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African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management

Theory and Practice from Southern Africa

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Springer

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Cover image: by Susan Osireditse Keitumetse, taken on July 2013 in Mosolotshane/Kalamare area,
central-eastern Botswana. *Courtesy of* Wenner-Gren Foundation funded project led by the author.

Cover description: Showing archaeological remains of an iron smelter belonging to late iron age
communities. These sites are a common sight across most of southern Africa where several countries'
economies are to this day dependent on natural resources mining. Strategic conservation and management
of these archaeological and historical sites provides opportunities to link archaeological, historical, and
contemporary heritages of the region, and can unearth communal identities that traverse both space and
time.

*In loving memory of my mother,
BALETI KEITUMETSE, and her mother,
BASADIBOTHE KEITUMETSE
(nee Serupa-Tlale), and her father,
KEITUMETSE KEBATOGETSE—for
everything.*

*To my daughter, KATSO
MILLICENT KEITUMETSE*

*And to the development of African cultural
heritage conservation and management*

Foreword

The heritage in Africa is in many ways both distinct and unique; many of its core characteristics do not find an easy match in how heritage is supposed to be. Rather than this leading to us all learning from Africa, there has far too often been a gap between the international prescriptive heritage language and the varied resources, meanings and engagements that African heritage managers deal with as a matter of routine. In Africa, tangible and intangible heritage are intermingled, times often warps and new additions and age-old practices co-exist in many locales.

Moreover, many of Africa's management regimes need to use laws that were originally formulated by colonial powers and thus by particular notions of both property rights and authenticity. But in parallel, a strong notion of customary rights also exits in many regions. This introduces a relationship to the past and heritage that is formed around different rationales, and it is reflecting a way of engaging with the past that has almost disappeared from other continents, such as Europe. This brings excitement and a different kind of relevance to heritage but it also challenges centralised management systems. Some of the underlying distinction may be encapsulated in the difference between the terms guardian and custodian. The former refers to a person who has the legal right and responsibility of taking care of someone who cannot take care of himself or herself, so a guardian is someone who protects something. A custodial, in contrast, is a person with responsibility for protecting or taking care of something or keeping something in good condition, a custodian is someone who tries to protect particular ideas or principles. In continents such as Europe we are left only with the concept of guardians, whereas in Africa there are both guardians and custodians. This means – and here we have a core managerial challenge – that in part of Africa there is parallelism between state and local practices and governance, and the reasons and notions of rights behind the caretaking are varied.

Heritage in Africa is clearly enormously rich, varied and alive. This poses several challenges. Critiques of the World Heritage Convention have often focussed on its euro-centric foundation, but that critique is not sufficient. We need to positively understand other forms of heritage – and this means moving beyond a simplistic tangible – intangible dichotomy. Looking to Africa we may discern an engagement

with heritage that is not just about knowledge and the preservation of traditional skills but rather is about heritage being embodied – and this makes heritage a matter of being rather than merely performing. Expanding from this it is also clear that other core categories, such as nature and culture, may in fact be unstable and that they will be rethought if we place Africa's heritage central in our contemplations.

Despite these important aspects of African heritage uses and the challenges that arises from them, discussions of Africa's heritage management have not yet taken its rightful place in international heritage literature and debates.

This volume by Susan Keitumetse is therefore most welcomed – we need to learn from and share in the heritage experiences that come from Africa. As a contribution to this, her volume is both a significant stand-alone reflection based on her considerable personal experiences and insights. And it is also an important contribution to a widening out of how we talk about management. Throughout her volume, Susan Keitumetse 'modernises' the African heritage management debate and through that she provides a means of considering ways of expanding its use and usefulness be it in terms of sustainable development, heritage tourism or nature conservation. In turns the volume is useful for anyone anywhere working with heritage management and it shows how shared best practices can be debated while simultaneously protecting and celebrating that which is unique and distinct.

Division of Archaeology   Prof Marie Louise Stig Sørensen
University of Cambridge
Cambridge, UK
April 2016

Preface

As a first edition, the aim of this book is to catalyse cultural and heritage scholars' and practitioners' thinking towards real world conservation and management challenges surrounding the use of cultural and heritage resources in everyday African social interaction and institutional operations – i.e. beyond the excavation pit, beyond the historical records, beyond artefacts, beyond laboratories. For Africa, this is what will make the material and source disciplines of cultural and heritage resources relevant to the general society.

The standpoint of cultural heritage studies as a field/discipline/subject/course, etc. is still being crafted across the globe. However, whereas other regions have long forged ahead, no matter how non-cohesive the line of approaches, African intellectual discourse on cultural heritage conservation and management is lacking behind.

At its best it exists in a haze of isolated case studies or sub-theme studies that illustrate, as well as nurture scattered theoretical and practical scenarios, making it difficult to answer the question of 'what exactly is this field/discipline/course made of?'. The opportunity for Africa to chart its contribution is now, while the field is still developing and evolving. This volume is a drop in the ocean labour towards a comprehensive package of theoretical frameworks backed by practical approaches towards conservation and management of cultural heritage resources.

The topics are all anchored within global discourses that are analysed using African scenarios. Far too often there is a great focus on management, and a lukewarm focus on what exactly constitutes conservation of cultural and cultural heritage resources. This is risky for resources whose inclusion in various platforms of social and economic nature is growing at a fast pace. The issues raised in this book compel both scholars and practitioners to work towards conservation and then management of these important resources.

The same characteristics that give the field of cultural heritage management in Africa strength of diversity found in a multi-disciplinary and/or cross-disciplinary appear to be the cause of frustrations in charting a conservation and management direction for the field. A scattered nature of the field across the disciplinary space gives it an appearance of a lack of reference point in global scholarship.

As such the reader may ask: what glues the nine chapters together? Scholarly philosophy of sustainable conservation is a dominant feature that goes without saying in some chapters, and is loud and clear in others.

The chapters in this book are connected as follows: The book commences by describing and analysing the platforms within which cultural and heritage resources use exists; in physical, social, disciplinary and everyday life environments (Chap. 1) influenced by national and international management ideologies (Chap. 2).

Simultaneously these same environments are populated by humans, whose constantly evolving socio-political decisions determine how the platforms are engaged (Chap. 3). Thus human beings at the core of production and consumption activities of cultural heritage demand deliberate and focused management practices that guide social engagements with the resources – hence Chap. 4's COBACHREM programme. The platforms identified in Chap. 1 (the resources), Chap. 2 (international management framework), Chap. 3 (people) and Chap. 4 (grassroots management) require a balancing framework to curb resources use conflicts, hence Chap. 5 on sustainable interpretation. Since the approaches need to be standardized to provide a consistent management direction, Chap. 6 on standard setting and certification addresses this gap. Armed with the theoretical and practical frameworks of management, as well as standardized approaches, heritage managers can then engage the resource in socio-economic endeavours such as tourism (Chap. 7), and broader social development beneficiation (Chap. 8), with confidence. Thus Chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 represent a group of topics that though seemingly divergent are coordinated by a scholarship theory of sustainable conservation and management.

As an intended handbook of theory in practice on the subject, the text of the chapters is packaged to reflect balance between academic scholarly reading and practitioner reference on on-ground management issues.

As outlined in the preceding section on acknowledgements, my journey to this far is conflated with numerous collegial, professional, social, as well as personal interactions.

I am grateful for those that have had my back, sometimes without my knowledge. My family, relatives, friends and nemeses have all honed me towards this end – I am thankful for the lessons.

Please read, enjoy and give feedback whenever you can!

Maun, Botswana   Susan Osireditse Keitumetse
May 2016

Acknowledgements

This work is a product of the many academic, social and personal interactions I have encountered throughout my life as a perpetual student of the many subjects that drove me to a career in the field of cultural heritage.

My utmost gratitude goes to the book editor of Springer Nature, Fritz Schmuhl, for his support during the process of producing this book as well as his patience and understanding of my several delays encountered along the way.

I thank the two anonymous reviewers of the book proposal for their in-depth and honest comments and suggestions that helped broaden the scope of the book and shaped its direction as it is.

My academic path has been conflated with diverse interactions of both international and national stature. Professor Luc Hens, editor-in-chief of the journal; *Environment, Development and Sustainability* by Springer, whose appointment of myself as an associate editor of the journal drove me to consider Springer as a potential publisher of the then proposed book.

My postgraduate (MPhil and PhD) years at Cambridge University's Department of Archaeology helped me to hone and cement my research interest and focus on linking African cultural heritage and the international concept of sustainable development. My former 'MPhil B' crew and my lecturers' (Marie-Louise Stig Sorensen, my supervisor at Cambridge and John Carman) enthusiasm for the course in Archaeological Heritage Management enhanced and motivated my interests in this growing field. It is during this course that I developed a focused approach to this field that is yet to be cemented in African academic settings. I also thank Prof David W. Phillipson, Emeritus Professor of African Archaeology at the University of Cambridge for his guidance during my studies.

Various international and national colleagues and institutions have been instrumental in my career development in the area of cultural and heritage resources management and sustainable development. While I cannot list all, the following people and institutions have motivated my diverse approaches to the content of the chapters in this book: my employer, the University of Botswana (UB), Okavango Research Institute. They provided a conducive environment to undertake the researches that fed into the contents of the book. I thank the former Deputy Vice-Chancellor

Academic Affairs, Prof. O. Totolo (now Vice Chancellor at the Botswana International University of Science and Technology), for giving me a 1-month research leave to work on the book manuscript.

Amongst all I am grateful for the numerous interactions I have had with various communities in Southern Africa and around the world that I have worked with. They provided insights into the multiple discussions reflected in this book.

Before and after I joined the UB, I worked with several other institutions and colleagues.

The Smithsonian Institute's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage (CFCH) where I worked directly with Diane N'diaye and James Early undertaking a Rockefeller Fellowship titled "Theorizing cultural heritage". It is here that I also had full exposure to debates surrounding the UNESCO 2003 intangible cultural heritage convention as Richard Kurin, the then director, was directly involved in its framing from commencement to end. Among my USA colleagues I also wish to acknowledge Prof Peter Schmidt and Prof Steve A Brandt of the University of Florida for supporting to disseminate my work through seminars in the USA. Zoe Crossland of Columbia University later on collaborated with me as a co-PI in a Wenner-Gren Foundation research grant.

Brown University where I undertook the Watson International Scholars of the Environment Program fellowship which facilitated my later application to The Wenner-Gren Foundation for anthropological research where I secured project funding for historical archaeology research on marginal landscapes of east-central Botswana's Limpopo dry valleys. Particular thanks to Nancy Jacobs and Laura Sadovnikoff for academic hospitality during my fellowship tenure at Brown University. I also thank Susan Alcock and Krysta Rezewski of the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology at Brown University for collegial support during this time.

At national level the Botswana Tourism Organisation (formerly Botswana Tourism Board) has provided me with extensive corporate governance experience during my tenure as a board director of the organisation for 6 years under Botswana's Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism. The board tenure placed me in a position to work on issues surrounding Chaps. 6 and 7 in a practical environment involving diverse stakeholders comprising government, local community and business enterprises, amongst others. My tenure as inaugural chairperson of the first Botswana eco-certification system (BES) and the quality assurance committee of the board provided insight on certification of environmental components for tourism development. My particular gratitude goes to Kitso O. Mokaila, former Minister of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism (current Minister of Minerals, Energy, and Water Resources), for recognising my potential contribution within the Botswana Tourism Organisation, and appointing me as a board director. I also thank the current CEO of Botswana Tourism Organisation, Mr Brian Dithebe for permission to use the Botswana Eco-Tourism Certification System logo in Chap. 6.

At international level, I have also had opportunity to work with institutions such as UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) section on various assignments as an examiner, expert advisor, and facilitator in African countries such as Uganda, Swaziland, and Lesotho where I garnered experience and insight into the

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About the Author

Susan Osireditse Keitumetse obtained a BA degree (Archaeology and Environmental Sciences) and Postgraduate Diploma in Education (Geography and History) from the University of Botswana. She went on to compete for and win two separate Commonwealth scholarships both to University of Cambridge, UK, where she pursued an MPhil (Archaeological Heritage Management and Museums) and later on a PhD (African Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development). During her postgraduate studies, she combined both environmental science and archaeology disciplines to venture into the broader cultural and heritage management studies with a particular focus on sustainable development and cultural heritage management at the Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge. Following on this background and with a view to catalyse a linkage between environment and cultural heritage in Africa, Dr. Keitumetse conducted various researches and published works that illustrate the relevance of cultural and heritage resources for the broader environmental conservation. She is currently employed at the University of Botswana's Okavango Research Institute as a research scholar in cultural heritage and tourism where she undertakes applied research in areas such as the Okavango inland Delta World Heritage Site and the Kalahari Desert areas of Botswana. Dr. Keitumetse continues to work towards developing a cultural heritage management programme for Africa using experience from her work. Of particular note is her developing a conservation model of Community-Based Cultural Heritage Resources Management (COBACHREM) to guide local communities and practitioners' initiatives towards sustainable use of cultural heritage resources for social development. Chapter 4 provides detailed contents of the model.

Dr. Susan Keitumetse has published extensively in the field of cultural heritage conservation and management in Africa. Her works comprise peer-reviewed articles in international journals; peer-reviewed book chapters; refereed conference proceedings; and technical reports in international periodicals, magazines and newspapers. She has presented written and oral papers in numerous international conferences on the subject of African cultural heritage and development around the world, including Britain, America and the wider Europe.

Dr. Keitumetse currently serves as an associate editor of the journal *Environment, Development and Sustainability* published by Springer. She also sits on the editorial board of the *International Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage*, published by Taylor and Francis (formerly published by Maney Publishers), as well as the *International Journal of Heritage and Sustainable Development* published by Green Lines Institute, Portugal.

Dr. Keitumetse has both national and international experience from various African countries, as well as institutions outside Africa. In addition to competing for and securing two international academic scholarships for her postgraduate studies at the University of Cambridge, she has won academic grants for research fellowships in international institutions that include the Rockefeller Fellowship at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, USA, the Watson Scholar Fellowship at Brown University in Rhode Island, USA, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation research grant for a historical archaeology project in Botswana.

Outside academia and in the international development arena, Dr Keitumetse has worked and continues to work with institutions such as UNESCO where she has been engaged as an expert advisor, examiner, facilitator and consultant within the intangible cultural heritage section in countries such as Uganda, Swaziland, and Lesotho.

She has corporate governance experience from African parastatal institutions dealing with environment, heritage, tourism and land use planning. These are derived from her tenure as a board director of Botswana Tourism Organisation under the country's Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism (MEWT) for 6 years, where she also chaired a quality assurance committee of the board dealing with grading and certifying tourism accommodation establishments. Dr. Keitumetse is currently a committee member of a Botswana government gazetted Physical Planning Committee under the Ministry of Lands and Housing, operationalized by the North-West District Council (NWDC) under the Ministry of Local Government, Republic of Botswana. The committee deals with land planning, and Dr. Keitumetse is instrumental in ensuring that conventional land planning tools take cognizance of cultural landscapes and communities cultural heritage in areas earmarked for development planning.

Her overall research interests are in the areas of sustainable development and cultural heritage conservation, historical archaeology, environmental archaeology, community heritage management, heritage tourism, heritage and protected areas and international management of cultural heritage, amongst others.

Abbreviations

AHM	Archaeological Heritage Management
ARIPO	African Regional Intellectual Property Organisation
AWHF	African world heritage foundation
BOBS	Botswana Bureau of Standards
BTO	Botswana Tourism Organisation
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBET	Competency-Based Education Training
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resources Management
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
CIPA	Companies and Intellectual Property Association
COSBOTS	Copyright Society of Botswana
CRM	Cultural Resources Management
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EWC	Endorois Welfare Council
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IJICH	International Journal of Intangible Cultural Heritage
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge System
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JCAH	Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage
MEWT	Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism
MRGI	Minority Rights Group International
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
NQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
OAPI	African Intellectual Property Organisation
SADC	Southern African Development Cooperation
SD	Sustainable Development
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment
TIES	The International Ecotourism Society
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNEVOC	International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WH	World Heritage
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organisation
WMAs	Wildlife Management Areas
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

Chapter 1
African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management: Theory and Practice

Abstract This book seeks to place African cultural heritage studies and conservation practices in the modern context by bringing out modern topics around its use in the contemporary world. Cultural heritage resources in Africa and the developing world are facing a challenge of being roped into multiple platforms in a reactive and/or haphazard manner that does not account for their sustainable use. General resources conservation has been taking place in multiple facets for time immemorial. Cultural heritage resources management field, however, is new in Africa and among African stakeholders. Cultural heritage resources management is a process of organising the use of cultural resources amongst multiple stakeholders such as people, institutions, governments, regions and the world. To organise cultural resources conservation ideas, a conceptual framework (theory) built from observed stakeholders' relationship with the resources (practice) through time, is needed. This chapter introduces the book's consolidated and coordinated point of departure into theory and practice for African cultural heritage management. It also introduces an underlying make-up of contents in the book on African cultural heritage conservation and management. The book features a variety of topics through its chapters, amongst them international conventions as frameworks for African cultural heritage management, politics of the past, the building of sustainable communities using cultural heritage, sustainable interpretation of heritage, standard setting (certification) and heritage, heritage tourism and development mainstreaming of cultural heritage in Africa.

