I draw on literature focusing on heritage management (which is easily available) understanding that heritage education is an important part of heritage management praxis (Head, 2000; Deacon, 2004; UNESCO, 2006; Dumbrell, 2012). I also had to rely heavily on insights gained from the contextual profiling that I conducted in the early stages of this study. I was, despite limited literature on heritage education per se, through a combination of contextual profiling research and wider literature on heritage management, able to conceptualise, design and conduct this study with some degree of credibility and trustworthiness.

9.1.1.2 Time and limited resources

Another challenge which I also consider as a limitation in this study was the issue of time and scope. Because of the limited information available on heritage education in the region, as discussed above, this study had to be designed as exploratory. In practice this meant having a wider scope that required more contextual profiling processes across the three countries. It also implied that I had to understand how heritage education is constituted within the region, before interrogating issues

regarding how indigenous heritage constructs are being represented and used. When I reflect back onto the entire study I note and appreciate that this wider scope was justified by the fact that not much was already known about heritage education as pointed out already, and required more field work time and more resources than was available.

This challenge was mediated by the intensive and careful use of relevant literature, reviewing of documents, and deployment of a range of data collection protocols, and use of Critical Discourse Analysis, which allows for in-depth probing of data (see Chapter Four, Section 4.5). In addition I had to, as highlighted in Chapter Four, carefully select data rich respondents, realising that I was only able to conduct a limited number of interviews (see Section 4.3.3). Thus even though I had limited time in the field, I managed to collect data adequate to satisfactorily answer all the questions asked within this study. Another strategy employed to counteract the impact of limited time and resources was continued engagement with research participants beyond the field visits. Where I needed more clarity I was able to follow up with the relevant research participants via email or telephone (see Section 4.7.2). And also, even though this study has come to an end, opportunities exist for further follow up on any of the interesting observations made, such as the culture hut concept, to fully understand them. Finally the use of research methodologies such as the case study method and critical discourse analysis that allow for representative depth rather than scope as is the case in this study, helped to further mediate impacts associated with limited time and field work. Critical Realism, which underlaboured this study, also helped to allow for depth ontology and identification of generative mechanisms influencing the constitution and orientation of observed heritage education practices.

9.1.2 Contribution of study

As I reflect on the study I also begin to appreciate the modest contribution that it has made to the field of education, particularly heritage education in the region. Other than being one of the few studies focusing on heritage education within the region, this study generates insights upon which future heritage education research can emerge. The following are some of the contributions that can be ascribed to this study:

9.1.2.1 Provision of a body of literature on heritage education

Heritage education is not yet, within the context of post colonial southern Africa clearly defined and framed (see Chapter Eight). One of the contributions that this study has made to the field is to provide a body of literature on heritage education as a practice. The study has provided valuable examples of educational processes which can be conceived of as constituting heritage education (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven). Through the discussions ensuing in Chapters Five, Six and Seven contemporary heritage educators and researchers may get a better sense of what constitutes heritage education in the context of post colonial southern Africa. As elaborated later in this chapter the need for conceptual clarity regarding what we refer to as heritage education should never be under estimated, at least if we are to be able to develop useful and relevant policies (curriculum) and the necessary learning support materials.

9.1.2.2 Identification of areas for future research

Besides providing a body of literature for working heritage education as a practice, this study also provided valuable insights into possible agendas for future heritage education research. Because of its exploratory nature and broader scope, this study may not have interrogated fully all the emerging and pertinent issues, but has highlighted problem areas (see Section 8.3) upon which future heritage education research can be conceptualised. This study stirred the waters of heritage education and surfaced problem areas needing further investigation. Areas of interest uncovered within this study that are of value to future research are discussed and elaborated on in Section 9.3 of this chapter. Earlier in this chapter mention was made of how challenging it was to conceptualise this study given the limited availability of previous research and literature on heritage education inherent in post colonial southern Africa. It is against this note that the contribution made by this study in terms of future research can be fully appreciated.

9.1.2.3 Methodological contributions

This study has also made a contribution to educational research by showing how one can work with Habermas' critical social theory in combination with other theoretical frameworks in heritage education research. The manner in which the study used the Habermasian critical social theory to understand the continued marginalisation of

indigenous heritage constructs within contemporary societies, and then drew on McKernan's (2008) critical curriculum theory to better understand how the same marginalisations manifest themselves within educational processes is one thing that future researchers can explore further. Through the decision to bring in McKernan's (2008) critical curriculum theory I was able to enhance Habermas' critical social theory for educational research. McKernan builds on Habermas's critical social theory. Future researchers can also draw on the way in which Habermasian critical social theory was deployed in shaping and developing data collection protocols (see Sections 3.8 & 4.3.2).

9.2 Recommendations

In ending this thesis I present a few recommendations for future engagement with heritage education practices. It is however important to note that these recommendations are not in any way prescriptive, but rather guiding frameworks within which ongoing efforts to improve heritage education practices can be located. Heritage education, given the contested nature of heritage itself (see Chapter Two), unfolds differently within different contexts; 'one size fits all' recommendations may not be useful or desired. Also significant to note is that these recommendations are largely linked to the problem areas identified and problematised in Section 8.3 (see Chapter Eight). As such recommendations suggested in this study are basically oriented towards further engagement with those problems areas. Below are some of the recommendations made.

i.   **Rethinking the use of indigenous heritage constructs in education**

Linked to the argument made in Section 8.3 5 (on cultural diversity), this study recommends the need to rethink, from an educational and sustainability perspective, the value of increased representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs in heritage education practices. Whilst this study fully acknowledges the importance of addressing injustices brought by colonialism, it argues for the need to not limit the scope and role of heritage education to socio-political justice. The rationale for increasing representation and use of indigenous heritage constructs, as observed in this study, however appear to be solely premised on the political discourses linked to the colonial history of southern Africa (see Section 1.2.1). Agyeman (2002) and Levinson (2009)

also critiqued this observed tendency to promote multiculturalism (cultural inclusivity) on the basis of political ideologies rather than the value that it adds to learners' educational experiences. Similarly, as Eldering (1996) claimed, the debate on cultural inclusivity, as envisaged in this study is also often limited to ideological discourses about society and cultural identity. Accordingly, initiatives introduced to enhance representation of indigenous perspectives within contemporary heritage education, for instance the 'culture hut concept', have tended to be limited to the physical representation of cultural villages within schools (see Section 6.4). Two questions may be of interest here. Firstly, what exactly is the educational value of increased representation and use of indigenous cultural heritage within contemporary heritage education practices? Secondly, what is, as Sarangapani (2003) asked, the epistemological feasibility of such an endeavour? Until we honestly answer these questions our efforts and initiatives may remain off target, at least as far as improving the quality and relevance of heritage education practices is concerned. In the context of post colonial southern Africa, increased representation and use of indigenous cultural heritages in education is a very powerful and appealing notion but one that needs to be approached with caution (see Chapter 8). Spivak (1988) in her essay entitled "Can the subaltern speak?" points to the problems related to post colonial efforts of making the subaltern or the formerly marginalised become more represented. Spivak's (ibid.) claim that the subaltern cannot speak because she lacks the authority and power, further helps us to appreciate the challenges concerning achievement of true (not superficial as critiqued in this study) representation of indigenous people's constructs within contemporary heritage education practices.

ii. **Research**: Following from the discussion which ensued in Chapter Eight it became apparent that there is a need to promote further research into heritage education as a field of practice. The existing knowledge gap concerning our understanding and appreciation of what constitute heritage education requires more research focusing on those problem areas highlighted in Chapter Eight and elaborated on later in Section 9.3 of this chapter. Like any other field of practice, heritage education can only improve if adequate knowledge is

generated and made available. It is therefore important that local institutions such as the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, South African Heritage Resources Agency, the National Museums, Monument and Art Gallery and international organisations like UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS begin to redirect their attention and resources, as much as they do to other areas of heritage management, to research focusing on heritage education. Whilst all three countries covered in this study can be commended for putting in place policy frameworks that clearly acknowledge the role of heritage education, a considerable amount more is still expected of them to support the translation of policy narratives into improved heritage education practices. It was interesting to note that heritage education was conspicuously absent in the research agendas of heritage conservation organisations and research institutions profiled in this study. Where efforts existed, such as the UNESCO World Heritage in the Hands of the Young Education initiative, not much in terms of knowledge sharing and application was achieved (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven).

iii. **Professional development for heritage educators:** The need to develop generic and context specific training programmes for heritage educators in the region cannot be over-emphasised, given the observed superficial understanding of key conceptual and pedagogical issues relating to heritage education apparent amongst educators in the region, as observed in this study. Training programmes aimed at enhancing educators' understanding of heritage as a broader and conceptually problematic (see Chapter Two) term has potential to improve the way the same educators approach their practice. In addition, capacity building opportunities aimed at helping contemporary educators to improve their pedagogic skills are also essential if heritage education, particularly the idea of meaningful heritage construct inclusivity, is to be achieved. Also emerging clearly in this study was the realisation that there are no clear career pathways for heritage education and as such individuals working as heritage educators were either trained in Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies or Education In an interview, the senior heritage education officer at the Great Zimbabwe Monument pointed out that:

> *Some of these tour guides don't have a heritage education background, and they are trained to deal with visitors but they don't know how to deal with learners* (interview #NM).