Keywords African heritage • Conservation management • Nature-culture dichotomy • Heritage borders • International conventions • National policies • Disciplines and scholarship • Conservation & Management paradigms

1.1 Introduction: Why African Cultural Resources Conservation and Management?

For some time now, resources conservationists in southern Africa have viewed environmental conservation as synonymous with wilderness and wildlife resources only, oblivious to the contributions made by African historic environments that host cultural and heritage resources. Almost three decades since the formulation of

sustainable development (SD) framework (WCED 1987), environmental conservation is still largely centred on environmental sustainability as a consequence of 'natural' resources without recognition of cultural and heritage resources. Some of the earlier attempts to establish a direct link between sustainable development and cultural resources are explored only in general terms (Keitumetse 2005b, 2011).

However, in many parts of the developing world, cultural heritage resources are gradually becoming key in socio-political (e.g. communities' identities, traditional governance), economic (cultural and heritage tourism), educational (formal and informal), civic (intergenerational awareness) and international resources management (e.g. NGOs, UNESCO). As the chapters in this book will illustrate, some of the uses are subtle and yet to be openly acknowledged. The subtle uses include, but are not limited to, interpretation of evolving identities, socio-cultural appropriation, negotiation of identities constantly shifted by temporal historical paradigms (Chap. 3), communal coherence and the maintenance of sustainable communities, instilling loyalty to natural landscapes conservation and conflict resolution in natural resource sharing, amongst others.

With all this potential, African cultural heritage resources face a challenge of being roped into the various sectors in an unplanned, reactive and/or haphazard manner. There is a limited theoretical and/or practical approach to guide the use of cultural resources and cushion against unsustainable practices.

Over time, paradigm shifts in cultural resources management have occurred elsewhere and imported into African contexts. The global contribution from African cultural and heritage context is not visible within the relatively new and emerging field.

To address this loophole, this book seeks to place African cultural heritage studies within a modern and international discourse by presenting its varied themes and topics that are important for the development of scholarship on the wider field of cultural heritage management.

A regional focus such as adopted by this book is not to segregate cultural geographies but rather to acknowledge and highlight the differences that are themselves platforms for scholarly interaction and development of philosophies. The regional and continental divergences provide a fodder for learning and innovation within the field of research. This book therefore represents a drop in the ocean African contribution towards a coordinated point of departure on the subject of cultural heritage conservation and management.

1.1.1 Developing Scholarship: African Cultural Studies' Ideologies as Conservation Strategy

In the global knowledge society where information sharing and retrieval are located at the tip of a finger rather than in an expensive, rare encyclopaedia in an inaccessible, classical library, the development of a regional/continental scholarship features as a priority strategy through which a body of literature can be amassed to become an active medium of participation in global discussions. Through

scholarship, an interaction with the international community is heightened as research ideas are advanced and research projects are facilitated. Concepts relating specifically to African conservation of cultural resources are propagated, leading to refined practices at implementation stage. A specific focus of this book on African cultural resources management is one such deliberate mobilisation that will provide comparative debates and benchmarks with other regions.

In comparison, Europe and Americas and Australia have traceable scholarship on the field of cultural heritage management as shown by publications (Cf. Cleere 1984, 2005; Lowenthal 1985; Hewison 1987; McDavid 2002; Smith 2004; Little and Shackel 2007; Sorensen and Carman 2009; Smith and Waterton 2013). However, even then, debates still linger as to what the field of cultural heritage really is (cf. Blake 2000; Carman 2010). In the wider Europe, scholarship centres on the end of World War I and II that saw both social and architectural reconstructions taking centre stage. In the Americas the scholarship is generally around Diaspora heritage, reflecting the diverse source point of American history from regions such as Europe, Africa, Asia, Arabic, etc. Some studies even assess willingness of Diaspora population in America to conserve environments in countries of historical origin. For example, Laplante et al. (2005) conducted a study in the USA on 'The Armenian Diaspora's Willingness to Pay to Protect Armenia's Lake Sevan'.

However, a general observation is that the development of the field of cultural and heritage resources management in Europe and Americas is largely shaped by an approach that derives direction from the disciplines of archaeology. This point of departure has also influenced African approaches to cultural heritage management for some time because most early African archaeology academics studied in Europe and the Americas.

As the chapters in this book will illustrate, African scholarship is generally centred on people-centred heritages, providing a somehow distinct contribution towards the broader field of cultural heritage management. Chapters 3, 4, 5, 8 illustrate this well.

A debate on whether the field of cultural heritage should be defined through archaeology which in my view represents only one source of cultural heritage, or whether cultural heritage management should be defined as an umbrella discipline that encompasses archaeology, anthropology, sociology, environmental sciences, museum studies and tourism as feeder subdisciplines is of great interest to African contexts. Indeed a sole focus on archaeology is a luxury that African cultural resources management field in particular cannot afford. This is because there are various challenges such as settlement displacement (war refugees) that may require ethnography to reconstruct identities; there are poverty issues that may require infusing archaeological heritages into development trails such as tourism as a matter of survival; and there are contested spaces in protected natural sites that require interaction between sociology, psychology, political studies, geography, archaeology, as well as environmental studies to reach sustainable conservation measures. These are elaborated upon throughout this book. In Africa, archaeological resource sustainability is dependent on its relevance to the needs of contemporary society so that local and resident communities can fully defend the resources against plunders that are documented in earlier publications such as the volume by Schmidt and McIntosh

(1993). In order to achieve such level of engagement, a marriage between archaeology (as a preamble to cultural heritage studies in Africa) and other disciplines goes beyond the discipline of history to include 'alternative histories' (1995) that are not derived from prehistoric sites and tangible monuments. The new marriage is more polygamous, is a marriage of convenience and includes mainstreaming anthropology, museum studies, environmental studies, heritage tourism, conservation studies, education and new uses that emerge over time (i.e. accommodating the concept of fluid sustainability). In fact assessment of methodological approaches used in heritage studies supports a diffusion of disciplines. Put together, heritage field methods point to a broader approach than that of archaeology. The diverse methods outlined in a book volume edited by Sorensen and Carman (2009) illustrates this well. Titled *Heritage Studies*: *Methods and Approaches*, the volume is one of the firsts to provide discussions that focus solely on heritage methodologies.

1.1.2   Book Aims and Objectives

The general objective of this book is to highlight theory and practice associated with conservation and management of cultural and heritage resources in Africa.

The specific objectives are as follows:

(a) Provide a coordinated conservation approach to African cultural resources management in order to situate the region within the developing field of cultural heritage studies.
(b) Introduce an African perspective into global theory and practice of cultural heritage resources management. This perspective is currently missing in the literature on the subject.
(c) Provide a point of departure on conservation approaches that can enhance management of African cultural heritage resources as well as address contemporary social, environmental and economic challenges.
(d) Provide a research and teaching theory instructional material (case studies) to academics interested in African cultural resources management.
(e) Provide a comparative body of literature for both practitioners and scholars working on African cultural heritage in other regions.

1.1.3   Basic Terms and Phrases

Preservation: protection of resources that involves placing them in a non-use state.
Conservation: include both use and preservation of resources in a manner that sustains them. The term resources protection acknowledges a move away from preservation to acknowledgement that resources are meant to be used, provided the use is not destructive.
Management: methods applied to organise preservation and conservation activities.

Sustainable development: use of resources in a way that considers the future state of the environment and future generations. Limits are set to avoid destruction. See Sect. 1.3.1 for a detailed description.

Stakeholders: partners in conservation, preservation, management and development.

Custodians: those that oversee resources in their geographical locations. In traditional resources management, the term is used to refer to local residents around which resources are found. In modern management the term commonly refers to government departments and government officials.

Cultural resources: remnants of people's interaction with the environment. Examples include archaeological materials and historical landscapes.

Heritage: that which is inherited from the past to the present by contemporary societies. Heritage resources can be natural or cultural.

Cultural heritage: cultural resources that have been chosen by contemporary society as relevant for their existence. They serve several purposes of contemporary societies, including political, economic and psychological needs.

1.1.4   Southern Africa Region

The ideas generated in this book are not specific to a particular region, nor continent. Only the case studies used are particular to southern Africa and the wider sub-Saharan Africa. Most discussions are on a global scale first and then narrowed to the African continent for analytical purposes. The general ideas are applicable to the wider field of cultural and heritage management.

Southern Africa consists of the following countries: Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, Republic of South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Fig. 1.1).

1.2   Setting the Discourse

This section will address the following subtopics: the field of cultural management, African heritage in a global perspective, disciplinary approaches to the field of cultural management and concepts and paradigms driving cultural resources management in a contemporary world.

In its simple form, the expertise of a heritage practitioner lies in the competence to analyse, interpret, package and present data sets in a manner that is relevant to a given population. The aggregated meaning can serve emotional, psychological, political, economic and aesthetic needs of people in a particular society.

In its complex form the expertise of a heritage practitioner is determined through academic credentials based on disciplinary background and training. On the other hand, the expertise of a heritage custodian is derived from their constant interaction with the historic environment and associated material culture.
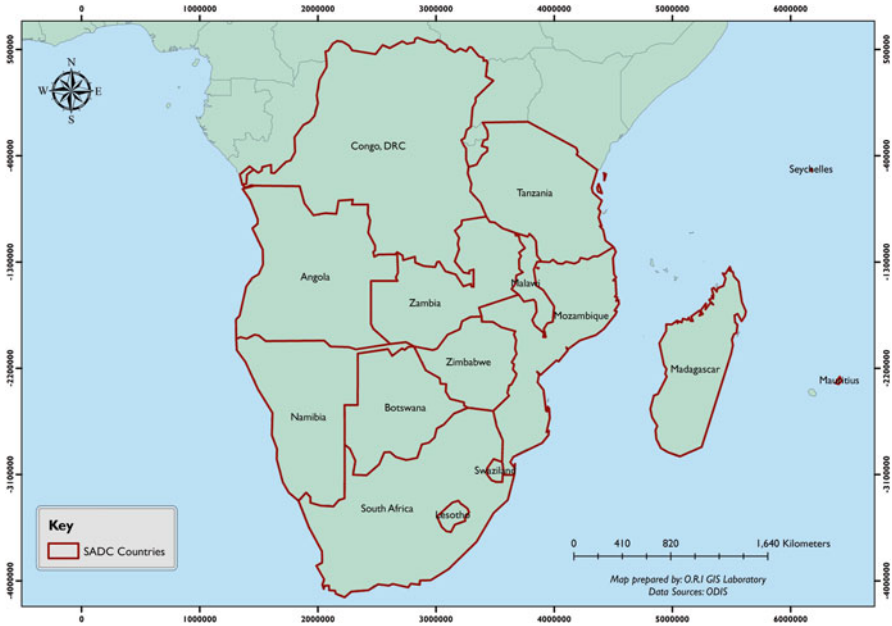
Fig. 1.1 Map of southern Africa showing countries in the region (click to enlarge) (© Okavango Research Institute GIS lab)

1.2.1   African Heritage in a Global Perspective: Brief History

The field of cultural heritage management has developed as a contribution of diverse historical events that include socio-political events (world war), academic discipline development (e.g. archaeology), people interaction with the environment and international collective resources management (e.g. UNESCO conventions). Of all the four, the UNESCO conventions are the most influential mediums of management in Africa whereby African states ratify international conventions and follow their guidelines. African countries acquire international inspiration, interaction and experience on global cultural resources management from international conventions. Most common of these are UNESCO conventions and others like the 1971 Ramsar Convention on Wetlands (see Table 2.4 on wetlands in southern Africa) and the 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD).

Through the conventions African countries are guided by the political collective on definitions and descriptions of what constitute cultural heritage and as to what components deserve priority preservation and/or conservation. The most common UNESCO conventions on cultural heritage are the 1954 Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, the 1972 World Heritage Convention and the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Chapter 2 outlines these and others in detail. Ratification of these

conventions is testimony that African states accept ideologies and operational processes of the legal instruments in question.

However, more often than not ideas that inform formulation of international conventions draw experiences outside the Africa region and may have to be made compatible at implementation stage. For example, the 1954 Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict assumed war to be the use of machines that destroy visible monuments and structures as was the case in World War I and II. However, a closer look at African sites listed by UNESCO world heritage section (Table 2.2) as being in danger shows a different type of 'war' that may not be tackled solely through operational plans constituted in the 1954 convention. Table 2.1 outlines types of the historical conflicts in southern Africa that may have affected cultural conservation. African heritage managers and scholarship have to account for these anomalies to ensure successful implementation of the convention.

1.2.1.1   Disciplinary Validation

The field of cultural heritage can be termed as polygamous as it depends on diverse disciplines to produce its various cultural meanings. These disciplines can be categorised as follows:

(a) For core data sets: archaeology, history, anthropology, sociology, environmental studies, geography, ethnographic studies and others
(b) For analysis and interpretation: cultural studies, philosophy, psychology, etc.
(c) For services: tourism, education, performance, traditional ceremonies, etc.

However, some disciplines are historically dominant than others. The discipline of archaeology is at the forefront followed by the discipline of history and anthropology.

1.2.1.2   Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Management

The field of cultural and heritage resources management in Europe and Americas largely derives direction from archaeology, and this has also influenced a biased focus on material tangible cultural heritage as opposed to intangible heritage. Carman (2000: 303) expressed the cling to the archaeological tag when 15 years ago he posited that 'In general, archaeologists do not consider themselves to be part of a field called "heritage" or "heritage studies". Instead, most archaeologists consider themselves equivalent to historians that is, as students of the past, who may operate in the present but are not students of present society'. Revision to this alignment can be facilitated by the answers to the following questions:

1. Who then will ensure sustainable use of archaeological resources in present needs? In developing countries these are being infused into development sectors with or without archaeologists.
2. Are archaeologists content with leaving their treasures to be appropriated and/or misappropriated in their absence, themselves acting as spectators?

Scholars, particularly in Europe and to a lesser extent in the Americas, continue to battle with the archaeology tag, as evidenced by phrases such as 'community archaeology and heritage' and 'community archaeology and cultural heritage' rather than community cultural heritage in which archaeology becomes just another component.

As debates continue on whether cultural heritage resources management is a discipline or a field, the determining factor seems to be whether in its panel beating stage the field as we know it is tagged to an established discipline (e.g. archaeological heritage management) or it is referred to as an all-encompassing framework that includes archaeological heritage as a component amongst many (e.g. cultural and heritage resources management). Already, some scholarly journals such as International Journal of Heritage Studies (IJHS), published by Routledge, embrace an all-encompassing semantic. However, some new journals are still hesitant to de-tag from archaeology in particular, such as the Journal of Community archaeology and heritage (JCAH), established in 2013, published by Taylor and Francis. In the Americas where anthropology rather than archaeology is a dominant discipline, the field, known as cultural resources management, has allowed for a cross-cutting embrace as evidenced by Toothman's (1987) cultural resources in national park approach that has since led to the development of a journal titled *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*.

But what does all this mean for a regional African cultural heritage field yet to be established?

For Africa, whereas the outlined developments are important points of departure, it is necessary to go beyond the excavation pit of archaeology as well as beyond any other disciplinary tag as this may deny the diverse characteristic of cultural heritage make-up of the region.

1.2.1.3   Beyond the Excavation Pit of Archaeology for African Heritage

In Africa, a combination of three components automatically brings diversity to former descriptions of cultural heritage and compels a search beyond archaeological artefacts, monuments and sites. These components are sources of knowledge production that create fluid cultural meanings, international conventions that act as a governments' political collective agreement and societies that are custodians and carriers of cultural heritage. Sources of knowledge such as ethnography, anthropology and sociology, much closer to human cultures, become equally important as the discipline of archaeology. Management policies such as South Africa's indigenous knowledge policy of 2004 are evidence that cultural heritage descriptors in Africa are going beyond the material. For this reason a move from the excavation pit is necessary to advance both theory and practice relating to African cultural heritage management. The relationship between the broader cultural heritage field and the specific archaeological heritage management is better summed up by Ellison et al. (1996: 06) in their discussion of the future of African archaeology when they observed that '…archaeologists ought to study local African interpretations of pasts,

adapting methods associated with other academic disciplines'. In addition to disciplines, new management frameworks need to be constantly explored.

In the context of existing scholarship, heritage research methodologies presented in a volume, edited by Sorensen and Carman (2009) titled *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, point to disciplines and data sets that build onto archaeological ones. Examples include texts, people, social anthropology and environmental psychology, amongst others.

In theory, international conventions have also picked on the need to diversify management approaches. The adoption of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage at international level is evidence of heightened consideration of cultural heritage sources and uses beyond the tangible components. With this development, it may be that in the future, sites that are listed under the material culture-based 1972 convention be revisited for a default juxtaposition of the contents of the 2003 convention to fully acknowledge the living people characteristics of most of the prehistoric and natural sites. In addition, new sites listing should include a checklist from both the 1972 and 2003 UNESCO conventions on tangible and intangible heritage respectively.

1.3   African Cultural Conservation: Concepts and Paradigms

The current paradigms affecting African cultural management can be placed into the following categories: knowledge, resources, disciplines, standards and development categories. Once unpacked, the categories contain topics such as scholarship development, sustainable development tenets, nurture-nature (environment) dichotomy, economic activities, skills and knowledge transfer across generations (education) and economic pursuits. All these affect the evolution of cultural resources management. They are discussed in the sections that follow.

1.3.1   Sustainable Development and Related Issues

Sustainable development (SD) is a broad policy framework that provides guidelines towards the equitable use of biophysical resources as well as emphasises equal access by all. The literature on sustainable development identifies two broad categories of SD known as weaker and stronger sustainability. The former is popularly attributed to development, while the latter is commonly attributed to the environment (cf. Williams and Millington 2004).

The two most operating concepts of sustainable development (SD) are 'needs' and 'limitations' (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: 44). Various stakeholders produce and consume cultural heritage because to some it is a basic need, while to others it is supplementary. To sustain the resources, limitations (conservation strategies) have to be initiated through a continuous process of conservation and man-

agement procedures. At international political governance, Sustainable development is operationalised through a global political strategy called Agenda 21 which contains 21 principles, hence the name. The strategy was adopted at United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

Within African cultural heritage conservation scholarship and beyond, direct application of the SD framework is very minimal. There are attempts to link the two (cf. Keitumetse 2005b) and case studies continue to trickle to reinforce the importance of the merger (Keitumetse 2005a, 2007, 2009, 2011; Pereira Roders and van Oers 2011; Barthel-Bouchier 2012; Labadi and Gould 2015). However, as the chapters in this book will illustrate, a lot still needs to be done.

In addition to scholarship (ideologies, philosophies) development, adoption of a sustainable development (SD) framework (cf. Keitumetse 2005a, b, 2011) is a priority to cultural resources management. The SD framework provides guiding tools to natural managers but is equally important for cultural resources.

But how do we incorporate sustainable development framework within management of cultural resources and vice versa?

One way is to eliminate management approaches that isolate natural and cultural resources in a single landscape such as a national park or game reserve. The isolation practice is prevalent in most of the landscapes commonly known as protected areas in Africa. A continuous assessment of management dichotomies that perpetuate the nurture-nature divide is crucial. In cultural and heritage resources management, the segregation has also resulted in a dichotomy of intangible and tangible cultural heritages. This is worrying because, as Chap. 2 will illustrate, most of the protected areas in Africa carry both human and nature values and qualities. As an example, after years of nature-nurture divide perpetuated by the apartheid system in South Africa, Kruger National Park management is making efforts to reconnect the original inhabitants with the landscape (cf. Cock and Fig 2000). The process is not without challenges but it is a commendable initiative nonetheless.

Formulation of distinct conservation indicators and development of cultural resources-based conservation models are yet another avenue towards sustainable development (cf. Keitumetse 2014). Conservation indicators provide potential for the field of cultural conservation to initiate and embrace a standard setting framework such as certification for resource monitoring. Levels of resources fragility (Sorensen and Evans 2011) can also be identified and easily monitored. Chapter 6 discusses certification.

Development of sustainability indicators requires that production and consumption patterns of cultural and heritage resources be clearly identified, isolated and defined. For example, historical temporal changes of prehistoric, historic, precolonial, colonial, post-colonial, independence times, nation-building times, democratic era, human rights era, etc. are examples of factors that catalyse changes in cultural production and/or consumption. Chapter 3 illustrates some of these in detail.

In addition, sustainable development in cultural resources will always depend on the type of resources and the socio-cultural context in which the resources exist. For instance, a rare pottery finding can be a source of aesthetic value in one society and be preserved, but it can be a subject of a ritual in another society where it has to be

destroyed. This difference can also be observed in natural resources conservation, whereby a cultural event, such as a ruler's enthronement, could demand a near-extinct animal product to sustain the socio-cultural practice. Thus, in some instances either preservation or destruction can be sustainable to a particular cultural heritage (social inheritance). For these reasons therefore, it is advisable to avoid referencing sustainability embrace fluid sustainability rather than a rigid framework befitting to biophysical resources only.

In general however, as the field of cultural heritage studies assumes a significant place in academic, socio-economic, psycho-social activities, it is apparent that sustainable conservation depends on cultural researchers', conservators' and managers' continuous efforts to participate and remain visible and relevant in development sectors.

For the field of cultural heritage management to become significant in society, cultural heritage practitioners have to think outside the academic box and take the lead in mainstreaming the field in development as they are the ones who understand sensitivity of the resources. For example, one area that is neglected but could work well to publicise cultural resources field is education. Chapters 4 and 8 elaborate on this in detail.

1.3.1.1   Nurture-Nature Divide: Culture and Environment Dichotomies

This section elaborates on the subtopic in detail to show how isolating natural and cultural resources affect sustainable use of environments, particularly protected areas common in most African countries.

The nature-culture dichotomy has seen cultural resources taking backstage in the broader African conservation scholarship and practice, with limited if any efforts to manage the two resources simultaneously even where they appear in one locality. For a long time resources conservation in African landscapes has been approached by environmental managers as synonymous with wilderness and wildlife resources only, oblivious to contribution by cultural and heritage resources. Several scholars and practitioners have observed this occurrence in various regions (cf. Toothman 1987; Bradley 2000; Infield 2001; Maathai 2004; Chan et al. 2012):

In the USA's National Park Service, it was observed in the late 1980s that inherent 'failure to recognize the presence of cultural resources is one of the key obstacles to effective cultural resources management (CRM) in natural areas' (Toothman (1987: 66). The USA's National Park Service currently has since developed 'National Park Service Cultural Resources Action Plan'.

In Europe, Bradley's (2000) research in Finnish landscapes discovered that landscapes are labelled as 'uncontacted' spaces even where human presence has been recorded. He opines that an existing record of human presence on a landscape is enough to be a representation of cultural value and as such should cancel out the 'uncontacted' brand.

Back in Africa, during Wangari Maathai's (2004) work in Kenya on conservation of Mount Kenya, she observed and posited that unless indigenous knowledge,

traditional beliefs and practices were incorporated as part of an approach to conservation of the site, progress on achieving community buy-in to safeguard the so-called 'natural' environment would be difficult to achieve. Her observation lead to the conclusion that:

> "As I tried to encourage women and the African people in general to understand the need to conserve the environment, I discovered how crucial it is to return constantly to our cultural heritage". Mount Kenya is a UNESCO world heritage site under the 1972 World Heritage Convention.

The nature-culture debate has even moved further from geographical locations to disciplinary boundaries approaches where scholars such as Chan et al. (2012) observe that apart from the science of nature research, the discipline of economics is also nullifying cultural values of ecosystems in its quest to formulate convenient environmental valuation methods.

The consequences of the nurture-nature divide for environmental landscapes management are several: The isolation result in dichotomised resources management approaches that negatively affect sustainability of the broader environment, at times leading to conflicts society (custodians of environments) and their governments (managers of environments). As an example, 'human-wildlife conflict' in African protected areas is slowly becoming a field of study on its own. The nature-nurture divide has created both virtual and actual 'borders' as follows:

1.3.1.2   Heritage with Borders

Heritage borders are a result of both national and international environmental management approaches. At international level, the borders are symbolised by a partition between natural resources conventions and cultural resources conventions. Already this situation creates separate sites on African physical landscapes. Further divisions are between tangible and intangible cultural heritages, each with its own separate convention, operational process and even political affiliation. Examples are the 1972 UNESCO Convention on tangible heritage and the 2003 UNESCO Convention on intangible heritage. Both advocate for forms of cultural heritage that complement one another. Detailed descriptions of the two conventions are provided in Chap. 2. On the surface (theory) it may appear that distinction between environments (nature vs. historic), resources (natural vs. cultural) and management tools (conventions) is convenient for operational priorities. However, on the ground (practice) the dichotomies disconnect environmental components and interconnected socio-cultural systems that should be addressed as one. At state/country/national level, heritage is within borders in protected areas in the form of national parks and game reserves found in most of Africa. These are managed as 'nature' (wilderness and wildlife) spaces with little or no recognition of their cultural value at establishment stage and in the present.

Chapter 2 discussions will illustrate that majority of southern African sites featured on UNESCO's 'danger' list are those designated solely as 'natural'. See

Table 2.2. This is an important indicator that requires systematic research to unpack the reasons behind the pattern. My hypothesis is that this is a result of people's reaction to continuous isolation from landscapes that contain their cultural identities. Once people are isolated from protected areas, they are also isolated from their cultural heritage, and it is at this stage that their responsibility to the landscape is erased as they can be said to have been nurtured to become indifferent to the landscape.

The heritage border is clearly illustrated by community natural resources use in southern Africa's Community-Based *Natural* Resources Management (CBNRM) programme where the concept of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) is applied whereby communities are given user rights to portions of wilderness and wildlife areas which they can use for various activities. In my view, this approach has perpetuated a perception by communities that protected area value is wildlife in quotas that is then used to gain financial value. The common practice is that the community leases user rights to business (tourism) investors, who pay them land use rentals per year. The practice compels a community to cease direct interaction with the environment to make way for the investor operations and consequently disconnects with it. The business investor is the one who interacts with the environment, constantly assessing its opportunities and potentials, while locals residents disconnect and await profit. From this emanates communities' indifference to protected landscapes.

A process that encourages interaction with the environment beyond financial gain will include recognising, identifying and nurturing communities' socio-cultural values attached to these landscapes and juxtaposing them as part of the protected area heritage package. This will instil people's responsibility to the environment on a continuous basis, as they identify with their archaeologies, histories and ethnographies in the landscape (cf. Keitumetse et al. 2007).

Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and community animal quota system are widely practised in Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania's Masai Mara park (Goldman 2003), amongst others. Chapter 4 provides a further analysis and discussion on CBNRM and wildlife management areas' profit, rather than cultural based 'conservation'.

1.3.1.3   Heritage Without Borders

How can we facilitate heritage without borders? For the three levels outlined above, the borders can be closed through consolidation of environmental management approaches to reflect the connectedness of nature and culture. Once such an approach is spearheaded at international collective stage, African countries will follow international conventions' strategies by default of their membership in international bodies. It is also necessary to formulate cultural conservation programmes that merge nature and culture in landscapes inhabited by the living society. Chapter 4 discusses a community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM) model as an alternative approach.

1.3.1.4   Cultural Heritage Knowledge and Skills Transfer Channels (Education)

Yet another conservation strategy to consider for African cultural heritage management is incorporating cultural knowledge and skills into theoretical (formal) education to catalyse cultural innovation as well as enable cultural skills transfer from one generation to the next. Vocational (skills-based) education in particular is also fully supported by labour-governing conventions such as the ILO Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, described in Chap. 2. As will be discussed in Chap. 8, most African youths are now in schools. Cultural heritage scholars and practitioners need to initiate educational programmes that enable cultural knowledge and skills transfer. Most African states however isolate ministries of education and culture, widening the gap between educational infrastructure and cultural heritage management knowledge.

In addition, an operational disconnect at international level also contributes to management dislocation for African states that rely on international conventions for guidance in social development strategies. For instance, disconnected implementation of the 1989 UNESCO Convention on Technical and Vocational Education (cultural skills transfer) and the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (communal intangible heritage) and the 1989 ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (focusing on cultural communities) could mobilise a coordinated approach.

1.3.1.5   Economic Pressure on Cultural and Heritage Resources

With the advent of international economic meltdown and the depletion of natural resources, most African countries are compelled to diversify their economies. Whereas natural resources minerals such as diamonds (Botswana, RSA), copper (Zambia) and wildlife (Zimbabwe) are experiencing low profit margins due to market challenges, cultural and heritage resources are gradually becoming developing countries' alternative engines of local economic growth. Local populations are also pursuing initiatives that tap into their cultural base to access enterprises such as tourism. The new interest however lacks conservation strategies as concerns over sustainable use are rarely accounted for.

1.3.2   Evolving Paradigms of Conservation and Management

Conservation and management ideals are constantly evolving. This book's diverse chapters testify to this assertion. For example, Chap. 2 acknowledges the existence of international conventions, but illustrates the shifting paradigms necessary to improve them by adding other conventions outside the known cultural heritage

management bracket. Similarly Chap. 3 brings out the norm in traditional governance of communal identities but shows the changing character of identity standpoints instituted by communities and testifying to the obvious knowledge that identities are by no means static. Chapter 4 illustrates formulation of management programmes that are specific to cultural and heritage resources, leading to spot-on conservation strategies. In the same token, Chap. 5 on interpretation illustrates the direction in which identification, selection, presentation and representation should take bid to achieve a balanced, hence sustainable, interpretation of diverse cultural heritage found in landscapes of Africa. Chapter 6 in its entirety represents a conservation paradigm in cultural resources management because standard setting (certification) is yet to be considered in African cultural and heritage resources management, if not the broader field. Certification programmes will further lead to specific dissection of '…ways that heritage can be considered fragile' (Sorensen and Evans (2011:39)) and use these descriptors to formulate advance conservation strategies to ensure sustainable development of the resources.

Furthermore, Chap. 8 on mainstreaming cultural and heritage resources in development sectors also represents a paradigm shift on its own as there is no systematic incorporation in African cultural resources management field.

1.3.3   Field or Discipline?

While the debate as to whether cultural resources management (USA) or cultural/archaeological heritage management is a field or a discipline is on-going, a prerequisite for becoming a field may come when heritage studies de-tag from one discipline and embrace a much broader disciplinary perspective in all its operational facets. Other areas to consider are observation by scholars such as Uzzel (2009) that an ingrained focus on interdisciplinary may stagnate heritage studies at a place whereby it focuses on various parts of an elephant and wrongly call them an elephant rather than find avenues that will result in heritage studies graduating from being parts of an elephant to being a whole elephant with its own, distinct space.

1.4   The Book in General

As an intended handbook on theory and practice on the subject at hand, the language of the text is phrased to reflect a balance between academic scholarly reading and practitioner reading for management guidance. An academic scholar should be able to refer to the book to arouse her or his academic thought as well as feel guided on point of departure at site management level. A practitioner looking for implementation ideas is also not burdened with a full-on academic discourse.

1.4.1   Readership

The book is meant for a wide category of readers spanning from research and teaching academics, practitioners in the field, local community structures and students in need of a compass approach to the study of African heritage management in any part of the world. Both undergraduate and graduate students will find the book useful.

National governments' policy makers and departmental directors who wish to shape direction of their social service strategies will also find the book useful. They can use it to benchmark on innovative ideas through which they could engage with their populations in development projects.

In the same token, international institutions, like UNESCO, World Bank, international NGOs, ILO, etc. wishing to implement their international legal instruments in an effective manner in African countries, can benefit from ideas in the book which can assist them to hone in on local needs prior to implementation of their funded projects.

Most importantly, the book can assist African communities to understand the value of their cultural and heritage resources in the broader conservation mandate. Rural African communities have educated generations that can access the book on behalf of a community. By applying ideas in the book, communities can systematically organise their intervention in the developmental agenda through formulation of NGOs or the commonly referred to community-based organisations. There are growing community trusts in southern Africa that can use ideas in the book to empower themselves while at the same time sustaining their resources and environments.

The book is also of comparative interest to readership outside Africa with similar subjects in their regions as illustrated by topics below which will benefit from benchmarking on how to approach interpretation of African cultural heritage within their various contexts, for example, titles such as those by Smith (1957) on African heritage in the Caribbean, Sudarkas (1998) on African heritage on Afro-American families and Pollitzer (2005) on the Gullah people and their African heritage.

All in all, ideas in the book are meant to catalyse and mobilise cultural resources management strategies that would lead to conservation of the broader environment.

1.4.2   Book Themes

The polygamous nature of the field of cultural heritage management does not allow for this book to bind itself with structured themes, but rather the discussions cover a wide range of discourse per chapter. However, in order to achieve some guided use, a structure has been considered:

The unifying theme of this book is sustainable conservation and management of African cultural heritage. It is infused and inferred in all chapters of the book. The provision of real-life case studies in several of the chapters makes it difficult to

separate chapters as either theoretical or practical. They carry both elements. The chapters offer three loosely structured themes as follows:

1. A theme on theory—the key frameworks/tenets that drive and influence the discourse of African cultural resources conservation and management are addressed in Chaps. 1, 2, 3 and 4 which provide a point of departure for a theoretical analysis of key concepts and issues surrounding African cultural heritage management.
2. A theme on sustainable practice—the topic of standard setting (certification) is rarely considered part and parcel of African cultural heritage management, and in this book, it is addressed by Chaps. 5 (interpretation) and 6 (certification) to kick-start its consideration in the field. Existing approaches, mainly from natural resources, already provide fodder for various forms of certification.
3. A third theme is on development and economic pursuits that involve cultural resources through mediums such as tourism (Chap. 7) as well as mainstreaming into several development agendas.

1.4.3 Chapters' Highlights

This book is general enough to spark academic discussions on various topics, as well as specific (case studies) enough to guide project approach. As such it is not intended to have chapters that follow one another in logical sequence but presents topics surrounding cultural resources management in general and in Africa. It consists of nine chapters that speak to the main title of the book as follows:

Chapter 1: African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management: Theory and Practice
This chapter introduced aims, scope and conceptual approach to the topics addressed in the book. It has provided a summary of all the other chapters. The chapter has also outlined a synopsis of African cultural heritage's theoretical and practical foundations and relationship to the international context.