Implications of this scenario on the kind of heritage education taking place within the region are, even if not yet fully known, potentially negative. Alongside the many initiatives being implemented to promote heritage education should be provision of capacity building opportunities to equip educators with knowledge and skills required for the kind of heritage education envisaged in Chapter Two (see Section 2.5).

iv. **Development of suitable learning support materials:** It also became clear that, across the many heritage education programmes covered in this study, not much has been done in terms of development of suitable learning support materials (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven). In the absence of adequate learning support materials, heritage educators are found wanting on how to deliver lessons in ways that are socio-culturally inclusive as demanded by the imperatives of heritage discourses and policies inherent in post colonial southern Africa. There is therefore need to invest in research and development of contextualised learning support materials for use within heritage education practices in the region. Learning support materials developed in ways that articulate both the need to address past injustices and harness the nature-culture duality of heritage may go a long way towards getting us close to the kind of heritage education needed in the context of post colonial southern Africa.

v. **Mainstreaming heritage education into Education for Sustainable Development**

As already highlighted across this thesis (see Sections 1.3 & 2.3), the need to consider how heritage education relates to Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) is critical. The current scenario where heritage education is as in the case of South Africa scattered within and across numerous subjects may not be the best option given the roles ascribed to this field of education (Mhlungu, 2009). The current constitution and fragmentation of heritage education as a practice is a cause of concern. Because this study is interested

in the kind of heritage education that can transform and enhance people's agency to access, own, enjoy and sustainably manage local heritage resources, based on arguments made in Chapter Two (see Section 2.3), the possibility exists for mainstreaming heritage education into Education for Sustainable Development or work with what Crawhall (2008) referred to as Heritage Education for Sustainable Development (HESD). The study argues that doing so has the potential to bring down the superficial walls that currently exist between ESD and heritage education, which as observed in this study, have not resulted in anything more meaningful than to present nature and culture to learners as if they are divorced from each other.

vi.   **Redefining the objectives of heritage education**

Finally, I recommend that in and across the different initiatives of different heritage educators, attention be given to a rethinking of what we need heritage education to do. A careful analysis and clear understanding of the perceived role that heritage education is claimed to play, is critical. In each context heritage education plays certain and maybe unique functions, and having clarity on these is important. In Chapter Two some of the perceived roles of heritage education are highlighted but as I reflect back I see that some of the functions need to be articulated with caution. I note with concern that in post colonial southern Africa, heritage education has tended to become more influenced by political discourses than discourses of sustainable heritage resources management. Because of this, heritage constructs that do not make political sense are often excluded or simply relegated to the periphery. It is against this observation that this study emphasises the need to refocus heritage education to encompass both socio-political discourses and sustainability of heritage resources (see Chapters Two and Eight).

9.3 Opportunities for future research

As already argued earlier in this chapter there is need for more research into the different aspects of heritage education (see Section 9.2. ii). The following have emerged as possible streams for future heritage education research. However these are not exhaustive but representative of the specific issues that came out in this study as needing further exploration.

- o *Problematizing the relationship between assessment standards and indigenous heritage cultures within formal schooling.* Within this stream of research one can explore the epistemological compatibility of local traditional knowledges with formal school systems (Sarangapani, 2003; Makhoba, 2009) within the context of southern Africa. The dilemma of whether we should teach children about indigenous culture to pass examination or to sustain and retain the same cultures as surfaced in this study can be resolved through such research (see Chapter Eight). Through research, provocative and sobering arguments (such as that the survival of indigenous heritages is probably better assured if they are kept out of formal modern educational systems) can also be interrogated (Ngugi Wa, 1986; Antweiler, 1998). Research focusing on the relationship between indigenous heritages and formal schooling has the potential to generate useful insights for guiding future engagement with heritage education.

- o *Investigating the educational impact of recent initiatives such as the 'culture hut concept', 'adopt a site' and 'culture clubs' within formal educational settings.* Not much is known about the educational value of these initiatives yet they have already taken root within the education system (see Chapters Six and Seven). This stream of research could also explore, drawing on literature and research from other regions, possible models for indigenising the curriculum without making it too relativist. Knowledge generated within this kind of research would be critical for the design and development of educational reforms which goes beyond mere representation of culture within heritage education practices.

- o *Exploring heritage educators' understanding of existing heritage policy and legislation.* It is important to explore the implications of policy discourses and how these determine the unfolding of heritage education practices within different educational settings. Research around this area also helps educators to understand the perceived role of heritage education as often contained within different policy frameworks. As pointed out already in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight (see Section 8.3.2), policy frameworks supportive of heritage education exist in and across the region, but how these policies can be translated into improved heritage education experiences is a different matter needing further interrogation, as identified in this study

o *Investigating the impact of different teaching and learning approaches on the quality and relevance of contemporary heritage education practices.* This may entail questioning current teaching and learning methodologies against what a heritage education practice best suited to the context of post colonial southern Africa is conceived to be (see Section 2.5). This stream of research may also interrogate pedagogical issues such as the suggestions to include traditional games, jokes, riddles, tales, songs and dance in heritage education curriculum. In this study not much attention was given to exploring the implications of the observed teaching and learning approaches on the quality of heritage education, as noted in this study.

o *Exploring the positioning of heritage (education) within formal and non formal education systems.* An understanding of how different models of heritage education work is important for ongoing efforts to improve the quality and relevance of heritage in the region. An interesting question which this study raised but could not follow up in detail, revolves around whether heritage education needs to exist as a specific field of education or be integrated within other traditional educational fields/disciplines e.g. Education for Sustainable Development. Thinking about such issues through research may help to shape and frame our understanding of heritage education. An analysis of the implications of the different possibilities of positioning heritage education could be a worthwhile and interesting research endeavour.

Conclusion

Chapter Nine has provided a synthesis of the whole study. The chapter also opened by discussing the limitations associated with the conceptualisation, design and implementation of this study. The chapter moved on to highlight the contribution that this study has made to the field of heritage education. A number of recommendations are made and a discussion of possible research agendas has been included.

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Chauke, G. (Director, Great Zimbabwe Monument). Personal Communications, September 6, 2010.

Haruzivishe, S. (Education Officer, Great Zimbabwe Museum). Personal Communications, September 9, 2010.

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Nemerai, J. (Senior Education Officer, Great Zimbabwe & National Coordinator of Heritage Education in Zimbabwe). Personal Communications, September 6, 2010.

APPENDIX 1

Excerpt from the 2012 State of the Nation Address (South Africa).

Compatriots and friends,

As part of promoting social cohesion, this year we will undertake and continue many heritage projects.

Museums and centres to be unveiled will include the 1980 Matola Raid museum in Maputo, the Ncome museum in KwaZulu-Natal, phase 2 of the Freedom Park museum and the Steve Biko heritage centre in Ginsberg in King Williamstown.

We have also prioritised thehomes and graves of former ANC Presidents and other national heroes including Thomas Maphikela, Lillian Ngoyi, Walter and Albertina Sisulu, Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge, Robert Sobukwe and others.

Memorial sites to be prioritised include that of the Pondo Revolt, the sites of the Frontier Wars, the 1913 revolt by African women in the Free State, the 1957 anti-pass revolt by women in Zeerust, the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plein where the United Democratic Front was formed and the Gugulethu Seven monument in Cape Town.

We are also in the process of purchasing and rehabilitating the Winnie Mandela house in Brandfort, the Dr. Moroka house in Thaba Nchu and the Bram Fischer house in Westdene.

Additional projects include the launch of the Dube Tradeport and the unveiling of the statue of John Dube at King Shaka International Airport next month and renaming the Kings House presidential residence in Durban after Dr Dube.

The Presidential Guest House in Pretoria will be named after Mr Sefako Makgatho and the Diplomatic Guest House in Pretoria after the late prolific diplomat, Mr Johnny Makatini.

Government will also table the National Traditional Affairs Bill which makes provision for the recognition of the Khoi-San communities, their leadership and structures.

It is important to remember that the Khoi-San people were the most brutalised by colonialists who tried to make them extinct, and undermined their language and identity. As a free and democratic South Africa today, we cannot ignore to correct the past.
I discussed this matter extensively with the Khoi-San community when I met with them in Cape Town last year and we agreed to work together to redress the injustices of the past.

APPENDIX 2
Copy of interview transcript

Interview transcript: Cultural village leader at Great Zimbabwe

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Date: 21 July 2011 (Zimbabwe)

Indexed #SJ

> Interview conducted in July 2011 to elicit the leader's views and experiences of working within the Great Zimbabwe Monument, and how the cultural village fit into the cultural landscape, interrogating its educational value, role and perceived functions.