Development of the field from tangible (archaeological) contexts in the developed world and international perspectives has been discussed as to how it impacts on the nature of African heritage and its conceptual foundations. Types of heritages (tangible and intangible) are described and their value frameworks discussed with a bearing on sources (landscapes) and stakeholders such as communities, governments and institutions.

Chapter 2: International Conventions as Frameworks of Management and Identity for African Cultural Heritage
International interventions relating to the management of cultural and heritage resources are discussed and their implications on African heritage resources analysed. Conventions include those from United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and International Labour Organization (ILO), amongst others.

Chapter 3: The Politics of the Past: Evolving Ethnic Cultural Identities in African Traditional Governance Systems
Evolving social identity more often uses cultural resources as a foundation because culture is constituted in all social platforms. Cultural identity ideologies become diverse with every passing historical paradigm such that a practice that may have been acceptable in one historical era can be easily shunned in another. This chapter illustrates the changing faces of communal identity affiliation over time.

Chapter 4: Towards Sustainable Communities: Community-Based Cultural Heritage Resources Management (COBACHREM) Model
Although management of cultural heritage is now commonly associated with international conventions and national government policies, local communities have long devised measures of cultural conservation using their psycho-social interactions and networks as well as local indigenous knowledge systems. However, communities are currently challenged and driven by multiple modern needs that deconstruct their long built networks and impact negatively on social management of cultural and heritage resources. Formulation of management initiatives or programmes that tap into these networks before they disappear are important. A community-based cultural heritage resources (COBACHREM) is one such initiative.

Chapter 5: Interpretation: Dealing with Multiple Identities
Cultural landscapes and resources have become assets for which competing claims are bound to surface. Although the past does appear to be indeed what Lowenthal (1985) refers to as 'a foreign country', claims for those countries exist in multiple facets, particularly when applied in heritage. To aim for sustainable management of cultural resources, balanced interpretations of heritage meanings, values and affiliations are key. Few guidelines on sustainable interpretation of African landscapes and sites exist. African landscapes carry multiple identities whose interpretation requires a guideline to balance interpretation. Sub-Saharan African landscapes constitutes multiple identities that require an interpretation formulae that will ensure their balance, hence the need to actively formulate principles of interpretation. In this chapter only one case study is referred to. However, other chapters in the book also highlight the need for balance during processes of cultural identification, selection, representation and presentation.

Chapter 6: Grading and Certification: Implications for Cultural Heritage Management
Production and consumption indicators of cultural and heritage resources can only be monitored using a standard setting process that leads to a certification programme. Already, natural resources have certification mechanisms that cultural heritage managers can benchmark on. Existing certification models are outlined. Examples of processes that can constitute standard setting in cultural resources management are world heritage listing process, inventorying process, Environmental Impact Assessment, Strategic Environmental Assessment, Archaeological Impact Assessment, Social Impact Assessment, limits of acceptable change (LAC) and tourism eco-certification, amongst others. Education curriculum is also another certification medium.

Chapter 7: Heritage Enterprising: Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Tourism in Southern Africa
Tourism represents the most danger and the most opportunity for cultural resources visibility in Africa. The need by both citizens and governments to diversify economic baskets has gradually led to an unstructured incorporation of cultural and heritage tourism enterprises.

In the same manner that 'tourism redesigns and repackages nature for global consumption' (Duffy and Moore 2010:01), cultural and heritage tourism is a catalyst for both identity production and consumption. Hewison (1987) has long described this for Britain in his *Heritage Industry* publication. The degree to which cultural resources interact with tourism has to be predefined and monitored to aim for sustainable use.

Chapter 8: Mainstreaming African Cultural Resources: Heritage and Development
The chapter describes sectors in which cultural and heritage resources can be infused to catalyse social development. Methods through which African populations can harness these resources to push developmental agenda have to be brought to the forefront, particularly some of the sectors in which cultural resources can play a significant role such as education (e.g. technical and vocational education), youth development, gender, landscape and landscape planning, to mention a few.

Chapter 9: Conclusions: Sustainable Development and African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management
This chapter consolidates all discussions in the book and suggests a way forward on the subject, as well as highlight areas that require further attention.

1.5   Guide to the Book

The content of the book is organised as a semi-handbook format that caters for and addresses both intellectual and on-ground practice. In this manner, almost each chapter carries both a theoretical discussion and a practical description. The theory is exhibited by the author's discussion of issues arising and, in so doing, provides reference to scholarly literature for further reading and analysis. The practical section is provided by the case studies that situate the discussion within a practical scenario. The language of the text reflects a balance between academic reading and practitioner reference, whereby in certain instances the language is instructive. The chapters also leave the reader room for personal analysis and reflection. An academic scholar should be able to use the book to arouse her or his intellectual thought, at the same time feel guided on a point of departure to site practices. A practitioner searching for ideas to approach on-site practicalities is also not burdened with a full-on academic discourse.

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Chapter 2
International Conventions as Frameworks of Management and Identity for African Cultural Heritage

Abstract Cultural and heritage resources management strategies of various countries are influenced by both national and international doctrines. Most African national legislations on cultural heritage follow international convention models which in the field of cultural heritage management are provided by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). These conventions have become a source of reference social, economic and philosophical approaches to cultural heritage management in several African countries. Outside UNESCO, there are other conventions that are relevant to this cause and deserve to be brought on board in a significant manner. This chapter identifies, outlines and analyses international conventions' past, present and future contribution to the evolution of cultural and heritage resources conservation and management in Africa.

2.1 Introduction

Cultural heritage conservation operates in both local and global paradigms. The global paradigm has become more pronounced and necessary in most African states as illustrated by the countries' ratifications of the legal instruments that have come to be known as conventions.

International conventions have over time garnered global collectivity towards conservation of both cultural and natural resources. While in natural resources they propel protection, in cultural heritage, they have influenced African state parties to adopt certain cultural values associated with cultural resources and environments that may otherwise not have been considered at the national context.

Conventions represent a global ideology of conservation that directly and indirectly influences cultural and natural resources management in general. In sub-Saharan Africa, the influence of international conventions is evidenced by institutions such as the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) that was established to facilitate sub-Saharan Africa's participation in the process of nominating and processing sites for UNESCO world heritage listing.

As such, international conventions (Box 2.1–2.9) are ratified by African states as a form of international political cooperation that symbolises and mobilises their participation in heritage management. The ideals of ratified conventions are in turn infused into the various structures of each country's civil services, in academia and within civic institutions such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs). These structures in turn take the ideals to the general population as policy initiatives.

International conventions therefore provide a cultural heritage practitioner with readily available framework approach to tap from while at the same time provide a cultural heritage scholar with a theoretical framework to analyse and critique for refinement of cultural conservation practice in general.

In addition to UNESCO conventions (Box 2.1–2.5), other international institutions have formulated conventions that may not be perceived as specific for cultural conservation owing to the isolation contributed by what Riesch (2010) terms a boundary-based approach whereby disciplines act in isolation and/or oblivion of each other, though targeting the same object. This phenomenon is prevalent in the broader conservation field where categories such as science conservation are pitied against history, art, sociology and society. Discussions on some of the conventions outlined in the sections below illustrate these isolated efforts. These categories are adhered to during implementation, in the process compromising efficiency in resources management.

For example, within UNESCO, the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Convention is perceived of as a people-based convention and therefore with more anthropologists and sociologists. On the other hand, the 1972 World Heritage Convention is more perceived as archaeologists, physicists, hydrologists, etc. owing to its focus on phrases such as science, scientific point of view and biophysical landscapes. These subtle and virtual categories influence human teams that approach landscape management and consequently the outcome of conservation strategies.

An African heritage scholar and practitioner however does not have the luxury of boundary approach given that most biophysical sites are conflated with communal cultural values and are often used by present-day societies. Within the UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention, these fall under the category of associative cultural landscapes elaborated in detail at case study section. In comparison with several European and American world heritage sites and monuments, African landscapes of outstanding universal value are commonly utilised for traditional purposes by local populations. Examples include Le Morne Cultural Landscape in Madagascar; Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape covering Botswana, RSA, Zimbabwe; Twyfelfontein or/Ui-//aes in Namibia; Tsodilo Hills site and Okavango Delta, both in Botswana; Great Zimbabwe National Monument; and Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe. These are all associated with human use as well as being inscribed on the world heritage list, calling for other people-based conventions to be overlaid upon those that are resource-based in nature.

Most conventions outside UNESCO are however not actively considered by cultural heritage practitioners because they are commonly perceived as not specific for cultural conservation. However, the modern pressures of conservation demand that cultural heritage practitioners look outside the ordinary box of familiar legal instru-

ments and familiar institutions to tap into a much broader perspective as a way towards a holistic point of departure.

The uniqueness of this chapter, in particular, is that it emphasises the need to intertwine the commonly known UNESCO conventions with those from other institutions as a diversified approach to coordinate international efforts rather than a sole focus on UNESCO conventions, particularly the World Heritage Convention, for instance, as illustrated by Makuvaza's (2014) edited brief on 1972 UNESCO Convention's 'world heritage list' in Africa and chapters in the recently published volume by Wiley titled *A Companion to Heritage Studies* edited by Logan et al. (2016) where two of the three contributions about Africa are on UNESCO World Heritage Convention.

African cultural heritage studies need a much broader coverage to become relevant to the continent's development needs, and as such it becomes necessary for modern cultural and heritage resources conservation to set up categories that cover all facets of cultural preservation and conservation.

Recognising the prevailing isolation of other conventions besides those of UNESCO, this chapter has devised the following categories as relevant to consider when managing cultural and heritage resources in an African context:

- People-based conventions identified as:

  - International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 on the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (1989). See Box 2.7

- Cultural knowledge-based conventions identified as:

  - 1967 World Intellectual Property (WIPO) Convention Establishing the World Intellectual Property Organization that host various treaties with extreme potential to be used as frameworks of African cultural heritage conservation
  - 1971 Convention for the Protection of Producers of Phonograms

    The treaties hosted under the WIPO Convention include the 1996 WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty, 1970 Patent Cooperation Treaty, 1994 Trademark Law Treaty and 2012 Beijing Treaty on Audiovisual Performances. See Box 2.8–2.9

- Natural resources-based conventions:

  - 1971 Ramser Convention on Wetlands (see Table 2.2)
  - 1992 Convention on Biological diversity (see Box 2.6)

With the exception of UNESCO conventions, the word 'culture' and now recently 'cultural heritage' have been passively mentioned in most natural resources international conventions such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (1992) and at times brought in as an afterthought such as the 1992 chapter VIII on 'the cultural heritage of wetlands' attached to the 1971 Convention on Wetlands.

The African resources conservation discourse in general is moving towards a community-based agenda as illustrated through Chaps. 3, 4 and 5 of this book. However, a closer look reveals that what is purported to be community relevant and important is determined, and at times initiated, at international level, with a

confused and often shoddy implementation at national context where capacity on international convention planning and implementation is limited. For example, southern Africa's seemingly popular Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) programme (cf. Goldman 2003; Sebele 2010) was introduced in Botswana by a Scandinavian NGO, guided by Scandinavian model of resources management constituting approaches that are different from African norms and practices surrounding natural resources ownership and resource sharing channels and processes. The contrasts in concepts of community, e.g. ethnic as indicator of collectivity in Africa vs. geographical coverage as indicator of collectivity in Scandinavia, are also some of the areas of difference that were not accounted for (see Table 7.3 of Chap. 7 for details on legal designation of community for resources management). Failure to reconcile concepts to suit cultural context of a country like Botswana has caused conflicts during implementation of the programme such that even with a policy framework in countries like Botswana, it is continually facing challenges of community buy-in.

The aim of this chapter therefore identifies and assesses various international conventions and their implications on African cultural heritage resources conservation and management.

2.2   UNESCO Conventions

Conventions discussed in the chapter are listed as follows:

(a) 1954 Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, also known as the Hague Convention
(b) 1970 Fighting against the illicit trafficking of cultural property
(c) 1972 Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage
(d) 2001 Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage
(e) 2003 Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
(f) 2005 Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions

2.2.1   1954 Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, 1954

Adopted in 14 May 1954A; second protocol was added in 1999 to enhance the 1954 protocols.

The convention applies '…in the event of declared war or any other armed conflict which may arise…between contracting parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one or more of them' – Article 18.

This convention derived its necessity and relevance from the following events and experiences:

– World wars that destroyed monuments, sites and landscapes.
– Damage to mankind history and heritage during conflict.
– Heritage protection plan at a time of peace to avoid reactive measures and/or total destruction during war time. An example of a more recent event in African history is events that transpired during the Arab Spring rising in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Syria, even with the convention in existence.

Box 2.1 Selected Excerpts of the Convention

The convention is premised on the understanding that '…damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world'.

Identifies and define cultural heritage as:

– Movable or immovable property, including objects, collections and books
– Buildings that preserve or exhibit movable cultural property, e.g. museums and libraries
– Centres containing large amounts of cultural property

The convention protects cultural heritage against pillage or misappropriation, vandalism and requisitioning.

Article 6 (*emblem*): '…cultural property may bear a distinctive emblem so as to facilitate its recognition'.

Article 7 (2): '…The High Contracting Parties undertake to plan or establish in peace time, within their armed forces, services or specialist personnel whose purpose will be to secure respect for cultural property and to co-operate with the civilian authorities responsible for safeguarding it'.

In sub-Saharan Africa (group V(a) in UNESCO member state categories), 24 countries have acceded to the convention – i.e. ratified or accepted. Of the 24, 7 are from southern Africa being Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Madagascar, Republic of South Africa and Zimbabwe. None of southern African countries have acceded to the second 1999 protocol of the convention.

A question for African cultural conservation and management is: Can most or all of the events and experiences that led to the formulation of the convention still be identified in contemporary African states? If yes, how can we implement the guidelines of the convention as a conservation measure to safeguard African cultural heritage and interpret it in a sustainable way (Table 2.1).

Besides World War I and II that triggered the formulation of the 1954 convention at the Hague, southern Africa has had historical conflicts and wars of its own (see Table 2.1) that future scholars and interpretation practitioners can assess for implications on heritage interpretation in the present.

Table 2.1 Historical wars from southern Africa

Southern African country	Examples of historical war(s)/conflict(s)
South Africa	1803–1815 Napoleonic Wars
	1817–1819 Ndwandwe-Zulu War
	1830–1840: Great Trek
	1879 January–1879 July: Anglo-Zulu War
	1779–1879: Xhosa Wars
	1880–1881: First Boer War 1899–1902: Second Boer War
Zimbabwe	1893–1894: First Matabele War
	1896–1897: Second Matabele War
Swaziland	1899–1902: Second Boer War
Lesotho	1880–1881: Gun War
	1998: South African intervention in Lesotho
Botswana	1838–1890: Matabele and Boer Wars
	1996–1999: Sedudu/Kasikili Island conflict with Namibia
Namibia	1996–1999: Sedudu/Kasikili Island conflict with Botswana

Although not placed at a war scale, national political conflicts should be considered under this convention because their impacts can become detrimental on site preservation. Several African countries in possession of renowned cultural heritage are involved in a form of conflict that has a potential to harm sustainable existence of cultural heritage. For example UNESCO has a list of sites in danger within southern Africa as shown in Table 2.2. As earlier stated, it is necessary to research why the sites in danger have natural protected sites in the majority. Why is it that local communities fail to police protected landscapes of natural value using their socio-cultural networks. Could be that protected area model disconnects cultural residents with the landscapes, making them indifferent to the landscapes?

2.2.2   1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property

Adopted in 14 November 1970

The convention on illicit trade is important in African cultural heritage conservation in that it sensitises member states and suggests ways through which the challenge of looting sites and removing cultural material from its context can be addressed.

Movable cultural property is now a commodity whereby economic and/or monetary value is attached to cultural objects. The value can be derived from aesthetic

Table 2.2   Showing southern Africa's natural sites in danger

Southern African country	Site/monument/landscape and date and category of inscription	Notes on danger
Democratic Republic of Congo	Virunga National Park (1979)	Poaching, deforestation and pressure on the fishery resources, notably activities by isolated armed groups
	Kahuzi-Biega National Park (1980)	Political instability in the region, populations of large mammals declined dramatically
		Poaching
		Artisanal oil exploration
		Hunting
		Conversion of species habitats
	Garamba National Park (1980)	Lack of integration of the local communities in the participatory management of the Park
	Salonga National Park (1984)	Poaching using traditional methods
		Military with modern war weapons, pressure and human occupation (with accompanying impacts, such as fire, dispute of the park boundaries, commercial traffic in bush meat, forestry exploitation and pollution of the park waters)
		Integration of local communities by means of participatory management of the natural resources
	Okapi Wildlife Reserve (1996)	Lack of the involvement of the indigenous populations in the management of the reserve. Commercial poaching and artisanal mining
	All sites are listed under category 'natural'	
Madagascar	Rainforests of the Atsinanana (2007)	Agricultural encroachment, resource exploitation
United Republic of Tanzania	Selous Game Reserve (1982), national project status	Poaching
		Extraction of minerals, oil and gas
		No EIA on infrastructure projects

Note that the sites in the category 'natural' are in most danger than sites in category 'cultural' or 'mixed'

elements and/or historical substance attached to the cultural objects. Site plunder robs communities of opportunities to cultivate the value of cultural objects as well as tamper with the cultural property's inventory catalogue, deleting its archaeological and anthropological relevance whence it derives its meaning and consequently historical value.