Key

CZ: Researcher

SJ: Interviewee

CZ: Chokutanga sekuru ndingada kuziva zita (***firstly may I know your name?)***

SJ: Zita rangu ndinonzi sekuru Nyajena (***My name is grandfather Nyajena***)

CZ: VaNyajena vanobvepiko ava (***Where does sekuru Nyajena come from***? Uye mutupo chiiko nhai vaNyajena? (***And what is your totem and clan name?***)

SJ: Ini ndinobva kwaShumba, muno muMasvingo uye ndinoera Moyo Nyajena Dhehwa *(**I come from Shumba area here in Masvingo province and my totem is Moyo, Moyo of Dhehwa clan)***

CZ: Sei makasarudzwa kuitwa mutungamiri wecultural village yedu iyi? ***(Why were you chosen to be the leader of the Karanga cultural village?)***

SJ: Inyaya yokuti ini ndakagara kwenguva yakareba chaizvo muno munzvimbo (interjection) CZ: Nzvimbo ipi kureva pano paGreat Zimbabwe here?) Hongu pano paGreat Zimbabwe hongu *(**It's because I have lived in this area for a long long time, yes here at Great Zimbabwe, yes Great Zimbabwe ruins)***

CZ: Saka basa renyu ramunoita pano nderei nhai vaNyajena? ***(What role do you play sekuru NyaJena?)***

SJ: Kana panebasa rinoda kutiwa vanoudza ini pano pamusha ini ndoudza vakomana basa rokuita? ***(If there is a job that needs to be done, they tell me then I will tell the boys and the job is done)***

CZ: Saka musha wedu uyu wakavakwa rinhi? ***(When was this cultural village established?)***

SJ: Usati waputswa wakavakwa mugore ra1986 (CZ interject, Sei wakaputswa) SJ: continue..Hamenowo vamwe vakuru vakati village ngaende kure nemaruins, zvanzi yanyanya kuvamukati memaruins ngaiende inozvimirira iri kure yoga (***Before its demolition it was established in year 1986 (CZ interject, why was it demolished?). SJ: some big people said***

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the village is within the ruins, too close to the ruins, and the village should go far away where it can stand on its own)

CZ: Vakuru ava ndevapi ava? (***Which big people are these?***)

SJ: Ahh ahh vakuru vekumuseum (***Ahhh ahh these are people from the museum [not comfortable to mention them])*** *Cultural* village yakazodzoswa pano apa, nokuti yanga yaendeswa kure nemavashanyi, saka yakanzi ngaidzoke pano (***the village was relocated back here to its original position because it was felt the village had gone too far from visitors***)

CZ: Sokuona kwenyu imi musha uno unoita basa rei? (***From you own point of view what is the role that this village plays?***)

SJ: Vashanyi vanoenda kumuseum uko vanoona zvinhu asi vamwe vacho hava bvume kuti tisu takazviita, saka vakauya pano tinovaratidza kuti tisu, ehh kuti tisu takaivaka (***Visitor first go to the museum but some of them don't agree that it is us who did it [maybe meaning building the ruins], so when they come here we show them it is us who did it....laughs a bit***)

CZ: Saka village yedu yakakosha zvikuru kaiyi? (***So this, our village is so important***)

SJ: Zvakanyanyisa, yaha yaha zvakanyanyisa (***Yes so important ye so important***)

CZ: Ndakambouya pano gore rakapera ndikaona pachiitwa zvengoma nembira, Ndiudzei kuti mbira idzi nengoma dzakakosheyi? Dzinemzita here, kana dziri mbira dzinomboreveiko nemagariro aiita vanhu pano paGreat Zimbabwe? (***I came here last year and I saw that people were playing mbira and traditional drums, what is the value of these musical instruments? And if it is mbira, do they have names and what does these tell us about the cultural lifestyles of people who lived at Great Zimbabwe?***)

SJ: Kudivi rengoma uku kune dzimwe nziyo dzinoimbwa dzinoratidza kuti vanenge vari pamagadziro, kune nziyo dzevavhimi vaye vanovhima nyama ava, kune dzimwe nziyo dzinonzi dzamashave, n'anga dzavaye vanenge vachirapa seavo vanoridza hakata, saka zvinhu zvacho zvakangoti wandei hazvo (***On the side of drums they are those that show that people are at ceremonies to bring the dead back into the home, rituals yes, there is also songs for those that are great hunters, those that hunt for meat, then we have songs for traditional spirits, those that heal and cure sick people, yes those like the ones that throw bones, sure the drums, and songs varies a lot***)

CZ: Ko mazita adzo munoatondera here, kana dziri dzevavhimi dzinombonzi chii kana dziri dzoun'anga dzinombonzi chii, kuitira kana vana vechikoro vauya vanoda kuziva mazita kuitira kana zvouya mubvunzo dzavo dzekupera kwegore vanobva vati tinozvivika izvi takamboenda kuGreat Zimbabwe (***So the names do you still remember their names, like if these are for hunters, what do you call them, if these are for traditional herbalists what do you call them, so that when school children come here they can get the names and answer these in exams, and they can say they know them because they have visited the Great Zimbabwe***)

SJ: Kudivi ren'anga uku kune dzimwe dzinoimbwa sokuti "wadane n'anga waona chiremba" yaha wadane n'anga waona chiremba. Haungangodane n'anga usina chawaona pumukova pako (***On the drums' side there are songs that are sung. Like "wadane n'agnga waona chiremba" meaning that who calls a diviner or sangoma has seen a witchdoctor- literally it means for one to consult a doctor the person must have noticed a problem in the home. The assumption is one cannot just call a diviner without having seen a need for divine intervention***)

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CZ: Mumabhuku matinoverenga umu tinonzwa kuti pano paGreat Zimbabwe panomboitwa zvenziyo dzekukumbira mvura, Ndedzipiko nziyo idzodzi? *(In the books that we read we hear that here at Great Zimbabwe there are songs and dances that are done to ask for rainfall, what are these songs, what are their names?)*

SJ: Ndedzavanoti nziyo dzekumbira mvura dzavanoimba dzakaita sava "ndoniwa nemvura ndichibva Save kana kuti "Mvura yemukombe" vanenge vachitokumbira mvura izvozvo *(These are the songs like " ndoniwa nemvura ndichibva [meaning I got wet/rained on my way from Save river, or Mvura yemukombe" [Water from the Gourd]. The people will be singing and asking for rain at the same time.*

CZ: Yaizonaya here mvura yacho? *(Did the rain come then?)*

SJ: Yainaya zvechokwadi, pakutevedzera chaipo nokuti vanhu ava vaitonyika mamera onaiwa nemvura vobika doro, vozonwa vari pasi pomuchakata vachikumbira mvura, chokwadi mvura yainaya *(Yes the rains used to come because these people were doing it accordingly, they soak malt, brew beer, and then drink the beer under the muhacha tree (mobola plum tree) asking for rain. Sure the rains used to come)*

CZ: Tinombonzwa kuti vanhu vanoshanya pano vanongoudzwa zvinhu zvakanangana nevachena chete, maguides edu haataure zvinhu zvinechekuita nesu isu vanhu vatema uye kuti tisu takavaka Great Zimbabwe, ndisu varidzi vayo, monoti kudii nazvo izvozvo *(There are stories that people who visit Great Zimbabwe only get to be told issues relating to white people or western world, what is your opinion on this claim, it is said our guides only talk about Great Zimbabwe leaving out other stories of local people and that there are the ones who built it and own it)*

SJ: Isuwo kuno kana varivanhu vanoshanya ava hatibvumirwe kutaura nezveGreat Zimbabwe, zvinonzi ibasa revanhu vekumuseum iroro, saka hatiziviwo hatina chokwadi naipapo. Isu tinobvumidzwa kutaura nezvemuno matigere nokuti ndomatigere *(Here at the village when visitors come we don't talk about the history of Great Zimbabwe ruins, we are not sure, eh we are not allowed to do that eh they say this is the job of the museum people, so we are not sure of that, we, we are allowed to talk about this area here because this is where we live)*

CZ: Kureva kuti imi hamuzivi here nhoroondo yekuvakwa kwe Great Zimbabwe iyoyi, hapana here vamwe vakuru vanoziwa nhoroondo iyoyi, vanogona kutaura kuti apa ndopaigara mambo apa apa ndopaigara vakadzi vamambo? *(Does it mean that you local people are not knowledgeable about the history of the ruins, Is there no other elderly people who can tell the history of the ruins, who can say this is where the king stayed or this where his wife was staying?)*

SJ: Ahh ahh!! Isu hatizivi isu, vanoziva ivo maguides iwayo, Asi varipo vakuru kumamisha uku avo vanoziva chaizvo uye vanogona kutaura nhoroondo yacho, variko kumamisha uku *(Ahh ahh!! [showing less confident and not sure of how to answer] We don't know the history of the ruins, its them the guides who know, not us, but yes there are old people in the villages around here who know it all, and can tell you this is where the king lived and this where his wife was living, yes they are there in the villages)*

CZ: Ndezvipi zvimwe zvinhu zvamungade kuti tizivisane uye zviitike pano pamusha wenyu *(What other issues do you think may need to be improved in the this cultural village?)*

SJ: Yaah pane nyaya yekuti musha hausati wapera kuvakwa, panenyaya yemba yavahosi, nemukadzi wechitatu inodiwa, pane nyaya yekuvaka hozi, chii chimwe futi ehhee, nyaya yechirugu chehuku nechembudzi, saka zvese izvozvo zvinoda kuvakwa tinongomirira kuti kana vapindurwa ikoko tozovaka dzimba idzodzi *(Yes there is the issue that this village is*

not yet complete, we need to build a house for the most senior wife, and another one for the third wife, what else what else, yah we need to build a chicken run and goat house, we are waiting for them to be replied there [not coming out clearly where this is] and then we build these things)

CZ: Munombowana rubatsiro here kubva kuhurumende yenyika pazvinhu zvenyu zvepano *(Do you get help from government on the development of the culture village?)*

SJ: Kwete tinoita zvinhu zvedu toga, hapana chatinowana kubva kuhurumende isu *(We do our own things and there is nothing that we get from government here)*

CZ: Ko zvimwewo zvamunoona kuti izvi zvinoda kugadziriswa, tinonzwa kuti vanhu vamwe havesviki kuno, vanongoperera kugedhe uko, izvozvi ndasiya kune mabhazi 15 asi vana vese ivavo havasvike kuno sei, taida kuti vose vasvike zvoiitwa sei izvozvo? *(Any other issues that you think need to be considered, we hear that a lot of visitors do not get here, they just end in the hill complex, and just now I left 15 buses parked at the gate but the school children do not come here, how can we improve on that?)*

SJ: Iyoyo nyaya iyoyo takamboitaura iyoyo, zvinoda kuti pange pane maboard kubva kugedhe anoratidza pane village kuitira kuti vanhu vashanyi vabve vaziva vari ikoko kuti pane village, kana vakasazouya kuda kwavo asi vanenge vaziwa. *(The issue we once discussed, ehh it needs that board be put from the gate to tell visitors that there is a cultural village, so that they can come if they want, not that they just bump into it, if they don't come it is their choice)*

CZ: Ko panyaya yepundutso apa, tinoona pane vanhu vanoita zvokuveza, kutamba nekuumba hari. Zviri kubatsira here pamari apa? *(On issues of economic empowerment, I see there are people sculpting different artefacts, some doing the traditional dances and others making clay pots, Is it making money for these people, what do you say on this one?)*

SJ: Ahh pamari apa ndizvowo asi zvinongoenderana nokuti pauya vanhu kwavo here, ende pavanhu vekutamba apa zvinenge zvisiri kufamba nokuti vamwe vanhu vanogona kuuya votambirwa pobuda dhora chete voenda havo asi vanhu vanotamba vanenge vari 7. *(Yes it helping but not much and it depends on the visitors if good people come, sometime people come here and they see the dances and produce just a dollar, and this is against 7 people so it is not good)*

CZ: Saka zvingagadziriswa sei izvozvi, pane zvamunofunga here, ko kuti mutaure nevemuseum kuti mari yenyu ibhadharwe kugedhe sezvinoitwa dzemaguides imi mozongogovana hazvisi zvirinani here? *(So how can this be improved, Is it not a good idea to talk to museum and get people to pay at the gate and then you share the money that comes in amongst yourselves, Is that not a good idea)*

SJ: Hongu izvozvo zvakanaka uye takambozvitaura [vanobvunza vamwe vavo; ndizvoka varume] Ichokwadi ichocho asi parizvino tinombomira kuitira kuti tipedze kuvaka musha togadzira ruzhowa vanhu vanopinda vobhadhara mari pagedhe redu, parizvino tinoda kuvaka topedza tozoona kuita izvozvo. Ivo vemuseum vakatombozvitaura *(Yes its a good idea and we once talked about it [consult the others- is that correct gentlemen?] and we are just waiting to finish constructing the village first and then we put up a gate where all visitors pay, and the money is for all of us. Visitors will pay and school children will pay. The museum staff talked about it and they support this idea)*

CZ: Pane here dzimwe nyaya dzamungade kutaura, ndakambonzwa kuti panomboita makakatanwa pakati pevanhu vemunharaunda nemuseum pakushandisa nzvimbo ino kuita maceremony ekunayisa mvura? Zvichirikuitika here izvozvo? *(We hear there used to be some problems between communities around and museum when people want to do their traditional ceremonies, Is this still happening?)*

SJ: Ahh izvozvo handizivi vekumaoffice ikoko ndovangatoziva, asi parizvino hatina problem nemuseum isu, nguva yapera iyoyo mambo neMamwa, na Mugabe vakambouya pano vakakwira mugomo umu, chakangozonetsa inyaya yakuti pakazouya gala, vakomana vakasiya siya makondomu muno mugomo mese umu, vemuseum havana kufara nazvo nokuti hazvibvumirwe muno izvozvo *(Ahh that I don't know now those in the office can tell you more but museum is now in good books with local communities, chief neMamwa and Mugabe came here and climbed the hill complex last time and problem was the gala, the youth gala, and the youth left condoms all over the hill complex and this is not allowed here, museum people were not happy with that)*

CZ: Pane zvimwe here zvamungada kutaura *(Any thing else you want to talk about?)*

SJ: Kwete handina *(No I don't have)*

CZ: Ndatenda chaizvo sekuru nenguva yenyu yamandipa, uye ndinotenda nemashoko enyu amandipa, tinovimba basa renyu richafamba zvakanaka uye musha wenyu uchaenderera mberi, Ndatenda *(Thank you very much for your time, and information that you shared with me and I wish that your village will flourish as time goes by, thank you very much and stay well)*

APPENDIX 3

Great Zimbabwe Communications

Date	Mon, 30 Aug 2010 10:30 PM (7 hours 5 mins ago)
From	"Chrispen Chauke" <chrischauke@yahoo.com>
To	"Clayton Zazu" <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm>
Subject	Re: Heritage Education contextual profiling

Hi Clayton

Thats fine the changes are fine. You will definitely have a lot to explore at Great Zimbabwe. Hope to see you then

Regards

Chris

--- On **Sun, 8/29/10, Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm>** wrote:

From: Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm>
Subject: Re: Heritage Education contextual profiling
To: "Chrispen Chauke" <chrischauke@yahoo.com>
Date: Sunday, August 29, 2010, 1:02 PM

Dear Chris
Great. Thanks I will therefore be happy to schedule the meeting to
0930hrs instead of 1400hrs if it suits you. I can make to Masvingo by
round about 0900hrs. We will need just about 40 mins talk and then you
can leave me exploring your place is its ok. Confirm this change Chris

Regards

Clayton
On Sun, 29 Aug 2010 03:29:55 -0700 (PDT), "Chrispen Chauke"
<chrischauke@yahoo.com> said:
> Hi Clayton

> I have just received an invitation to a periodic meeting workshop in
> Namibia on the 7th of September. So will be travelling to Harare on the
> 6th. So can you try to come earlier that scheduled as I will be
> travelling just after meeting you.

> Regards
>
> Chris
> --- On Fri, 8/27/10, Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm> wrote:

> From: Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm>
> Subject: Re: Heritage Education contextual profiling
> To: "Chrispen Chauke" <chrischauke@yahoo.com>
> Date: Friday, August 27, 2010, 12:50 PM

> Hie Chrispen
> Many thanks. Will communicate once in Zim
>
> Regards
> Clayton
> On Fri, 27 Aug 2010 04:20:27 -0700 (PDT), "Chrispen Chauke"
> <chrischauke@yahoo.com> said:
> > Hie Clayton
> >
> > My phone numbers +263913240648 0r +263712718137
> > Good day
> >
> > --- On Fri, 8/27/10, Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm> wrote:

> > From: Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm>
> > Subject: Re: Heritage Education contextual profiling
> > To: "Chrispen Chauke" <chrischauke@yahoo.com>

> > Date: Friday, August 27, 2010, 10:52 AM
>
> > Hie Chris
> > Great. I will contact you when in Bulawayo where I am meeting guys from
> > the museum, otherwise the dates and time for our meeting remains
> > unchanged.
> >
> > My regards
> >
> > Clayton
> > On Fri, 27 Aug 2010 03:45:56 -0700 (PDT), "Chrispen Chauke"
> > <chrischauke@yahoo.com> said:
> > > Hie Clayton
> > > Thanks for you mail. We will meet you when you come.
> > >
> > > Till then
> > > Chrispen
> > >
> > > --- On Fri, 8/20/10, Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm> wrote:
>
> > > From: Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm>
> > > Subject: Re: Heritage Education contextual profiling
> > > To: "Chrispen Chauke" <chrischauke@yahoo.com>
> > > Date: Friday, August 20, 2010, 7:34 AM
> > > Hie Chrispen
> > > Just to confirm that our visit to your place still remains set for 6-7
> > > September 2010. Can we meet in the afternoon of 6 September say at
> > > 1400hrs-1500hrs then. I will be arriving arriving in Masvingo by latest
> > > 1200hrs. I might sleep in Masvingo or proceed to Bulawayo or Kwekwe for
> > > more meetings.
> > > Many thanks for your support Chrispen, and I look forward to working
> > > with your staff in the long term future, especially those with interests
> > > in post graduate research and are willing to work with Rhodes
> > > university.

> > > My regards
> > >
> > > Clayton
> > > On Fri, 6 Aug 2010 13:30:22 -0700 (PDT), "Chrispen Chauke"
> > > <chrischauke@yahoo.com> said:
> > > > Hi Clayton
> > > > Thanks for your mail. I will give my guys the information. from your mail
> > > > this goes beyond heritage education so will include other departments.
> > > > The dates for now are ok if there are any challenges will communicate.
> > > > Till then

              Chris
> > > > --- On Fri, 8/6/10, Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm> wrote:
>
> > > > From: Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm>
> > > > Subject: Re: Heritage Education contextual profiling
> > > > To: "Chrispen Chauke" <chrischauke@yahoo.com>
> > > > Date: Friday, August 6, 2010, 1:15 PM
> > > > Dear Chrispen
> > > > How about scheduling our visit to your place for 6-7 September 2010. I
> > > > will come on the 6th and leave 7th of September 2010. Key areas of

> > > > discussion will be on; a) Heritage resources management in Zimbabwe
> > > > (general issues) b) Role of communities in heritage resources
> > > > management, 3) Heritage Education at Great Zimbabwe, its role, its
> > > > successes, its challenges and other things and finally 4) What are some
> > > > of your training needs and gaps and how do you see yourself fitting into
> > > > the SADC region or your participation in the professional training and
> > > > education courses to emerge from this research (idea is to develop a
> > > > regional course for heritage practitioners in southern Africa, starting
> > > > with SA, Zimbabwe and Botswana-and the course will be run by Rhodes
> > > > university in collaboration with South African Heritage Resources
> > > > Agency. So share this with your guys and just get them to know that this will be
> > > > the area of focus and also remember we need as much information as
> > > > possible to make this whole thing more contextualised and responsive of
> > > > the different challenges heritage professionals face.
> > > >
> > > > Thanks Chris and lets keep chatting
> > > >