Box 2.2 Selected Excerpts of the Convention
Adopted in 14 November 1970

Convention borne out of a consideration that '…cultural property constitutes one of the basic elements of civilization and national culture, and that its true value can be appreciated only in relation to the fullest possible information regarding its origin, history and traditional setting'

The convention's objectives are guided by the following concerns:

…the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property is an obstacle to that understanding between nations which it is part of UNESCO's mission to promote…

– Considers interchange of cultural property amongst nations.
– Considers importance of cultural property value that lies within integrated components of its origin, history and traditional setting.
– Article 5: Implementation (set up national services where laws and regulations are formed; cultural property is inventoried and movement traced; establish technical institutions; raise awareness).
– Article 6 (certification): Most importantly '…introduce an appropriate *certificate* in which the exporting State would specify that the export of the cultural property in question is authorized. The certificate should accompany all items of cultural property exported in accordance with the regulations' (Article 6(a) pg08).

The convention however only covers those cultural property that was '…imported after the entry into force of this Convention in both States concerned, provided, however that the requesting State shall pay just compensation to an innocent purchaser or to a person who has valid titled to that property…All expenses incident to the return and delivery of the cultural property shall be borne by the requesting Party' (Article 7b ii pg. 10).

It is important to note however that the convention covers only those countries that are signatory to it. In Africa, approximately 28 countries have acceded to the convention, 8 of which are from southern Africa. These are Zambia, Madagascar, Angola, Republic of South Africa, the island of Seychelles, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho (http://www.unesco.org/)

2.2.3   1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage

Adopted in November 1972

The convention assesses sites for outstanding universal value (OUV) which once inscribed renders the site part of a world heritage list. The OUV has been argued to polarise the local, while the inscription imbues a varying degree of value on the landscapes involved (cf. Keitumetse et al. 2007; Keitumetse and Nthoi 2009).

Box 2.3 Selected Excerpts of the Convention

Article 1 describes 'cultural heritage' as:

– Monuments – from the point of view of history, art or science
– Groups of buildings – from the point of view of history, art or science
– Sites – from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view

Article 2 describes 'natural heritage' as:

– Natural features of physical and biological formations; geological and physiological formations in a protected area *from the point of view of science or conservation*
– Natural sites in protected areas *from the point of view of science*, *conservation or natural beauty*

Note emphasised 'point of view' reflecting the confines of the boundary theory (Riesch 2010) referred to earlier.

Article 8 sets out 'the World Heritage Committee' made up of members representing the different regions and cultures of the world.

Article 15 establishes 'the World Heritage Fund' where compulsory and voluntary contributions are made by States Parties to the Convention.

Article 16 (1): …the States Parties to this Convention undertake to pay regularly, every 2 years, to the World Heritage Fund, contributions, the amount of which, in the form of a uniform percentage applicable to all States, shall be determined by the General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention, meeting during the sessions of the General Conference of the UNESCO.

Article 16 (4): …the contributions of States Parties to this Convention which have made the declaration to pay as per Article 16(2) shall be paid on a regular basis, at least every 2 years.

Article 16 (5): Any States Party to the Convention which is in arrears with the payment of its compulsory or voluntary contribution for the current year and the calendar year immediately preceding it shall not be eligible as a Member of the World Heritage Committee, although this provision shall not apply to the first election.

Article 22 outlines the types of assistance accorded States Parties to the Convention as follows:

(a) Studies concerning protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of natural or cultural heritage.
(b) Provide experts, technicians and skilled labour.
(c) Training of staff and specialists in the field of identification, protection, conservation presentation and rehabilitation of cultural and natural heritage.
(d) Supply rare equipment to the State for use in site conservation.
(e) Provide low interest loans repayable in long-term basis.
(f) Provide subsidies for conservation of properties.

Ratification status: All together 15 countries have either ratified or accessed to the convention.

Article 11(3): The inclusion of a property in the World Heritage List requires the consent of the State concerned.

The implication for this is twofold – so that the nomination process enjoys support of the government and buy-in of the people within which the listing will take place, as well as other state parties affected where a site is of trans-boundary nature.

However, it also is a disadvantage in that where government officials lack political will and/or professional competence to initiate and continue the process, countries do not list as much as they should. In the future, civil society and NGOs may have to be roped in to contribute more sites on the world heritage list.

2.2.3.1   Discussion: World Heritage and African States

Compared to others, the World Heritage Convention is the most widely known and commonly applied. The World Heritage brand is also known by international tourists. Placing a site on a world heritage list influences both the national and international significance, and often impacts on the local dynamics of cultural transmission. Three broad categories are considered for a site to qualify to be on the world heritage list. Table 2.3 shows number of sites per category in Africa. The categories as defined in Article 1 of the convention are:

 (i) Natural: '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'
 (ii) Cultural: 'monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science'
(iii) Mixed category: is when a site is listed as constituting both cultural and natural heritage

Africa contributes 90 (89) of the 10,031 sites on the world heritage list. Of these only 4 are of mixed category, testifying to Riesch's (2010) boundary theory discussed earlier. In Africa, the established economic significance of wilderness and

Table 2.3 Number of world heritage properties by region (©unesco.org 2015)

2015						
Regions	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total	%	States parties with inscribed properties
Africa	48	37	4	89	9 %	33
Arab States	73	4	2	79	8 %	18
Asia and the Pacific	168	59	11	238	23 %	35
Europe and North America	420	61	10	491	48 %	50
Latin America and the Caribbean	93	36	5	134	13 %	27
Total	802	197	32	1031	100 %	163

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wildlife resources propel conservationists to go for listing sites as natural at the exclusion of cultural. Natural resources data is also readily available through long-term research and support by institutions such as IUCN thus easily accessible. The ideal scenario is that most sites have both natural and cultural component and should be listed as such.

2.2.4   2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Adopted in 17 October 2003, Paris

A community-based heritage convention

The convention represents a significant value-add to the 1972 World Heritage Convention. For African cultural heritage, its key component is the direct recognition of communities as cultural heritage custodians.

Box 2.4 Selected Excerpts of the Convention

The convention was adopted as a consideration of 'the deep-seated interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage'.

Article 1(b) emphasises one of the purposes of the convention as 'to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned'.

Article 2 (1) defines intangible cultural heritage as 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage'.

Article 2(2) outlines domains or processes within which intangible cultural heritage is constituted as oral traditions and expressions; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship.

Article 12 specifies the operations of safeguarding which is through creation of inventories.

Article 13 describes mechanisms that support inventorying as policy formulation; identification of competent bodies; and establishment of scientific, fostering technical and artistic studies, amongst others.

Article 15 speaks to active involvement of communities, groups and individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage.

Like the World Heritage Convention, the 2003 convention works through representative list (Article 16) and list of intangible heritage in need of urgent safeguarding (Article 17).

And other operational clauses within the host institution, UNESCO

Intangible cultural heritage has been described as an opportunity through which 'The First Voice in Heritage Conservation' (Gala 2008) could be accessed and included. The 2003 convention's intellectual and operational principles have been interrogated by various scholars (cf. Kurin 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Deacon 2004; Munjeri 2004; Keitumetse 2006; Vecco 2010; Stefano et al. 2014). The research reflects the interest that emanated from adoption of the convention. In addition, an International Journal of Intangible Cultural Heritage (IJICH) was set up, largely because of commitment from ICOM Korea.

2.2.5   2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions

Adopted in 20 October 2005, Paris, France
  Considered a convention for arts and artists

Box 2.5 Selected Text of the Convention
Article 1(c): the objective of the convention is to encourage dialogue amongst cultures.

Article 4 describes cultural diversity as manifest '…through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination and enjoyment…'.

Article 16 makes provision for preferential treatment for developing countries stating that:

Developed countries shall facilitate cultural exchanges with developing countries by granting, through the appropriate institutional and legal frameworks, preferential treatment to artists and other cultural professionals and practitioners, as well as cultural goods and services from developing countries

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2.2.6   1989 UNESCO Convention on Technical and Vocational Education, Adopted 17 October 1989, at the Twenty-Fifth Session of the General Assembly

This convention falls under education-focused conventions whereby cultural heritage can be mainstreamed into existing curriculum strategies.

Of all cultural transmission avenues, education system looks to be the inevitable medium through which traditional culture and heritage could be spread to future generations. With the advent of modern education system, African youths spend more and more time in formal schools, and it is only logical that modern management of cultural and heritage resources feature education-based conventions

as part and parcel of African cultural conservation. One way or the other, the cultural resources have to be brought into the classroom. Studies exploring ways to incorporate cultural heritage conservation into technical and vocational education curriculum (Cf. Moeti 2015) have to be conducted to shape modalities on the ground.

There are a number of conventions and agreements on education. However, the most promising for African cultural heritage safeguarding is the convention on technical and vocational education which, through its practical rather than theoretical pedagogical approach, contains mechanisms that allow for transfer of cultural skills from generation to generation. The ideals of this convention are tied to some sections of the ILO Convention described below that also addresses cultural skills transfer, though indirectly.

Considering the unsatisfactory ratification of the ILO Convention even though it represents sections that are key for cultural conservation, a focus on the convention on technical and vocational training can help spearhead some of the elements of the ILO Convention since the 1989 convention was adopted after 'Noting further the close collaboration between UNESCO and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in drawing up their respective instruments so that they pursue harmonious objectives and with a view to continuing fruitful collaboration'.

In southern Africa, only Zambia and Zimbabwe have acceded to the convention.

2.3   Other Resources Conservation Conventions

This section discusses conventions that are categorised in this research as natural resources based but have an unacknowledged impact on cultural and heritage resources. Two conventions are outlined: the 1971 Ramser Convention on Wetlands and the 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity.

2.3.1   1971 Ramsar Convention on Wetlands: With a 1992 Chapter on 'the Cultural Heritage of Wetlands (Resolution VIII)'

Within UNESCO conventions, its sister convention is the 2005 Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage.

In 1992, 20 years after the convention was adopted, the Ramser Bureau adopted Resolution VIII.19: Guiding principles for taking into account the cultural values of wetlands to allow for the effective management of sites.

Some of the wetlands in Table 2.4 are also of trans-boundary nature, indicating cross-border cultures, thus providing opportunities to study cross-border people and environment.

Table 2.4 Examples of southern African wetlands that can benefit from a combined approach of natural and cultural resources conservation (Ramsar Bureau website)

Country	Total area covered by wetlands (hectares)	Names of individual wetlands in country	Notes
Botswana (1)	5,537,400	Okavango Delta System	
Zambia (8)	4,030,500	Bangweulu Swamps, Northern Province	
		Busanga Swamps, Northwestern Province	
		Kafue Flats, Southern and Central Provinces	
		Luangwa Flood Plains, Eastern Province	
		Lukanga Swamps, Central Province	
		Mweru-wa-Ntipa, Northern Province	
		Tanganyika, Northern Province 230,000	
		Zambezi Floodplains	
South Africa (20)	553,178	Barberspan, Northwest	
		Blesbokspruit, Gauteng	
		De Hoop Vlei, Western Cape	
		De Mond (Heuningnes Estuary), Western Cape	
		Kosi Bay, KwaZulu/Natal	
		Lake Sibaya, KwaZulu/Natal 7	
		Langebaan, Western Cape	
		Makuleke Wetlands, Limpopo	
		Natal Drakensberg Park, KwaZulu/Natal	
		Ndumo Game Reserve, KwaZulu/Natal	
		Ntsikeni Nature Reserve, KwaZulu/Natal	
		Nylsvley Nature Reserve, Northern Province	
		Orange River mouth, Northern Cape	
		Prince Edward Island, Western Cape	
		St. Lucia System, KwaZulu/Natal	
		Seekoeivlei Nature Reserve, Free State	
		Turtle Beaches/Coral Reefs of Tongaland, KwaZulu/Natal	
		Verloren Valei Nature Reserve *1*, Mpumalanga	
		Verlorenvlei, Western Cape	
		Wilderness Lakes, Western Cape	
Namibia (4)	629,600	Etosha Pan, Lake Oponona and Cuvelai drainage	
		Orange River mouth	
		Sandwich Harbour	
		Walvis Bay	

2.3.2 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)

Box 2.6 Excerpts from the Convention
The part of the convention that actively relates to cultural resources is Article 10 (c) on 'Sustainable Use of Components of Biological Diversity' stating that:

> Each Contracting Party shall protect and encourage customary use of biological resources in accordance with traditional cultural practices that are compatible with conservation or sustainable use requirements

In other sections, the word 'cultural' is passively mentioned.

2.4 People-Based Conventions

Some of UNESCO conventions outlined earlier do refer to people, and some such as the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage refer solely to heritage derived from people. However, besides UNESCO there are other conventions that are people specific. In particular, the International Labour Organization (ILO) hosts one such convention being the revised 1989 Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. Some sections from this convention directly relate to UNESCO mandate and can be consolidated to enhance efforts towards cultural conservation. A heightened awareness on the part of heritage managers is needed to identify characteristics that can be consolidated from both institutions and the legal instruments.

2.4.1 1989 International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries

Adopted in 27 June 1989 by the General Conference of the International Labour Organization at its 76th session

The convention is an amendment of its predecessor 1957 Convention No. 107 on 'Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention', which was viewed as more assimilationist in approach.

Under the umbrella of human rights and 'non-discrimination', the convention deals with various rights of indigenous and tribal of communities. Its particular relevance to cultural and heritage conservation in Africa and southern Africa, in particular, lies in its focus on indigenous and tribal peoples. Examples are the San in Namibia, Botswana and the Republic of South Africa. As Chap. 3 will illustrate, 'tribal' is an indicator of communal identity that drives the politics of communal and landscape belonging in Africa.

As a legal instrument, the convention is not popular with most African countries as they have not adopted it, perhaps given its political dispensation towards indigenous groups above others.

Of the 22 countries that have ratified this convention, only 1 is from Africa, being the Central African Republic.

However, several of the convention content serves cultural conservation well as it is rooted in communal cultural heritage.

Box 2.7 Selected Excerpts from the Convention
- Article 1 of the convention describes people that are referred to by the convention as follows:
- 1(a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations; and in addressing the trans-boundary nature of such populations, Article 1(b) states as follows:
- 1(b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.
- The intangible cultural heritage aspect is addressed in *article 5(a)*: The social, cultural, religious and spiritual values and practices of these peoples shall be recognised and protected, and due account shall be taken of the nature of the problems which face them both as groups and as individuals.
- Research relevance on the lives of the indigenous and tribal peoples is addressed in *Article 7:3*: Governments shall ensure that, whenever appropriate, studies are carried out, in cooperation with the peoples concerned, to assess the social, spiritual, cultural and environmental impact on them of planned development initiatives. The results of these studies shall be considered as fundamental criteria for the implementation of these activities.
- *Article 22:2* addresses vocational training, handicrafts and rural industries. It states that: 'Whenever existing program of vocational training of general application do not meet the special needs of the peoples concerned, governments shall, with the participation of these peoples, ensure the provision of special training program facilities'. The statement is crucial since it has been observed that indigenous and traditional skills transfers are dying with the advent of modernity. Therefore, Article 22's focus on indigenous and tribal peoples' cultural products emanating from vocational engagement is of paramount importance in retention of skills and associated indigenous knowledge used for community innovation and enterprise.

2.4.2   Summary and Discussion of People-Based Conventions

Issues addressed in Chap. 4 on developing a community-based cultural conservation approach as well as Chap. 8 on mainstreaming vocational education as part of cultural conservation will show that African cultural heritage management requires an interplay between the legal instruments, rather than isolated perspectives. The challenge for a heritage practitioner is in finding a way to distill necessary components and group them together for enhanced conservation and management.

Indigenous and tribal peoples' vocations and associated cultural heritage knowledge and skills exist in abundance amongst communities living in the periphery of national parks (cf. Keitumetse et al. 2011). Strengthening of traditional vocational skills of indigenous and tribal peoples also provides opportunities for economic development and social empowerment using cultural heritage tourism which is gradually taking root in sub-Saharan Africa but with little understanding on how it can be approached.

2.4.2.1   United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007

Housed under the United Nations Human Rights Council, the declaration was adopted in 2007 to provide a common framework through which implementation of indigenous people's rights is approached. Forums such as Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, Working Group on Indigenous Populations, Working Group on Minorities, etc. are operating arms of the broader declaration.

Interest on cultural belonging as an indicator of human rights and freedom of expression is growing. In Africa, however, the concept of human rights quite often clash with conservative cultural practices that are cited by NGOs in particular as against international human rights outlined in a global context. A cultural and heritage resources scholar and practitioner is challenged to find an in-between approach that balances the two world views towards an ideal rather than prioritising one against another as this only leads to more conflict and lack of achievement of the ideal for those concerned. An example is that of the work of Survival International (SI) NGO (http://www.survivalinternational.org/) not only in Botswana but in other countries where it is pitying one extreme ideology against another in dealing with issues relating to indigenous communities, thereby creating a situation better expressed by an African proverb that says where two bulls fight, the grass is the one that suffers. This is not to say SI is not doing a necessary job but rather that the approach towards the goal has to take stock of the global context within which such communities exist. A contrasting example to SI is an approach adopted by an NGO such as Minority Rights Group International (MRGI) (http://minorityrights.org/) that is working with and strengthening national NGOs in dealing with communities categorised as minority and marginalised, mostly those that view themselves as autochthonous (see Chap. 3), rather than those of an indigenous category. One example of a partnership between MRG and local NGO called the Endorois Welfare

Council (EWC) is a case discussed by Lynch (2011) concerning the Endorois in Kenya's Lake Bogoria, Rift Valley Province. Despite being relocated and assimilated into other cultures before, they reconnected their cultural identities to showcase their status as 'indigenous' and consequently with claims to the land of Lake Bogoria which was turned into a game reserve (Lynch 2011).