> > > > Regards
> > > >
> > > > Clayton
> > > > On Wed, 4 Aug 2010 04:28:04 -0700 (PDT), "Chrispen Chauke"
> > > > <chrischauke@yahoo.com> said:
> > > > > Dear Mr Zazu
> > > > > Apologies for the late response. The dates are ok, and we have a fully
> > > > > fledged heritage education department with the Senior Heritage Education
> > > > > officer, and Education Officer, and Assistant. May you please get in
> > > > > touch towards the dates. My phone number is 0913240648
> >
> > Chauke
On Tue, 7/27/10, Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm> wrote:
> > > > > From: Clayton Zazu <claytonzazu@fastmail.fm>
> > > > > Subject: Heritage Education contextual profiling
> > > > > To: "Chrispen Chauke" <chrischauke@yahoo.com>
> > > > > Date: Tuesday, July 27, 2010, 11:15 AM

> > > > > Dear Heritage Education Officer (S. Haruzivishe)
> > > > > I am a Zimbabwean PhD student at Rhodes university here in South Africa,
> > > > > and I am doing a contextual profiling of heritage education practices in
> > > > > Southern Africa (South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Kenya) with a view
> > > > > of informing the development of a regional heritage educators'
> > > > > professional course which will benefit all heritage educators in the
> > > > > region. I am intending to visit your place (Great Zimbabwe) to meet with the
> > > > > people dealing with heritage education processes, for a preliminary
> > > > > focus discussion to get them on board and to fully explain the vision of
> > > > > this new research initiative. May I please hear from you on the
> > > > > possibility of allowing me to visit you early September (4-10) 2010.
> > > > >
> > > > > At this point please note that the discussions will be pretty open and
> > > > > involves a sharing of experiences and ideas on heritage education and
> > > > > thus I will be grateful if even more people could participate in the
> > > > > focus discussion.
> > > > >
> > > > > Thanking you in advance
> > > > >
> > > > > Yours Sincerely
> > > > >
> > > > > Cryton Zazu
> > > > > PhD Scholar (Cultural Heritage Education)
> > > > > Rhodes University
> > > > > Department of Education
> > > > > P.O. BOX 940
> > > > > Grahamstown
> > > > > South Africa
> > > > > Mobile numbers: +2779 962 6935 or 084 261 7401 Email: claytonzazu@fastmail.fm or g06z3197@campus.ru.ac.za

APPENDIX 4

Research Permit

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">

TELEPHONE: 3914955

TELEGRAMS: MEWT

TELEX:

TELEFAX: 3914861

REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

REFERENCE: **EWT 8/36/4 XVI (83)**

MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT,

WILDLIFE AND TOURISM

PRIVATE BAG BO 199,

GABORONE

BOTSWANA

ALL CORRESPONDENCE MUST BE ADDRESSED TO

THE PERMANENT SECRETARY

15 August 2011

Cryton Zazu
Rhodes University
P O Box 94
Grahamstown 6140
South Africa

Tel: 046 603 8389
Fax: 046 6228028
Email: claytonzazu@fastmail.fm

APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH PERMIT: EXPLORING REPRESENTATION AND USE OF INDIGENOUS HERITAGE *CONSTRUCTS* IN HERITAGE EDUCATION PRACTICES IN POST COLONIAL SOUTHERN AFRICA: SURFACING THE TENSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR HERITAGE CONSTRUCT INCLUSIVITY

We are pleased to inform you that you are granted permission to conduct a research entitled: **"Exploring Representation and Use of Indigenous Heritage *Constructs* in Heritage Education Practices in Post-Colonial Southern Africa: Surfacing the Tensions and Implications for Heritage Construct Inclusivity."**

The research will be conducted at **National Museum and Gallery and Supa Ngwao Museum.**

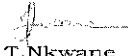This permit is valid for a period effective from **12 August 2011 to 31 August 2013.**

This permit is granted subject to the following conditions:

1.   Signing and submission of an Agreement between Government of Botswana and Independent Researchers (enclosed).

2.   Progress should be reported periodically to the **Department of National Museum and Monuments.**

</div>

3. The permit does not give authority to enter premises, private establishments or protected areas. Permission for such entry should be negotiated with those concerned.

4. You conduct the study according to particulars furnished in the approved application taking into account the above conditions.

5. Failure to comply with any of the above conditions will result in the immediate cancellation of this permit.

6. The research team comprises of **Cryton Zazu.**

7. The applicant should ensure that the Government of Botswana is duly acknowledged.

8. Copies of videos/publications preserved as a result of this project are directly deposited with the Office of the President, National Assembly, Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, Department of National Museum and Monuments, National Archives, National Library Service, and the University of Botswana Library.

    Thank you.

                    Yours faithfully

                    T.Nkwane
                    For/Permanent Secretary

CC.   Department of National Museum and Monuments

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APPENDIX 5

Department of Education letter

Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
EDUCATION

CURRICULUM
Private Bag X 1001, Corner Milner Street & St Aidans Avenue; Grahamstown; 6140.
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, Website: www.ecdoe.gov.za cedric.mziba@edu.ecprov.gov.za

Enquiries: Ms T.E Njokweni	Tel: 046 603 3244	Fax: 046 603 3267

TO   : The District Director

           : CES Curriculum

FROM   : DCES (Social Sciences)

SUBJECT   : Heritage Education Consultative Workshop for local educators

Date   : 2011/04/11

Background

South African Heritage Resource Agency(SAHRA) in partnership with Rhodes University is working on Education Research and training programme aimed at improving education practices in the country and beyond.

In this project ,there will be an opportunity for local educators to participate.10 local educators are therefore invited to take part in the four(4) research workshops to be conducted between April & June 2011.

May we therefore get your approval to work with these local educators(during week ends).

Yours Faithfully

Z.Ndzipho (DCES Social Sciences)

RECOMMENDED/NOT-RECOMMENDED

_____

_____

_____

CES CURRICULUM   DATE: 12/04/2011

PGDP
EASTERN CAPE

building blocks for growth   Ikamva eliqaqambileyo!

APPENDIX 6

Consent Form

RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

Consent form

I am a registered full time doctorate student at Rhodes University in South Africa. I am, within the Rhodes/SAHRA collaborative research project, conducting research on heritage education practices in post colonial southern Africa. The study seeks to;

o Examine representation and use of indigenous heritage *constructs* in contemporary heritage education practices
o Interrogate the tensions, barriers and implications for heritage construct inclusivity in heritage education
o Generate ideas and guidelines for re-contextualising heritage education practices

With a view of ultimately improving the quality and relevance of current heritage education practices in the region

To complete this study I will need to; analyse relevant heritage education documents for the three (3) country case study programmes, carry out four (4) one- day generative workshops, conduct at least nine (9) in-depth interviews, and engage in participant observation of heritage education practices at all the three (3) heritage education sites. All workshops, interviews, and observations will need to be recorded by audio, video, or photography for the sake of transcription. Information gathered will solely be used for purposes of this research project only and your permission will be sought should any need to use the information otherwise arise. Confidentiality, right to privacy, dignity and honest will be maintained throughout your participation in this study.

If you agree to participate in this research project, please indicate by signing this consent form on the space provided below. I sincerely thank you for your cooperation.

I _WINDELO-E. RAMOKAL_designation _HISTORY TEACHER AT_
Have agreed to participate in this study. _T.E.M. MRWETJANA_
Signature _____ Date _14 / 05 / 2011_
Telephone: _079 15 0286_ Email: _____

envir nmental
LEARNING RESEARCH CENTRE

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APPENDIX 7

Paper written as part of this study

Heritage – a conceptually evolving and dissonant phenomenon: implications for heritage management and education practices in post-colonial southern Africa

Cryton Zazu, Rhodes University, South Africa

Abstract

This conceptual paper is based on experiences and insights which have emerged from my quest to develop a conceptual framework for working with the term 'heritage' within an education for sustainable development study that I am currently conducting. Of specific interest to me, and having potential to improve the relevance and quality of heritage education in southern Africa, given the region's inherent cultural diversity and colonial history, is the need for 'heritage construct inclusivity' within the processes constituting heritage education practices. Working around this broad research goal, I therefore needed to be clear about what I mean or refer to as heritage. I realised, however, how elusive and conceptually problematic the term 'heritage' is. I therefore, drawing from literature and experiences gained during field observations and focus group interviews, came up with the idea of working with three viewpoints of heritage. Drawing on real life cases I argue that current heritage management and education practices' failure to recognise and respect the evolving, interconnectedness and multi-layered nature of heritage, partly explain the same practices' lack of relevance and agency to enhance the sustainable management of local heritage resources. I also suggest a few ideas which heritage educators in the context of post-colonial southern Africa may need to consider in their everyday heritage education practices. I also introduce the notion of conceptualising heritage as 'cultural landscapes', within which the evolving, dissonant and interconnected nature of heritage, and associated heritage constructs, may be reconciled.

Introduction

> There is really no such thing as heritage. I say this advisedly, and it is a statement that I will qualify, but it needs to be said to highlight the common sense assumption that 'heritage' can unproblematically be identified as 'old', grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefacts, ... what I argue, ... is rather a hegemonic discourse about heritage, which acts to constitute the way we think, talk, and write about heritage. (Smith, 2006:1)

Heritage, despite its fast becoming an increasingly used term within contemporary environment and development discourses, has largely remained conceptually problematic. According to Graham *et al.* (2000) and Smith (2006), defining heritage has always been a daunting and elusive task. This may partly be because heritage, with its hybridity and discursive nature, cannot easily be defined with any meaningful degree of universality. For this reason, scholars like Smith (2006:11) making reference to the problematic conception of heritage, as noted in the quotation above, have even concluded that 'there is really no such thing as heritage'. Smith (2006:11) preferred to work with the notion of 'hegemonic discourse about heritage', which he went on to argue acts to constitute the way we think, talk and write about heritage.