2.5 Cultural Knowledge-Based Conventions

Most of the conventions associated with cultural heritage management – those of UNESCO – do not specifically concern themselves with the management of knowledge. As already highlighted, this is an oversight contributed to by the skewed focus on material culture as cultural heritage. Knowledge is situated at people level where a convention concerning itself with intangible heritage derives its heritage for listing.

The world over, contests for ownership of cultural objects and/or material culture continue to increase over time, though most times the repatriation process outlined in the convention on protection of illicit trafficking is not invoked. Diplomatic relations are at the heart of the lack of action, but for African countries, the cost of repatriation as well as the cost of sustained conservation of such material once in the continent may make it difficult to implement the process of repatriation in earnest. With the advent of the Arab Spring coupled with militants' destruction of monuments and cultural objects in countries like Syria and Iraq, questions of cultural objects' security are also surfacing for Africa – whether the objects are safe in developed countries or unsafe in developing countries.

However, knowledge is proving to be an evolving asset in need of proper management if African intangible cultural heritage is to be preserved, conserved and used for the continent's sustainable development. Knowledge as a form of intangible heritage, is more pronounced within a sense of shared grassroots community found in Africa's ethnic and tribal relations that host communal identity platforms. Thus, conservation and management of cultural *knowledge* rather than objects is gradually becoming paramount.

African knowledge has been passed from generation to generation – some openly shared, some guarded as sacred and/or the preserve of selective members of a family or community and some yet to be discovered and shared.

2.5.1 Risk of Knowledge Secession

While awaiting these processes, the risk of the knowledge disappearing with elder generations is prevalent. Over and above that, in the modern consumption (entertainment industry) and production (creative industry) of cultural knowledge, the risk is that of unacknowledged secession of communal cultural knowledge to individuals through copyrights, trademarks and at times patents.

In particular, intangible cultural knowledge is at risk of being monopolised by those that gain the insight and opportunity to patent it, while rural African communities remain in the dark. An example that exhibit similar risks is provided by the patents surrounding traditional knowledge associated with hoodia plant and its effects on diet and body weight control. This knowledge has been known and used by indigenous Bushmen/San of the Kalahari for ages.

Global Forum on Bioethics in Research (GFBR) outlines a case study that *Hoodia gordonii* was transformed to scientific knowledge by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) of South Africa, who learnt of the plant's value in 1963 and identified a component (P57) that became the intellectual property from the knowledge of the San/Bushmen and was patented in 1995. The patent was then transformed to enterprise and economic benefit through a licencing process to a biotech company called Phytopharm in 1997, which then sublicensed it to another private company called Pfizer for USD21 million. This then became the sole patent and benefit of private companies who for many years reaped profits from this patent-transformed knowledge rather than the knowledge having been a resource with beneficiation opportunities for communities in question. It was only in 2001 that NGOs such as Working Group on Indigenous Minorities of Southern Africa (WIMSA) took the case up and manage to secure some recognition in the form of traditional knowledge. In March 2003 some agreement was reached where CSIR will pay certain percentages of milestone payments it receives from Phytopharm to the San. A Hoodia Benefit-Sharing Trust was set up. However, it is reported that '… as of August 1, 2003, Pfizer discontinued its development program for P57 and returned the sub-licence rights to Phytopharm' who have to look for new partners and discontinue any financial benefit. This means that over time the long benefits have accrued to private companies but not the knowledge bearers. Phytopharm secured a partnership with Unilever which replaced Pfizer (Business Day: 2006).

More reading on related issues can be found in literature such as by Wynberg et al. (2009) and Brown (1998, 2009).

The advent of the 2003 UNESCO Convention (Keitumetse 2007) for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage prompts the need for incorporation of the ILO Convention because the two combined bring rigour to intangible cultural heritage protection.

The conventions referred to are outlined below for the modern African cultural heritage resources practitioner to acknowledge and appreciate their relevance in contemporary cultural heritage management.

Certain aspects of knowledge have always been treated as commodities, therefore largely guarded and only shared with certain quarters of a community (see Keitumetse 2007 on ICH Convention). This is more common in security matters but has since evolved, with the advent of academic publishing to various forms of knowledge.

Patenting, copyrighting and trademarking can act as default knowledge security mechanisms in modern cultural heritage management approaches. African traditional knowledge on the other hand situated at a more communal existence, where tools such as patenting and copyrighting are hard to discern. Intellectual property rights become important in this regard to safeguard communally owned knowledge

earmarked for future enterprise by communities. In this regard, the WIPO Convention is a centre-stage instrument to be considered by cultural heritage practitioners.

2.5.2   1967 World Intellectual Property (WIPO) Convention and Associated Treaties

Adopted in 14 July 1967, Stockholm. Amended in 28 September 1979

This convention is relevant for both tangible and intangible heritage, but more significantly its outstanding focus on the latter. Its importance for African cultural heritage scholarship is that it addresses the concerns of knowledge bearers by formulating rules of conduct that govern the production and consumption of cultural and traditional knowledge. In the modern world, cultural and heritage resources, including knowledge, exists in an enterprise thirsty environment, beyond heritage for its own sake, hence the need for mechanisms of how knowledge can be guarded in a way that will benefit communities from whence it originates. One of the initiatives that can be considered in order to achieve sustainable development of communities using their cultural knowledge is through protection mechanisms embedded within the WIPO Convention and its treaties. The treaties spearhead organisation of cultural knowledge that can be used in the future to bargain for economic (Chap. 7), political (Chap. 3 illustrates) and social opportunities.

The WIPO Convention is concerned with intellectual property (IP) as creations of the mind, rather than biophysical landscapes. These include amongst others inventions; literary and artistic works; designs; and symbols, names and images used in commerce (http://www.wipo.int/about-ip/en/index.html#ip). The products can also be tied to the scope of 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage outlined in this chapter, as well as the ILO Convention No. 169 section on indigenous and tribal communities' vocations associated with local indigenous knowledge and socio-cultural practices embedded in their traditions.

Although the convention does not feature keywords such as 'cultural', 'heritage' and 'communities', its focus on intellectual property is relevant for the complex chain of societal processes fed by indigenous knowledge systems and traditional skills. For example, the convention's copyright, trademark and patent procedures can be used to protect and secure people's skills knowledge associated with traditional labour and other intellectual pursuits, thereby minimising the risks of intellectual property being exploited by members outside its custodianship. Low literacy rates and lack of exposure to global competitive schemes such as copyrighting, trademarking and patenting places communities in rural Africa at the risk of losing ownership and control of their intellectual properties as these are processed in an environment outside of their world view.

Ratification: all of the 15 southern African countries have ratified the overall WIPO Convention. WIPO treaties are contracted separately. In total 188 countries have contracted to the convention.

> **Box 2.8 Selected Excerpts from the Convention**
> Article 2 (viii) describes intellectual property as rights towards the following:
>
> – Literary, artistic and scientific works
> – Performances of performing artists, phonograms and broadcasts
> – Inventions in all fields of human endeavour
> – Scientific discoveries
> – Industrial designs
> – Trademarks, service marks and commercial names and designations
> – Protection against unfair competition

Concerns are always raised regarding protection against unregulated exploitation and of indigenous knowledge (Keitumetse 2007). Scholars and practitioners of cultural heritage have to pay attention to processes and procedures documenting and/or inventorying knowledge and practices associated with rural communities in particular. Individual businesses that are privy to intellectual property rules are turning indigenous knowledge components into trademarks and copyrights.

A modern African heritage practitioner has to be prepared to mobilise relevant stakeholders to protect knowledge assets from being misappropriated by giving guidance on how to register and secure knowledge property of those concerned. Registered private companies and individuals engaged in the production of cultural music at times copyright communal heritage as their knowledge which then bars future community associations from tapping into the communal knowledge resource. Under the rules of intellectual property registration, they will no longer be available for community trusts when they finally understand the process of copyright. Therefore, in the more international cultural production (e.g. creative performances for individual artists) and consumption (e.g. by tourists or visiting artists from other cultures), it becomes necessary for a practitioner to understand the WIPO global operations for the sake of the non-literate cultural bearers.

The 1967 WIPO Convention's main objective was to set up the institution which in turn operates through various treaties. For the purposes of this chapter and the book, a few select treaties identified as more relevant are selected and briefly outlined as necessary approaches to African cultural heritage conservation. Scholars and practitioners of cultural heritage have to pursue in-depth research on these treaties to scrutinise their application because more often intellectual concepts of ownership and security that guide international instruments such as the WIPO treaties are situated within a European world view and therefore require reconciliation with African contexts for compatibility.

Implementation of conservation practices often face a cultural clash with African world view and become unsuccessful in practice. For instance, in most African cultures, knowledge is communally owned as, for example, the knowledge that exists

and is shared through folktales and folklore. Folktales are commonly reproduced in traditional music by registered private musicians in southern Africa.

In general the direct significance of the WIPO Convention to modern African cultural heritage conservation and management lies in its reference to traditional knowledge, traditional cultural expressions and genetic resources and the characteristics found in the treaties that protect ownership of an intangible resource. WIPO treaties that a contemporary African scholar and practitioner have to appraise themselves with are identified in this book as follows:

2.5.2.1 1971 Convention for the Protection of Producers of Phonograms Against Unauthorized Duplication of Their Phonograms

Phonograms are letters that represent sounds, commonly encountered in music production. WIPO is concerned with performers and producers of phonograms. The convention protects producers' phonograms from importation, duplicate, distribution, without the producer's consent. The protection extends to countries where a producer is not a national.

Ratification: One country from southern Africa (Democratic Republic of Congo) has ratified the convention and five more from the rest of Africa being Burkina Faso, Egypt, Kenya and Liberia and Togo. In total 78 countries have contracted to the convention as of August 2015. The sections that follow describe treaties that are administered under the WIPO and have a bearing on cultural knowledge management. These are:

– Performances and Phonograms Treaty
– Patent Cooperation Treaty
– Patent Law Treaty
– Trademark Law Treaty
– Beijing Treaty on Audiovisual Performances

1996 WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty

Adopted in 20 December 1996

It is an improvement of the 1961 Convention for the Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organizations, otherwise known as the 'Rome Convention' which is not outlined in this chapter.

In addition to the umbrella 1971 Convention on Protection of Phonograms outlined above, the performances treaty protects performers. Key terms contained in other treaties such as the 2012 Beijing Treaty on Audiovisual Performances are discussed later in this section.

Box 2.9 Select Excerpts of the Treaty
Chapter 1, Article 2(a), describes *performers* as '…actors, singers, musicians, dancers, and other persons who act, sing, deliver, declaim, play in, interpret, or otherwise perform literary or artistic works or expressions of folklore'.

Chapter 1, Article 2(b), describes *phonogram* as '…the fixation of the sounds of a performance or of other sounds, or of a representation of sounds, other than in the form of a fixation incorporated in a cinematographic or other audiovisual work'.

Chapter 1, Article 2(c), describes *fixation* as '…the embodiment of sounds, or of the representations thereof, from which they can be perceived, reproduced or communicated through a device'.

In southern Africa, Botswana, Madagascar, Namibia and South Africa are contracting parties to the treaty.

2.5.2.2   1970 Patent Cooperation Treaty

Adopted in 19 June 1970, Washington, DC

The treaty facilitates international protection of patents amongst member states through integrated regional systems. Some of the regional instruments specific to an African cultural heritage scholar are as follows:

– Harare Protocol on Patents and Industrial Designs
– Revised Bangui Agreement Relating to the Creation of an African Intellectual Property Organization
– The African Regional Industrial Property Organization (ARIPO), the African Intellectual Property Organization (OAPI)

Contracting parties include 148 countries who are all obliged to protect a registered patent in any one of them. Of these, 41 are African state parties, 13 of which are from southern Africa being Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

2000 Patent Law Treaty

It harmonises and streamlines formal procedures of patent applications and patents in a user-friendly manner for member states (WIPO, 2000). The treaty works within the provisions of the International Patent System which assists applicants seeking patent protection, makes decisions on patents and facilitates access to technical information on patenting inventions.

Thirty six (36) countries are contracting parties to the treaty, 16 of which are African countries, with 4 from southern Africa being Zambia, Swaziland, Malawi and Madagascar.

2.5.2.3   1994 Trademark Law Treaty

The treaty simplifies trademark applications for member states by assisting to '…standardize and streamline national and regional trademark registration procedures'. This treaty is relevant for modern cultural conservation because creative individuals and communities are accorded an opportunity to protect their cultural significance from open-market manipulation by applying to consolidate components certain aspects of their cultural heritage to be trademarked for a cultural group, community trust and/or individual property. The treaty provides potential for future innovation and benefit sharing using the protected aspects of knowledge.

Fifty-three (53) countries are contracting parties to the treaty. Eleven (11) are African, and only 2 come from the southern African region being South Africa and Swaziland.

2.5.2.4   2012 Beijing Treaty on Audiovisual Performances

Adopted in 24 June 2012, Beijing, China

The treaty grants economic and moral rights to audiovisual performers so that they exercise the right to authorise the broadcasting and communication of their packaged audiovisual performances.

Key phrases of the treaty are identified as follows:

– *Moral rights* are identified as '…the right to claim to be identified as the performer…and the right to object to any distortion, mutilation, or other modification that would be prejudicial to the performer's reputation, taking into account the nature of the audiovisual fixations'.
– *Economic rights* are categorised into four: the right of reproduction, the right of distribution, the right of rental and the right of making available.

Only one country from southern Africa, Botswana, has ratified the convention as of August 2015.

To enhance coordination in cultural conservation, scholarly critique and practitioner implementation should consider a treaty such as this one in conjunction with others outside WIPO like the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Botswana example:

Botswana is the only African country that has ratified the treaty as of August 2015; therefore, a brief assessment of the country's existing structures that enable implementation of the treaty is given as an example below.

- To facilitate registrar of societies (e.g. community trusts), the country has established the Registrar of Companies and Intellectual Property (ROCIP) department under the Ministry of Trade and Industry to mirror the commercial notion of intellectual property management in modern times.
- The Companies and Intellectual Property Association (CIPA) was established in 2011 through an Act of Parliament being Companies and Intellectual Property Act to 'register businesses and protect intellectual property'.
- As a follow-up to government initiatives, non-government institutions such as the copyright society of Botswana (COSBOTS website: http://www.cosbots. com/) have been set up.

However, there is still a lot to be done to align the initiatives with purely cultural knowledge conservation ideals rather than commercial management.

2) Another ministry, The Ministry of Infrastructure and Technology, is currently working on a Botswana Indigenous Knowledge Policy which will address intellectual property management merging the commercial approach and intellectual property designated to work for traditional knowledge systems. Refer to ministry website for details: http://www.gov.bw/en/Ministries--Authorities/Ministries/MIST-Events/ Tools--Services/News/Ministry-of-Infrastructure-Science-and-Technology-Study-on-Indigenous-Knowledge-Progressing-Well/. The country is benchmarking from South Africa's 2004 indigenous knowledge policy discussed in detail in the section that follows.

Enterprising indigenous knowledge, which is a form of intangible cultural heritage, can lead to both negative and positive outcomes.

The positive role can be realised if local communities possessing intangible heritage are privy to the packaging mechanisms and can take full advantage of them with open understanding. It can be negative whereby the packaging is designated and owned by those that are not original custodians of the knowledge.

It is common to come across individual businesses that carry registered trademarks belonging to popularly known community cultures like those of the Bushmen/ San. The main challenge is to have relevant employees in the companies set up by governments like those of Botswana that can assess applications for cultural knowledge that should not be individualised or privatised. Employment of cultural custodians in organisations such as Botswana's CIPA is necessary so that they can use anthropological, historical, archaeological, cultural heritage and knowledge to assess whether a particular registration violates communal cultural rights.

2.5.2.5 Example: 2004 Indigenous Knowledge Systems of Policy of the Republic of South Africa

Informed implementation requires reference to best practice case studies. In this section, South Africa provides an example of a country managing knowledge through policy formulation. The country has other cultural heritage management legislation that will go with this policy (cf. Ndlovu 2011).

The policy is formulated under the auspices of the Ministry for Science and Technology of South Africa. It was submitted to WIPO's Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore at its ninth session in April 2006.

It is conceptualised as a broad strategy to affirm local identity in the face of globalisation which is acknowledged as contributing to '…the imposition of different ideas and values to create a homogenous worldwide culture in the global village'. International conventions in particular are some of the tools through which imposition is manifested.

The policy supports developmental agenda such as IKS as innovation, IKS as part of sustainable development and IKS as an employment generator for rural people who host it in the majority.