Other scholars like Lowenthal (1990; 1996; 2005:81) have claimed that 'heritage denotes everything we suppose has been handed down to us from the past'. He (2005:81) further pointed out that what comprises heritage (what it is) differs greatly among people and over time. The word 'heritage' is therefore a slippery term that incorporates a vast range of contradictory meanings. The value that we attach to that which we call heritage is similarly contested, when viewed from a different cultural perspective.

Given the difficulties associated with conceptualising the term 'heritage', other scholars have often chosen to leave the concept undefined, choosing to work with either the notion of 'cultural heritage' or that of 'natural heritage'. At times many have opted to work with dichotomies of heritages, such as tangible or intangible. Realising the above, I therefore decided, within my study, to work with what I call the three viewpoints or frameworks for understanding heritage as a concept. These viewpoints or frameworks are: 'heritage as evolving and dissonant'; 'heritage as natural and cultural'; and 'heritage as tangible or intangible'. Using a few examples I make an attempt to make explicit the interconnected nature of heritage, and the implications that this has on heritage management and education practices in southern Africa.

Heritage as an 'Evolving and Dissonant' Concept

Until recently the word 'heritage' was commonly used to refer to the inheritance that an individual receives from a deceased ancestor or what a person bequeaths to descendants (Lowenthal, 2005). Such a conceptualisation of heritage is still widespread, and explains why even today a lot of us treasure the old spoon or picture frame that we got from our forebears as heritage items. However, according to Graham *et al.* (2000:1):'the term "heritage" has recently undergone a quantum of expansion to include almost any sort of inter-generational exchange or relationship, welcome or not, between societies as well as individuals'. In concurrence with Graham *et al.* (2000), Jimenez Perez argued that:

> the concept of heritage has gone from referring to artistic works, buildings and archaeological remains (so-called historical–artistic heritage) to encompass objects, environments and phenomena (tangible and intangible) which are the result of both human activity and their interaction with nature. (Perez *et al.*, 2010:1320)

Important to note and closely linked to this evolving nature of heritage is that heritage as claimed by Graham *et al.* (2000:23) and Smith (2006) 'fulfils several inherently opposing uses and often carries conflicting meanings simultaneously'. Consequently, heritage is, as already pointed out, valued for different reasons and at different levels and between cultures, time and places (Jokiletho, 1999; Graham *et al.*, 2000; de la Torre, 2002; Smith, 2006). For instance, at an individual level, heritage is widely considered a precious and irreplaceable resource essential for personal identity and necessary for self-respect. However, at a national level, heritage is often perceived as a resource for promoting national sovereignty, unified identity and economic development (Lowenthal, 1996; Head, 2000; Ndoro, 2005). A good example is the case of Great Zimbabwe, where national and local communities' interests were at one time in conflict (Fontein, 2006). In his doctoral thesis, Fontein (2006) claimed that people who currently live around Great Zimbabwe are excluded from the monument.To local communities, the Great Zimbabwe monument is a place of cultural significance, where they are supposed to conduct their rituals and ceremonies, and at national level the monument is being used to reconstruct a patriotic national history for the country.

Drawing from the above discussion, one may conclude that heritage is therefore an evolving and dissonant concept, which takes on different meanings at different places and times. The evolving and dissonant nature of heritage does help one to understand some of the challenges associated with ownership, value systems and access and use of heritage resources in the southern African region (Graham *et al.*, 2000; de la Torre, 2002; Smith, 2006). Examples of how the evolving and dissonant character of heritage impacts on sustainable management of heritage resources are many. In southern Africa, another notable example is the tension between the Ramunangi clan in Limpopo province and a

tourism development project reflecting conflicting values and use regarding a local heritage site – the Phiphidi Falls. For the Ramunangi clan, the falls are, as in the Great Zimbabwe case, a place of cultural significance, while for the tourism developer the falls are a potential site for the construction of a holiday resort. Underlying the tensions and conflicts playing out in the two examples given above are conflicting 'constructs' or conceptions of what constitutes heritage, what it is valued for and how it should be managed and used. Management approaches and heritage education practices that address such tensions are urgently needed if we are to reduce the risks and vulnerability facing our heritage resources.

Heritage as Natural and/or Cultural

Lowenthal (2005:81), other than conceptualising heritage as a constantly evolving and dissonant concept, went on to claim that heritage comes from both 'nature' and 'culture'. From Lowenthal's (2005) point of view, heritage can therefore be conceived of as either natural or cultural, and from this school of thought emerged the widely used conception of cultural and natural heritages.Accordingly, we now talk of natural heritage, as denoting natural places such as forests, mountains, grasslands, deserts, rivers and wildlife (UNESCO, 2002). Put together, this range of naturally occurring resources constitutes our natural heritage. On the other hand, we also have our cultural heritage, consisting of tangible objects such as museum collections and intangible social practices such as songs, dance, folklore, legends, rituals and ceremonies (UNESCO, 2003; 2006). It is important to note that cultural heritage entails a people's way of life and their relationship to the natural (rivers, water, soil, forests and air) and the built (urban spaces, industries, etc.) environment. From this one can argue that cultural and natural heritages are, therefore, interconnected. Lowenthal (2005) called this interconnection the nature–culture dualism.

The interconnectedness of heritages of nature and culture has important implications for both the sustainable management of heritage resources and associated heritage education practices. In emphasising the nature–culture dualism of heritage, Lowenthal argued that:

> Increasingly the heritages of culture and nature came to be viewed as interconnected, and
> indeed indivisible. If they are twins, they are Siamese twins, separated only at high risk of
> demise of both. (Lowenthal, 2005:85)

Hughes (2009:30) in his recent book called *An Environmental History of the World*, challenged the idea of dichotomising natural and cultural heritage in conservation and development processes, arguing that 'cities are not separate from the natural world on which they depend'. He alerted us to the risks of treating culture as divorced from nature by narrating how such conceptions have presented challenges for the sustainable management of both natural and cultural heritage resources. He claimed that treating nature as divorced from culture could have contributed to the abandonment of cities during ancient times, examples in the southern African region being Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe. Drawing on Prats (1997) and Mattozi (2001), Jimenez Perez *et al.* (2010) also pointed out that the term 'heritage' itself does not distinguish between cultural and natural manifestations. Hence all heritages are either natural or cultural but, importantly, can also be both.

The conception of heritage as intertwined or interconnected and consisting of both natural and cultural dimensions requires that we re-think the manner in which current heritage management and education practices are constituted.As mentioned earlier, underlying some of the challenges for the sustainable management of heritage resources in southern Africa is the current management approaches' failure to perceive heritage as both natural and cultural. Or, to borrow Hughes' (2009) words, our 'treating nature as divorced from culture' has contributed to fragmented and exclusive heritage policies, management and education practices, often leaving out local people's cultural perspectives. In the case of Great Zimbabwe, as noted by Chirikure and Pwiti 'heritage managers and archaeologists understandably became alarmed to discover that the alienation of local indigenous groups was also depriving them of valuable allies in the protection of the site' (Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008:467). And so, by and large, unless current heritage management and education practices are also re-oriented to allow for recognition of the nature–culture dualism aspect of heritage, they will continue

to do little to support the sustainable management of heritage resources (UNESCO, 2010).

A close look at the recent conflict between the National Parks and Wildlife Authority and the National Museums and Monuments in Zimbabwe over control and ownership of Victoria Falls – declared a national monument in *1932*, a national park in *1957* and finally a World Heritage site in *1989* (own emphasis) – illustrates, other than the evolving nature of heritage, the challenges caused by a fragmented view of what heritage resources are (Guvamombe & Chitumba,2010).The Victoria Falls case begs the question: Are the falls a cultural or natural heritage resource? How one answers this question will influence how the same person may approach the management and interpretation of the falls.

Educationally, it is sad to note that the current representation of Victoria Falls to learners continues to be exclusive of the cultural histories associated with indigenous people who lived and interacted with the falls since time immemorial and arguably well before David Livingstone claimed to have discovered the falls. Tour guides continue to narrowly interpret the falls as a natural wonder historically discovered by David Livingstone. The challenge is how to reconstitute heritage education practices to help learners to construct the Victoria Falls and other heritage sites or monuments as being both natural and cultural. I suggest that such a heritage education will be broader, inclusive and more relevant in enhancing the management of heritage resources than the education practices currently taking place in most Zimbabwean museums, heritage sites and school classrooms.

Heritage as Tangible or Intangible

UNESCO (2006) in its publication 'Cultural Heritage and Local Development', argued that heritage can be divided into two main categories: notably, a heritage that presents itself in a material, tangible form, such as archaeology, art, movable objects, architecture and landscape, and a heritage that is intangible but manifest in the form of knowledge and practices as well as values, norms and belief systems. Accordingly, tangible heritage resources are deemed to include all the heritages that are material in form, such as historic buildings, art and artefacts, relics, archaeological sites and monuments (Government of South Africa, 1999). Tangible heritages encompass natural resources such as the rivers, seas, soil, mountains, forests and animals (Lowenthal, 2005; Smith, 2006).

Intangible heritage, on the other hand, is perceived as incorporating a wide range of non-material aspects. These, as UNESCO (2003; 2006) puts it, include oral traditions and expressions, social practices and rituals, knowledge and practices concerning nature, as well as traditional craftsmanship. According to Munjeri (2004), intangible culture entails the wider frame within which societies function. The conservation of these intangible cultural heritages, Munjeri (2004) further argued, can be done best within the social processes that generate them.

The idea of conceiving heritage as tangible or intangible has been popularised by UNESCO, and is now widely used in heritage resources management and development, but significant for this paper is that UNESCO (2002, 2003 & 2006) also acknowledged the interconnectedness of tangible and intangible heritages. UNESCO argued that:

> All intangible aspects such as knowledge systems, the principles of action or the values
> and beliefs of man, cannot be considered as heritage if they cannot be shared, and given
> a sensible form – words, objects, gestures, representations and even behaviours. (2006:9)

Similarly, attempting to draw our attention to the interconnectedness of tangible and intangible heritages, Ndoro (2005) pointed out that the meaning and importance imbued in monuments, like the Great Zimbabwe ruins and the Great Pyramids in Egypt, lay not only in the physical appearance but also in the reason behind their construction and existence. In concurrence, Smith (2006) argued that monument sites and rock art are not inherently valuable, but derive value and meaning from the present day cultural processes and activities that are undertaken around them. As already highlighted, the additional value of the Phiphidi Falls in the Limpopo Province stems from the cultural practices that the Ramunangi clan conduct at the falls much more than it simply being a natural resource. Thus, the tension between the Ramunangi clan and the tourism developer may be due to both parties' failure to

acknowledge the relationship between tangible and intangible aspects of heritage resources and how this determines the value and desired use of the Phiphidi Falls.This may also lie in the tendency of current heritage legislation and management practices to emphasise the material nature of heritage over its intangible aspects (Ndoro, 2005; UNESCO, 2006).Again, education practices that acknowledge the link between tangible and intangible aspects of heritage resources, as well as the evolving and dissonant nature of heritage, could go a long way in mediating challenges such as those of the Ramunangi and Phiphidi Falls.

Implications for heritage education practices

Central in my study was the desire to generate ideas that could be used to re-orient current heritage education practices towards being able to incorporate and work with a broader conception of heritage. A conception that allows heritage constructs inclusivity and acknowledges and respects the diversity of cultures in southern Africa.

Educationally, this requires that heritage educators need to:

- Carefully reflect on how heritage is being constructed within the educational processes that they engage in. Given the diverse cultures inherent in southern Africa, and the region's history of colonisation, educators may need to tread with caution and avoid the pitfalls of pushing forward one aspect of heritage, be it a historical perspective, cultural value, or related to a heritage site or object.

- Continue reflecting on their own conceptions of heritage and ensure that these are not imposed on the learners. Learners must create their own heritages rather than being passive receivers. In this way increasing the meaning and relevance of the learning opportunity is possible.

- Accept and respect that there is more than one history of a heritage site or object, and giving the learner access to all of these histories enriches the learning experience. For instance, what learners are exposed to at Victoria Falls can certainly be expanded to give a broader and inclusive view of the falls as a cultural landscape.Working with a concept of the Victoria Falls as a cultural landscape, within which the nature–culture dualism and discursive nature of heritage is accommodated, is a good idea.

- Continuously ask themselves about the heritage constructs being promoted or marginalised within the teaching and learning support materials that they are currently using. Doing so can help the educator to avoid perpetuating the exclusivity that is characteristic of current heritage education practices.

What I therefore advocate is a heritage education practice that is socio-culturally situated and inclusive of diverse constructs of what heritage is. One of the challenges that comes to mind is the question of how to achieve this type of heritage education, given that the education systems within which we work are often shaped and influenced by policy discourses that are beyond our control. Hence, maybe what we need initially is a change in heritage policies. Another challenge that also needs attention is how, in practice, to achieve an inclusive heritage education practice without becoming too relativist and falling into the trap of conceiving heritage as meaning everything and nothing.

Conclusion

In this conceptual paper I have discussed the three viewpoints of heritage and how these could be influencing heritage management and education practices in southern Africa, particularly Zimbabwe. I have used a few examples to illustrate how our varying and evolving conceptions of heritage can help us to appreciate and understand some of the challenges associated with heritage management and education in the region. Further to this I have also tried to offer a few ideas that heritage educators can start to consider in their quest to make current heritage education practices more inclusive, relevant and

supportive of the management and protection of the region's diverse heritage resources. In this paper I have hopefully opened up space for heritage practitioners to continue engaging critically with the notion of heritage and how their conceptions influence practice. I have also, even though not fully, interrogated the idea of working with the notion of cultural landscapes, hoping that readers might be interested in following it up.

Notes about author

Cryton Zazu is a full time PhD scholar at Rhodes University's Environmental Learning Research Centre (ELRC). His research interest is in exploring opportunities for re-orienting environmental education practices (heritage education included) towards being socio-culturally inclusive in both epistemology and pedagogy. Email: claytonzazu@fastmail.fm

NB: Reference list removed

APPENDIX 8

Heritage Outcome

TASK 5: INVESTIGATION OF HERITAGE

Scope of the heritage assignment

This is a compulsory task. Activities linked to Learning Outcome 4 might take the form of problem solving linked to current issues around heritage and public representations where learners could be asked to present plans for community memorials, heritage sites, museums, etc. or more straightforward investigations into local or national heritage sites. This could be linked to indigenous knowledge about a place or area or to tourism, national commemoration days and so on. The main idea is to broaden learners' understanding of the past and how it is represented and to take History out of the confines of the classroom. The heritage assignment in Grade 12 could be an extension of the practical assignment carried out in Grade 11. However, if teachers wish and time allows it, a new assignment can be completed. The Assessment Standards in Grade 12 require learners to understand and discuss ideologies and debates around heritage issues; to compare memorials linked to different knowledge systems and to understand the contribution of archaeology and palaeontology to our understanding of heritage. This could form an introduction added to the Grade 11 practical project.

The Assessment Standards of Learning Outcome 4 will need to be adapted to suit individual heritage assignments. It is not possible to have all aspects of the last *criterion*, for example, in one heritage assignment. Those not included will need to be addressed separately.

GRADE 10:
Core assessment criteria from Learning Outcome 1
(Criteria might be added to make the core criteria more appropriate for specific tasks.)
Criterion 1 Formulate questions for the research project • There is an overall key question. • Questions are appropriate to the investigation.
Criterion 2 Historical enquiry • The information and data selected from the heritage sources is relevant. • Information is coherent and presented logically and chronologically. • Discussion is well planned and constructed. • Discussion is based on the evidence from the sources consulted. • A conclusion has been reached based on the evidence.

APPENDIX 9

Evidence of the importance of the Documentation of IKS project

Botswana invests P6 million in indigenous knowledge.
BABOKI KAYAWE
STAFF WRITER

Botswana government has invested P6 million on a project called Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS) aimed at researching, documenting and storing the country's indigenous knowledge.

Briefing the media on Wednesday in Gaborone, Director of the Department of Research, Science and Technology, Lesego Motoma said the research would enable policy and a legislative framework for preserving indigenous knowledge. Matoma said together with various other ministries, and stakeholders with traditional knowledge and traditional doctors they have engaged the University of Botswana's Centre for Scientific Research Indigenous Knowledge & Innovation to compile the research which will be completed June 2012. The study started this year February. "There has been an increasing realisation of the significance of indigenous and traditional knowledge in sustainable development," she said. Matoma said as most of the country's indigenous knowledge has already been studied by outside researchers who in some instances have identified active ingredients and patented them; the country will reverse such evidence to prove that indeed the knowledge used for such products was tapped from Botswana.

She added that India has given precedence in the issue, though it is complicated and cost. Moreover she said once the policy is drawn it would regulate researchers from outside who benefit from indigenous knowledge based research at the expense of the nation and communities within which the knowledge is found. However, she said benefit sharing is a major challenge because most southern African countries share some knowledge and it needs collaboration for the intellectual property to be protected.

She added that if that is not taken care of, it would not help if one country preserves its knowledge whilst in another other part of the region the same knowledge is not protected. The other challenge, she said is explaining what intellectual property is to an ordinary Motswana. Meanwhile, IKI team leader Mogodishing Sekwela said the reception is overwhelming and the nation is keen to have its indigenous knowledge documented and protected against foreign researchers who benefit from it. He added that as they go around meeting those with such knowledge they uncover wealth of skills that could help the country in areas of medicine, education and nutrition. The Indigenous Knowledge System project has been necessitated by the fact that the knowledge has been under extreme pressure and severe threat of erosion and marginalisation mainly due to modernisation, urbanisation and globalisation.

The objectives of the IKS policy study is to ensure that the country turns into an intellectual and cultural centre that draws upon national indigenous knowledge base and promotes Botswana's social and cultural heritage. Another essential need for the policy is to groom scientists who recognize the important role of the resource-rich but economically disadvantaged communities and also see collaborations between modern research and indigenous knowledge for socio-economic benefits.

APPENDIX 10

NATIONAL MUSEUM AND MONUMENTS

MEMORANDUM

TO: Director **REF:** 8/4/1 Vol 11

All Head of Divisions

All Staff members

FROM: Radio Unit **DATE**: 15th December 2010

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RE: MOTSWEDIWADITSO RADIO PROGRAM LINE UP

2010-2011

This serves to make a submission of radio topics that shall air in the following weeks from the remaining December 2010 to the 29th of May 20111.These topics shall also be posted at http://motswediwaditso.blogspot.com for memory purposes. While we wish to follow this line up it is subject to change knowing the unpredictability of broadcasting and journalism. Please feel free to advise accordingly.