Structures needed that support implementation of the policy are identified as a National Office; an advisory Committee; IKS units; IKS inventory system, IKS laboratories; development function department; and IKS fund, legislation and administration.

The policy acknowledges that indigenous knowledge is associated with heritage and cultural tradition with particular reference to traditional and local knowledge, hosted by African societies and communities, particularly women. For South Africa in particular, the IKS policy is further viewed as an affirmation of African cultural values in a global space following a long span of apartheid where the knowledge was '…marginalized, suppressed, and subjected to ridicule'.

Religious ceremonies, agricultural practices and health interventions are also identified as ways through which indigenous knowledge manifests itself.

Initiatives already put in place to support the policy include development of a national language policy, research into the promotion and copyright of indigenous music and art forms; development of Traditional Health Practitioners legislation and establishment of the traditional Health Practitioners Council, research programmed on medicinal plants at the National Research Foundation.

Certification of IKS is planned through educational curriculum, e.g. National Qualifications Framework (NQF).

Green et al.'s (2007) scholarly analysis of RSA's indigenous knowledge policy implementation in African universities posits that a set-up of units in departments cannot on its own significantly infuse IKS in universities but rather that there is need to '…rethink the ways in which knowledge is produced and authorized' which is a valid observation. I will add that also this engagement should not be just confined to university authorisation and researcher copyright but extended to questions of how, in the context of partnership with local communities, can the benefits be equitably allocated between university researchers and local communities as represented by indigenous knowledge bearers, custodians and carriers.

The Republic of South Africa is providing a leading role in the region in establishing an IKS policy. However, it is important to note that for each country, the tenants for affirmation of identity, contribution to economy and interaction with other systems will always remain varied. For example, given South Africa's unique historical experience with apartheid, it is acknowledged that affirmation of African

identity will be different from countries like Botswana which has a different histori-cal experience.

2.5.3   Summary: Knowledge-Based Conventions

It is common for African knowledge exchange and traditional performances to take place in an open-access forum. Although the performance can be identified as com-munal and be traced to certain ethnic or tribal groups in a society, they are at risk of the same open-access reproduction and copyrighting by creative entities outside those ethnic groups. Rural African communities in particular are also excluded by lack of literacy and limited international interaction to fully assert and implement protection mechanisms that could protect and secure/bank cultural knowledge and skills systems for future economic benefits.

The conservation structure of community-based organisations in southern Africa can be used to build capacity of community institutions to engage in registration and creation of archival storages of trademarks, copyrights and patents of community cultural heritage for future generations. Strengthened community-led NGOs are important in this regard.

As earlier highlighted and illustrated in Chaps. 3, 4 and 5, African cultural heri-tage is largely situated at community structures. This characteristic is both an advan-tage and a disadvantage when it comes to knowledge management: the former because it guarantees and secures custodianship and the latter because communities evolve and place demands on shared heritage creating complex ownership channels that compromise cultural existence. It is crucial that conventions such as WIPO and associated treaties are incorporated to facilitate sustainable cultural consumption mechanisms.

2.6   Discussion: International Conventions and Impact on African Cultural Heritage Management

The varieties of international conventions presents themselves as an *a la carte* menu to African governments who have the responsibility to pick conventions that strengthen conservation in their countries. Observations however have shown that the plate pickings are often mismatched, resulting in conservation gaps at country level. African countries need to curb this problem by balancing their political office bearers with their qualified experts in fields addressed by a particular convention.

Infield (2001) has likened omission of cultural heritage components in natural resources management to a 'forgotten strategy'.

One of the significant factors that contributes to discordant application of inter-national conventions is best analysed using the 'theory of boundary work' (Riesch

2010), whereby '…when people categorize things into distinct groups, they tend to overestimate the differences in features, and underestimate features they have in common' (Riesch 2010: 459). This applies often to cultural aspects of natural resources conventions. Examples include the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention which for a long time focused on the physical characteristics of sites than the fluid socio-cultural aspects even though the wording of the convention catered for them.

For African heritage however, people are part and parcel of physical landscapes and structures, and discounting them can only lead to unsustainable management of the resources and the broader environment.

A later case study discussion of Okavango Delta will illustrate through the Ramsar Convention and the World Heritage Convention that beyond ratification, implementation of cultural and sociological components rarely takes place, even where these exist in abundance.

The case study also illustrates an outcome of when epistemological boundaries are extended to on-ground resources management, as earlier indicated in Chap. 1. The listing of Okavango Delta world heritage site in Botswana as a natural site rather than a mixed site is an example that can be attributed to a nomination process dominated by natural scientists who based 'outstanding value' on biophysical aspects at the exclusion of social science experts who would have contributed the other side of the coin.

More often protected areas categorised as belonging to the natural value category are approached solely as natural resources landscapes resulting in failure to synchronise both nature and culture in site management. In some cases such an approach consequently creates communal conservation conflicts that put a burden on some southern African governments to pull alternative resources such as the military to 'protect' physical boundaries. Table 2.2 shows sites in danger from the UNESCO world heritage list. All are natural sites.

Infusing cultural aspects of national parks can diffuse conflicts as people become motivated to associate landscapes with their cultural (personal) identities found in those landscapes through social science and humanities research approaches. Currently, communities around protected areas can be said to have cultivated social indifference towards the landscapes that through time have become branded solely as wildlife and wilderness havens.

Most of southern African's protected parks and game reserves suffer from this isolation whereby their conservation is spearheaded from a point of departure of 'science' for natural resources, in contrast with sustainable development that calls for synergy between science-based and social science-based approaches.

At disciplinary context, the origin of cultural heritage studies in archaeology mentioned in chapter one illustrates the 'boundary' theory much clearly. For a long time (30 years) in Europe where majority of African heritage scholars have graduated, archaeological heritage management has been premised on the experiences that guided the formulation of the 1954 convention, themselves guided by the need to protect monuments at times of conflict. The intangible aspects of the destroyed sites and monuments were for a long time not considered under international convention management. African governments ratified conventions dealing with the

physical as a follow-up to the international 'norm' and by consequent promoted and made acceptable the world view and perception of managed cultural heritage as tangible and visible structures. Characteristics of African cultural heritage are such that people are always part of the equation.

The current existing approach by UNESCO whereby the 2003 ICH Convention lists sites separately, and the 1972 WH Convention also lists sites separately, is evidence of a yet-to-be coordinated international management strategy. An ideal scenario would be that once a site has been identified for nomination, state party simultaneously engages in a process of listing intangible heritage aspects alongside the tangible to reflect the human-environment interactions characteristic of African landscapes.

The same epistemological and practical implementation 'boundaries' can also be observed within the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) that contains a clause on incorporation of cultural heritage, but it is rarely, if ever addressed through the convention in most protected sites. The CBD has one clause referring to cultural resources. The 1971 Ramsar Convention on Wetlands' chapter adopted in the same year (1992) deals with 'the cultural heritage of wetlands' and emphasises not only 'biological' but 'cultural' aspects. The lack of on the ground implementation renders the convention text ceremonial.

It may be that synergy between nature and culture in protected landscapes requires acknowledgement at the highest level of each convention formulation rather than annexed addendums in the form of 'chapters'.

It may be that a stand-alone convention on resources (not just biological) diversity is urgently needed.

In the meantime, cultural heritage practitioners have to heighten awareness on these loopholes to initiate strategies to interconnect the various conventions per site management approach. Given that most of sub-Saharan Africa is yet to ratify a number of conventions, as well as place its sites on the world heritage list, a window of opportunity to improve still exists.

The case study presented in the section that follows consolidates discussions on international conventions presented earlier and assesses the protected area of natural value to illustrate how at times the multiple legal frameworks contradict to one another, resulting in unsustainable management of both cultural and natural resources. In addition, the case illustrates the oblivious and often deliberate divide between nature and culture perpetuated by the protected area model and a conservation approach based on epistemological underpinnings.

2.6.1 Case Study: The 'Significant Other' in Nature Parks: Role of International Conventions

Protected areas include national parks, wildlife reserves and world heritage sites of both natural and cultural designation. National parks and game reserves are found everywhere in Africa. World heritage sites are also present but in limited numbers as shown in Table 2.3.

Protected areas in the form of national parks and game reserves are all over Africa treated as wilderness and wildlife landscapes. The areas have turned into economy boosters as tourists havens. However, ethnographic research continues to show that these wilderness and wildlife spaces, same areas that caught the eye of early preservationists, were also revered by communities indigenous to them who often set them aside as sacred landscapes rarely populated but known to a community and used sparingly. Goldman (2003) uses the example of Tanzania's Tarangire-Manyara ecosystem and argues that the protected area model of conservation is currently extended through the delimitation of wildlife management area (WMA), common in countries such as Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. From the case study, she has observed that wildlife management areas (WMAs) usurp community lands, place communities as state tools of conservation rather than active participants and teach communities to apply western techniques of interacting with biodiversity and encourage them to discard indigenous knowledge systems that were all along present and that have sustained the landscape over a long period of time. In this way, protected area model is seen as changing cultures to safeguard wildlife conservation. Evidence of indigenous knowledge has been illustrated in well-known sites such as the Okavango Delta world heritage site and Robben Island world heritage sites where Keitumetse et al. (2011) have illustrated existence of indigenous knowledge within protected areas that can be used to express the areas' cultural identity alongside their nature reserve status.

Still in East Africa, Lynch (2011) provides an example of Endorois of Lake Bogota in Kenya who were relocated in 1973, and the area was used to create a game reserve.

In South Africa, Cock and Fig (2000) illustrate how during apartheid era the apartheid government evicted communities from the popularly known Kruger National Park because "The organization was dominated by conservationists who were exclusively concerned with preserving biodiversity, to the neglect of human needs and social issues" (Cock and Fig 2000: 23). The authors give an example of the Makuleke community removed in 1969. Further 'removal' of people presence in a national park system was cemented through a neglect of archaeological record that would have shown iron-age communities' presence on the landscape.

The negligence of archaeological, historical, folk life associated with protected areas continues to surround present conservation of most protected areas in southern Africa. UNESCO statistics in Table 2.3 show that cultural sites dominate as properties listed in Africa region. However, a closer look shows that these are palaeo-sites, rather than iron-age and historical sites whose heritage value is closely linked to identities of contemporary societies who can directly identify with them. A focus on this type of sites by governments in particular has been observed by various scholars before (Cf. Schmidt and Patterson (1995); Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 2002).

Goldman's (2003) observations show an outcome of the broader nature-nurture divide that has dominated protected areas' management throughout history. Chapter 1 outlined the nature-culture divide relationship that has seen cultural

resources taking backstage in the broader conservation scholarship and practice, with limited, if any, efforts to manage the two resources simultaneously (cf. Tooth man 1987; Bradley 2000; Maathai 2004; Chan et al. 2012). This has seen countries like the USA establish what is now popularly known as the National Park Service that has fully fledged the 'National Park Service Cultural Resources Action Plan'.

How do international conventions perpetuate the divide?

In order to understand and address the perpetual nature-nurture divide in resources and landscape management, African heritage scholars and practitioners should begin by assessing the following:

– The broader international framework from which conservation direction is derived by African states. The sustainable development (SD) framework sub-scribed to by almost all governments of the world is a starting point.

SD was conceptualised with natural resources at the forefront (WCED 1987; Keitumetse 2005), resulting in cultural resources and consequently people, becoming anecdotal to the international framework from the beginning. The lack of significant focus and on people and cultures in the broader SD framework has resulted in minimal development of conservation indicators specific to cultural resources that in turn can be juxtaposed with those from natural resources in protected areas.

Upcoming heritage scholars are charged with the task of formulating cultural conservation indicators, and this requires assessing as many case studies as possible to identify loopholes and how they can be monitored and managed.

2.6.1.1   Example of Assessment: Implementation of the 1971 Ramser Convention on Wetlands, Alongside UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 1972

Recognising the absence of strategies dealing with cultural resources in wetland areas, the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands, 1971, adopted what they termed the 'cultural heritage of wetlands' chapter in 1992 that consequently facilitated Ramsar wetlands of global importance to be simultaneously listed as world heritage sites. A memorandum of understanding (MOU) was signed in 1999 to facilitate this cooperation focusing on cultural heritage found in wetlands.

As a follow-up to the initiatives, the 1972 UNESCO Convention on Protection of World Heritage amended some of its wording to reflect the newly adopted approach.

Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention acknowledged and reflected heritage as 'combined works of nature and man'.

The World Heritage Convention expanded its definitions of landscapes to cover three groups of cultural landscapes as follows:

(a) *Clearly defined landscape* – created intentionally by humans (culture).
(b) *Organically evolved landscape* – these are landscapes whose initial social, economic, administrative, and religious activities and purposes started off active (culture), but later die off and the landscapes develops by association into

natural environment (natural). A process of evolution of these landscapes is identified as featured in two ways;

(i) A relict or fossil landscape whose evolutionary process has ended.
(ii) A continuing landscape that retains active social role in contemporary society, asociated with traditional way of life. Its evolution in progress.

(c) *Associative cultural landscape* – these are environments where powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations exist rather than material culture. The characteristics are in line with outlines of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The descriptions in a, b and c above illustrate a well-balanced methodological approach which is not reflected at implementation stages. For instance, looking at the UNESCO 1972 statistics, the African continent has few (04) sites of 'mixed' (UNESCO 1972), as illustrated in Table 2.3.

Another example is the continuous listing of world heritage sites as either of the two. For instance, the 1000th site on the world heritage list, Okavango Delta world heritage site, is listed as a natural site in 2014 owing to the existing literature provided under the sites' Ramsar designation. The site is clearly an associative cultural landscape because it is still being used by people. Convenience appears to have taken precedence over implications for sustainable conservation (preservation and utilisation) going forward.

The limited number of mixed sites supports the earlier assumptions of boundary theory approach observed by Riesch (2010). In this instance, boundary is applied to conservation of environments as either cultural or natural which is in contradiction to the landscape definitions in a, b and c that acknowledge both culture and nature in defined landscapes.

The brief example on implementation of two international conventions illustrates some limitations attached to incorporation of cultural heritage conservation in a rather natural resources-focused community.

2.6.1.2 Way Forward: What Can Cultural Heritage Researchers Do to Facilitate Inclusion of Cultural Resources?

Three approaches are identified as key: research that focuses on cultural aspects of seemingly natural protected areas, building research partnerships across broader stakeholders and mainstreaming of cultural and heritage resources in the broader development processes.

1. *Overlay cultural and heritage research on existing protected sites:* Engage in research that inventory cultural and heritage resources in protected resources within areas and other seemingly natural landscapes allow for juxtaposition of cultural with the natural through processes such as interpretation (Chap. 5), certification (Chap. 6), heritage tourism (Chap. 7) and development mainstreaming (Chap. 8) of these landscapes.
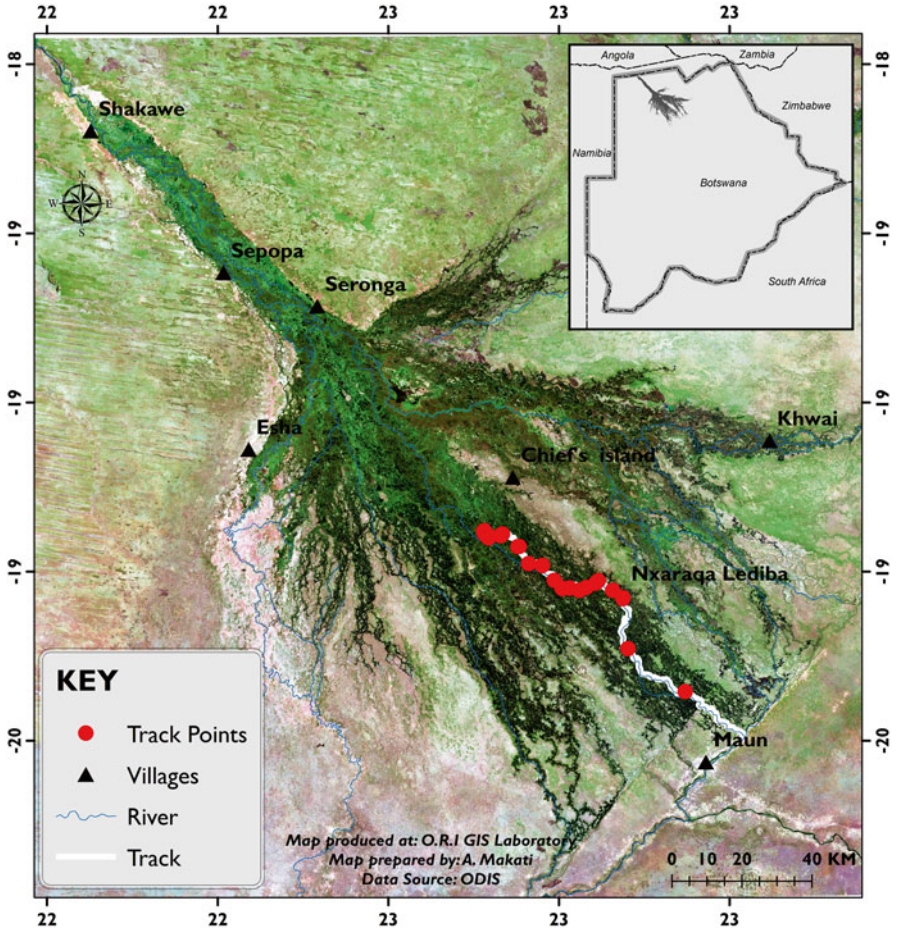
Fig. 2.1 Showing survey track taken to trace and map community cultural value sites within the Okavango Delta world heritage site for juxtaposition with the natural environment

For instance, the author is involved in research that traces areas with cultural significance of communities within the Okavango Delta world heritage site (ref. Figs. 2.1 and 2.2).