Broadcast Date	Topic	Relevance	Resource person
12 Dec 2010	Boyce Sebetlela Samuel Rathedi speeches	Gift from Debswana to Museum	Boyce Sebetlela and Samuel Rathedi
19 Dec 2010	Reflections and Reminisces of working on Heritage radio	Paying tribute to Ms Motlotle	Radio Unit
26 Dec 2010	Christmas clips	Christmas then and now	Voice of the People
02 Jan 2011	New year clips	New year resolutions	Voice of the People
09 Jan 2011	Bolwetse jwa Thotse	Sensitize listener on behavioural change from the family unit	Interviewees to be sought from the public
16 Jan 2011	Letlhafula / legwetla	First fruits etc	Farmers
23 Jan 2011	Letlhafula / legwetla	First fruits etc	Farmers
30 Jan 2011	Fast Track 100 Monuments Project versus employment	How many jobs have been created directly and indirectly	Director and Mr Segadika
06 Feb 2011	The purpose and importance of Monuments and Relics act	To inform Batswana about the existence of this law	Archeology and Batswana

13 Feb 2011	Challenges of Impact assessment	Have Impact and Assessment played a role in the development of Botswana	Archeology and Batswana
20 Feb 2011	National Herbarium and Botanical Services	To inform Batswana	Ms Isaiah
27 Feb 2011	Evasive Alien Species	Are they any and how dangerous are they	Mr Mosesane
06 March 2011	Museum and community service	Reflection on a visit to Moshaneng visit; Challenges: Did they need Colgate?	Aids Committee
13 March 2011	Bonnington Silos	How far, any progress?	Ms Kgwatalala
20 March 2011	Follow up on Mogonye Project	Is the community benefiting already?	Dichaba and Mogonye Trust
27 March	2011 Museum Strategic Plan and performance and staff morale	Recall Ministry Leadership Retreat	Ms Radise and Director
03 April	World Heritage Listing	Consultations with the concerned communities	Mr Mosesane, Dikgosi and Director
10 April	Fast Track 100 Monuments Project versus employment	How many jobs have been created directly and indirectly	Director and Mr Segadika
17 April	The purpose and importance of Monuments and Relics act	To inform Batswana about the existence of this law	Archeology and Batswana
24 April	Heritage and employment	Challenges?	Center for Tourism at the University
01 May	International Museum Day	International celebration of Museums	Education division Segametsi Radise
08 May	Theme debate "Museum and Memory"	Educate the public by broadly exploring the theme	ALL Head of Divisions
15 May	International Museum Day and venue	To lure the public to the event	Steering committee IMD
22 May	"Museum and Memory"	Educate the public by broadly exploring the theme	Regional museums boards or directors
29 May	Artifacts in the lab	Meaning and function	Dr Setlhabi (PhD in material culture) and one sociologist
05 June	100 sites; HE initiatives update	Has there been impact so far?	Custodians and statistics from Education

APPENDIX 11

A Guide Book for Visitors

(Oriented towards confirming Shona Ancestry origin of Great Zimbabwe Monument)
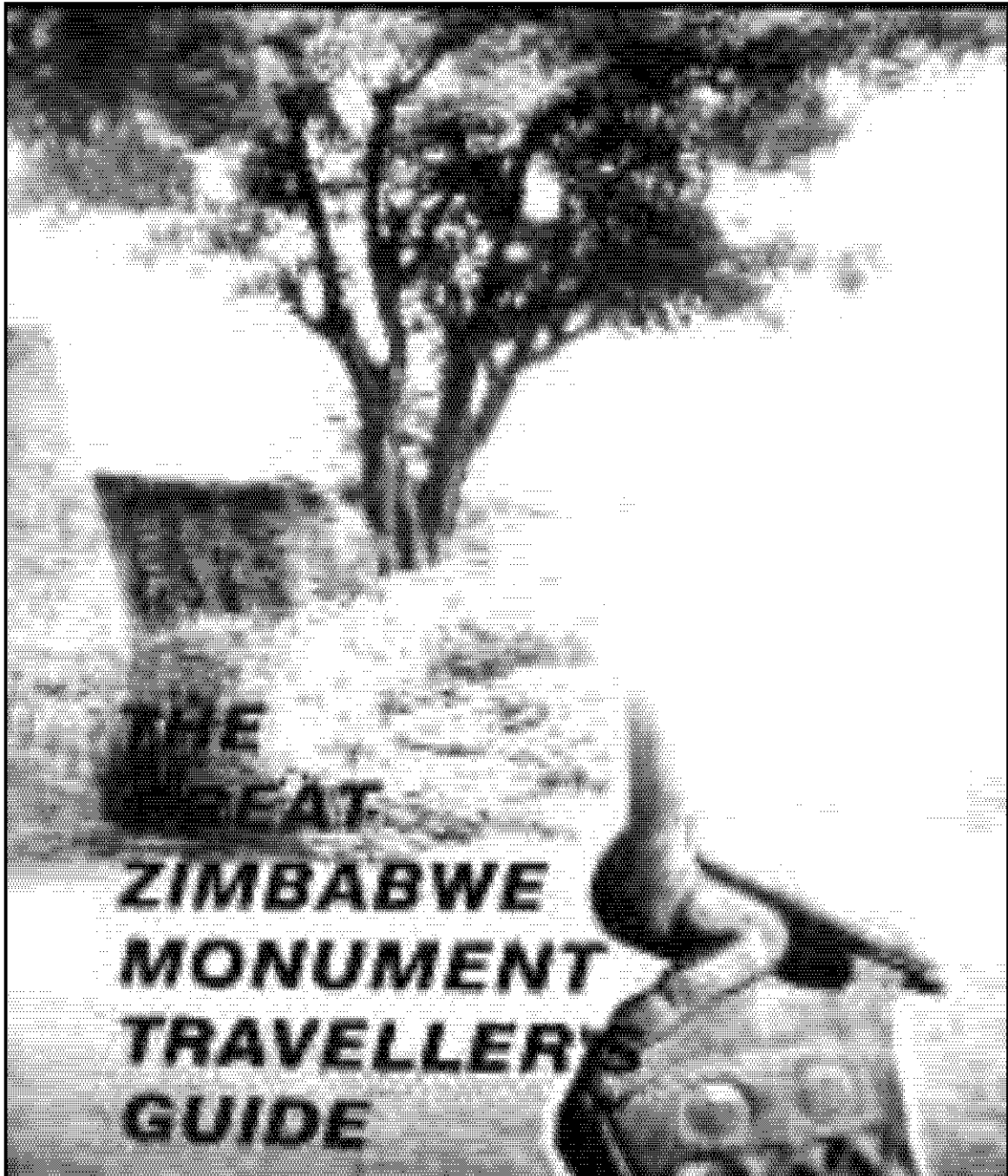
APPENDIX 12

Young Grahamstown-born academics to collect untold stories

STORY BUZZ: Busy Bee history researchers Dumisani Budaza, Jongikhaya Mene, Elron Kleinhans and Sinethemba
ime check out an 1820 Settler display at Grahamstown's Albany Museum   Picture: DAVID MACGREGOR

Date Released: Fri, 20 April 2012 16:00 +0200

AN AMBITIOUS plan to send four Grahamstown university graduates into local townships to painstakingly collect the almost forgotten history of people of colour in the City of Saints is creating a buzz.Even though they are earning a small stipend for their groundbreaking research, the excited young academics yesterday told the Dispatch working on the Busy Bee project, started by Makana Municipality and the Albany Museum to celebrate the establishment of Grahamstown 200 years ago, is still a dream come true.

After years of doing temporary work in diverse fields like IT, human resources and advertising, 27-year-old Rhodes University anthropology honours graduate Elron Kleinhans is counting the days until he hits the dusty streets of Joza next month to start collecting the black oral history of a town that was built on suspicion and conflict.

"I am finally working in my field and I can't wait to start interviewing people and hearing their stories," Kleinhans said. "It is important we get these untold stories out before they disappear forever."

The energetic, four-person research team — which is busy identifying themes to investigate - is a diverse mix of young Grahamstown-born academics keen to collect the untold stories of their home town.

The rest of the team comprises social science graduates Dumisani Budaza, 25, and Sinethemba Yame, 22, and fine arts graduate Jongikhaya Mene, 35.

Themes that will be investigated include a warts-and-all history of the people of Fingo Village -who were given land rights in Grahamstown by the British Empire as a reward for helping fight in the Frontier Wars - and the origins of their neighbours in the nearby Hottentot settlement. Forced removals, the Black Consciousness movement, black rugby, township schools, churches and liberation activists from King Makana to Siphiwo Mazwayi will also be researched.

According to Budaza and Yame a key component of the research is to reconcile and unite Grahamstown. "It is not about the money - we want to do something we love and give something back to the community,"

Budaza said. Albany Museum manager Bongani Mgijima yesterday said the Busy Bee project was designed to get communities involved in collecting their own histories.

"History is not only important for today - it is important for future generations." Makana councillor and history professor Julie Wells, who has been driving the project, said Busy Bees started after it became clear a good deal of Grahamstown's history had never been recorded.

"The project is designed to help share technological skills as mini-histories can be very cheaply produced in electronic formatting, combining old photos, text, voices and music.

"People can feel a sense of pride in telling the stories of their achievements, whether it be schools, churches, sports groups, neighborhood associations, stokvels or groups of workers."

She said an aim of the project was to help achieve a greater balance and fuller picture of the area's rich and diverse history.

"Part of the concept is to generate an interest in 'social history' which includes much of what we might call the ordinary stuff of everyday life, looking at things like eating habits, recreation, rites of passage, cultural expressions and customs.

"Such stories can be told by anyone and everyone."It is not about being rich or famous, just about how we lived in days gone by. "Everyone from any walk of life can make a contribution."

DAVID MACGREGOR.**DAILY DISPATCH 19 Apr 2012**

APPENDIX 13

SAHRA Heritage Objects Flyer