Going forward, approaches such as those of Goldman (2003), Cock and Fig (2000), Green et al. (2007) and Lynch (2011) coupled with physical anthropology studies such as those of Barbeiri et al. (2014) together with archaeological and historical research can bring a well-rounded identity interpretation (see Chap. 5) in protected areas and in addition, connect communities with protected landscapes that have become alien to them.

2. *Build partnerships*: Cultural heritage practitioners and scholars need to build partnerships with unconventional stakeholders to achieve recommendation #1
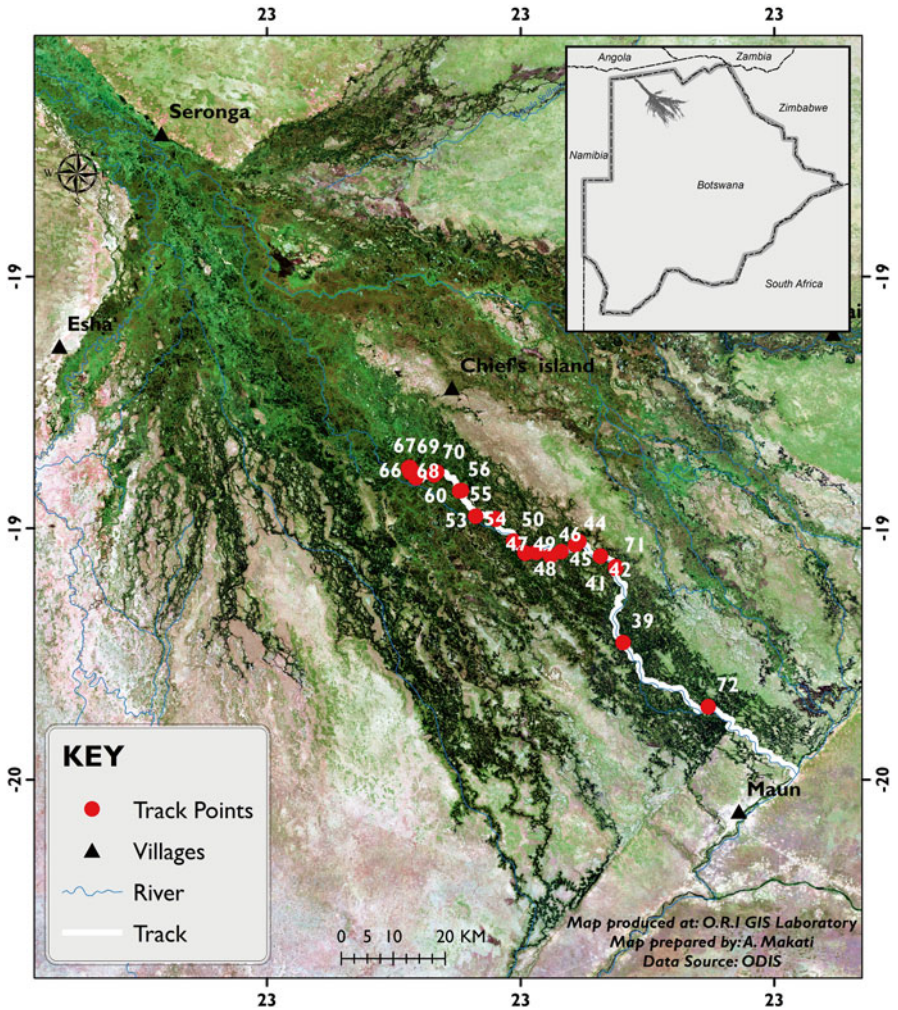
Fig. 2.2 Identified sites and landscapes of cultural significance in the Okavango delta world heritage site. Numbers correspond to identified sites during survey

above. Figure 2.3 illustrates one such partnership with the military and local community members to survey Okavango delta wetland for significant cultural meaning attached to the landscape in the past and in the present.

3. During site listing, conventions have to be applied jointly to avoid discordant practices on the ground. Every site has various aspects to it, and it is befitting that all the varied conventions will be applicable one way or the other. For instance, instead of following only the 1972 convention when listing a site, a checklist from the 2003 ICH Convention, for example, should be simultaneously embarked on. It is upon UNESCO and the country involved to co-opt participation of other

Fig. 2.3 Building partnerships: author with Botswana Defence Force crew and community members during survey research within the Okavango Delta world heritage sites. In-country partnerships with communities, civil service, etc. necessary to carry research forward because of lack of access to academic funding grants for African cultural heritage

conventions so as to merge the relevant sections from those conventions into a world heritage listing checklist. Currently other conventions are acknowledged in writing but not in the process of listing.

2.7   Conclusion

As discussed in Chap. 1, the international focus of the field of cultural and heritage resources management is driven by an archaeological perspective that places more value on tangible and visible heritage, particularly in Europe and the Americas. This world view dominates and is reflected in most of UNESCO resources conventions. African cultural heritage conservation on the other hand demands a more cross-cutting focus due to the nature of the heritage to have a high presence of people wherever it exists. The dominance of people in African cultures and heritage suggests the need to incorporate management of intangibles such as knowledge (as property and as a medium of education). Therefore, in addition to UNESCO conventions on natural and cultural resources, this chapter collated conventions that address this characteristic of African heritage. It is suggested in this chapter that managing African cultural heritage using conventions that are commonly considered as specific to heritage (e.g. UNESCO conventions) is not an all-encompassing

approach. There is need to identity, consider and incorporate conventions that are commonly perceived as belonging outside the cultural heritage conservation model as these are necessary in addressing the evolution of conservation paradigms in African cultural resources conservation and management.

People-based conventions, knowledge-based conventions and education-based conventions are new categories that heritage practitioners should pay attention to if a sustainable development using cultural resource is to be realised.

A reassessment of existing conventions through on-ground case studies such as the one cited in this chapter is always necessary to evaluate a sustainable way forward in managing African cultural heritage resources.

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Chapter 3
The Politics of the Past: Evolving Ethnic Cultural Identities in African Traditional Governance Systems

Abstract This chapter illustrates the socio-political nuances that often characterize communal identity and affiliation in African localities and are likely to affect sustainable conservation and management of community heritage. The case study illuminates on the fluidity of community identity, and how the seemingly basic ethnic community set up more often hosts and represents historical deposits of internal cultural production that have a bearing on cultural identity consumption in the present. To illustrate on the various factors that contribute to the evolution of communal cultural identities, the chapter uses a case study of Shoshong village communities of Baphaleng and Bakaa in Botswana, who are challenging traditional governance (chieftaincy) assertions that threaten their communal cultural identity in the village.

Keywords Politics of belonging • Settlement histories • Dormant identities • Evolving identities • Indigeneity • Autochthony • Baphaleng • Bakaa • Chieftaincy • Shoshong • Stakeholders • Botswana

3.1   Introduction

Landscapes host societies that have constantly engaged and shaped production and consumption patterns of their culture and cultural heritage. The process is fed by socio-cultural and socio-political trends that are either conscious and/or subconscious and result in collective histories we now refer to as cultural heritage of a particular group. Over time, communities have tapped onto their intangible intelligences to reshape collective meanings ascribed to tangible properties. The two combined constitute elements of culture that later become communal identities.

Constituted in such a format, an assessment of the politics of the past in an African cultural context requires that people's politics of communal acknowledgement and social identity be analysed through historical standpoints such as migrations, settlement hierarchy and changing socio-political affiliations. As the case study in this chapter will illustrate, in Africa, these are influenced by several factors such as traditional governance (chiefdoms), modern government (national), regional

relations (trans-boundary) and international relations (international conventions, Chap. 2). Of these factors, nationalism is commonly assessed as a heritage catalyst, but traditional governance, which is regarded as a given indicator of social difference, is rarely interrogated in terms of its role in reshaping cultural identity. This chapter focuses on a traditional governance mechanism of chieftaincy to illustrate the shifting values of communal cultural identity and the subsequent emerging identity paradigms that African cultural conservation and management should address in order to better interpret community heritage.

3.1.1   Communal Cultural Identities and Traditional Governance (Chiefdoms): Autochthony and Indigeneity Concepts in African Democracies

Some of the historical paradigms that catalyse socio-cultural identities in southern Africa include, amongst others, paradigms such as prehistoric, pre-colonial, post-colonial, nationalist, independence, post-independence, democratic and human rights. Concepts of communal identity such as *indigeneity* and *autochthony* are described using these historical standpoints.

Autochthony in literature is defined through its various descriptors of genealogy (Rosivach 1987) and identity (Detienne and Lloyd 2008; Geschiere 2009; Zenker 2011) and at times as a functional tool (Hilgers 2011). Within genealogical format, it is better described in reference to ancient Greeks of Athens, whereby autochthony is '…always used to describe a people which has lived in its homeland since time immemorial…in two ways…the people as literally born from the earth…a people as indigenous without any suggestion that the people or its ancestors were born from the earth' (Rosivach 1987:297). In this manner autochthony comes with components such as time immemorial; difference; continuous habitation; ethnic pride, sense of land and country; native; and political associations.

Outside its genealogical format, scholars describe autochthony through identity frameworks such as nationalism that are ascribed to heritage appropriation or misappropriation. In these contexts autochthony denotes indicators such as purity of ethnicity. Detienne and Lloyd (2008) illustrate this approach in the case of nineteenth-century French identity where they posit that 'When observed in its many reconfigurations, *Autochthony* soon-perhaps all too soon-reveals a number of its recurrent components, such as the earth, blood, the dead, the ancestors, and roots-roots that combine to form myth-ideologies, some of which are somewhat precarious while others are wide-ranging, even aiming for the stars' (Detienne and Lloyd 2008: 92). They also cite as another example of autochthony appropriated in nationalism, the analysis by Martin Heidegger, of Germany in the 1930s which showed authenticity as being rooted in German earth.

Beyond Rosivach's (1987) ancient Greeks and Detienne and Llyod's (2008) ethnic purity, over time autochthony has been observed to evolve to other formats, such

as Hilgers's (2011) description of it as a social capital, where by extension 'Autochthony and attachment to the land of one's ancestors are not merely means of maximizing patrimony. They are essential elements in the fabric of local identities and play a crucial role in the structuring of social relations' (ibid: 41). Given its characteristics therefore, autochthony features in modern-day citizenship discourses (Ceuppens and Geschiere 2005; Geschiere and Jackson 2006; Geschiere 2011), where issues of exclusion and inclusion are negotiated.

Whereas the above indicators describe autochthony at a national level, this case study illustrates its application at the level of a micro community, where ethnic identity is negotiated in a shared landscape conflated with multiple communal identities. In this case autochthonous claims catalysed by historical paradigms play out in a way that illustrates emerging discourses that require attention within southern Africa's popular community-based conservation strategies.

Indigeneity on the other hand is a term attributed to peoples commonly referred in the literature as 'first peoples' who inhabited geographical spaces prior to tribal conquer of landscapes as well as prior to European colonialism of the continent. In particular to southern Africa, examples of these communities are the San/Bushmen/Basarwa of Botswana and the Khoikhoi and Namaqua in South Africa. In West Africa examples include the Tuareg of the Sahel, the Ogoni people of Nigeria and the Ashanti people of Ghana. In Central Africa examples include the Mbororo and Baka of Cameroon. In North Africa there are the Nubians of Egypt and Sudan and the Berbers of Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Mauritania and Egypt.

The description of 'indigenous' in the international organisation literature however has dwelled on socio-economic status indicators of these communities, hence descriptors such as 'minority', 'non-dominant' and 'marginalised' (cf. 1989 ILO Convention No. 169; Keitumetse 2007).

Within academic discourses, scholars continue to critique the relevance and interactions of both indigeneity and autochthony (cf. Vubo 2003; Pelican 2009; Lane 2014) concepts. For some time discussions on *indigeneity* have overshadowed autochthony. However, as the case study will illustrate, in practice, change seems to be towards *autochthonous indigeneity* (Zenker (2011), whereby autochthony becomes a critical point of departure balanced by nationalist belonging and backed by the scale of association with the concept of *indigeneity*. Most countries and communities in sub-Saharan Africa are going through this identity convulsion, an example being Botswana which is made up of united polities that migrated mainly from the Republic of South Africa (RSA)'s Transvaal area between 1500 and 1700 and some that later migrated from countries like former Rhodesia (Zimbabwe between 1800 and 1800), Zambia (before 1800), etc.

Autochthony (Rosivach 1987; Geschiere 2009; Zenker 2011) as an emerging identity indicator of both landscape and socio-political and socio-cultural belonging is becoming evident in African conservation of natural heritage in protected areas as well. For instance, in South Africa's Kruger National Park, communities that owned land local to the park before apartheid are demanding their rights to the landscape (Cock and Fig 2000), leading to the application of community-based conservation shaped by democratic governance principles.

A number of issues drive the shift in social identities: For instance, while *indigeneity* concept has been dominating the debate on discussion of identity and marginalisation in most parts of southern Africa for some time, the shift is moving towards identity surrounding communities that are not economically 'marginalised' but rather 'culturally marginalised', situating the debate within the politics of belonging, rather than the politics of economic access and benefit that surrounds indigenous debates of Bushmen of southern Africa in particular. While indigenous politics are centred on causes of displacement and economic lack, *autochthonous* claims thrive on historical paradigms that communities tap on to challenge contemporary approaches to everyday socio-cultural systems such as traditional governance.

The case study in this chapter will illustrate the shifts and/or evolution of identities that emanate from ethnic communities reacting to the imposition of traditional political authority that derive reference from pre-colonial leadership settings, dating as far as the seventeenth century when the tribal ethnicities migrated to present-day Botswana. The contestations can be analysed as an alignment of socio-cultural identities with shifting historical paradigms—i.e. going past nationalist collective identities towards a collective heritage. Beyond selected societal and socio-political martyrs, towards socio-political equality.

These shifts in identity interpretation and expression have also been observed in contexts outside Africa as McDavid (1997) points out in the case of the Houston, Texas, USA, communities battling with balancing interpretation of plantation to acknowledge that 'planter' and 'master' status may no longer be applicable in terms of present-day American interpretation approach, but rather an inclusive approach that views these two tenants as contributing factors to what America is today. In this case as opposed to the southern African situation, it is a move from the small to the bigger picture, whereas in the case studies below on Botswana's Shoshong village, it is a move from the bigger (nationalism) to the smaller (ethnic) identities. This illustrates that the direction of identity evolution can go either way in any given time. With the advent of post-independence democracy, traditional communities are demanding disparities in societal identity that are articulated through discourses that may come across as 'rebellious' in the eyes of traditional systems, but within the principle of democracy come across as 'progressive' and 'inclusive'.

The case study in this chapter is about Shoshong village, Botswana, and chieftaincy contestation between three ethnic groups of Baphaleng, Bakaa and Bangwato that have and continue to negotiate their distinct communal cultural identities within changing historical paradigms of pre-colonial, colonial, nationalism and democratic frameworks. Shoshong village is well known in international historical literature through the tenure of king Kgama III (1872–1890) of Bangwato.

The case study illuminates on the fluidity of cultural association through time and provides an example of how and why social affiliation changes through time in a community, prompting cultural conservation managers working amongst African communities to always be on the lookout for such changes so as to achieve balanced community representation.

3.2   Case Study: Evolution of Community Identities Within Historical Paradigms: Pre-colonial, Colonial, Post-Colonial, Independence and Democratic Paradigms

In most African villages, communal cultural identity is largely driven by traditional governance system of chieftaincy (Proctor 1968; Ladouceur 1972; Gulbrandsen 1995; Vaughan 2000; Siverman 2015). This system also hosts and manifests ethnic awareness and identity. The relationship between chiefs and contemporary ethnic communities is a catalysing phenomenon that shapes identity politics surrounding communities. For example, in southern Africa, Botswana is revered for having kept the chieftaincy system (*bogosi*) post-independence by setting up a body called 'House of Chiefs' which acts as an advisory arm to the country's parliament. Because *bogosi*'s (chieftaincy) is more rooted in rural Botswana, most *dikgosi* (chiefs) are sourced by national government as community culture custodians. Hence, where chieftaincy representation falters, cultural conservation can be easily compromised.

African chieftaincy has faced challenges both in the past and in the present. In Botswana, the most documented chieftaincy autochthony contestation is by Wayeyi ethnic group in the North-West Botswana (Ngamiland), who insist on their autonomous chieftaincy from the dominant Batawana paramount chieftaincy as guided by historical settlement and socio-political arrangement of their ethnic group in pre-colonial times (cf. Nyati-Ramahobo 2002; Dikole 1978). Wayeyi took the Botswana government to the high court whereupon the ruling led to modification of the country's constitution sections 76, 77 and 78 to recognise polities not categorised as 'principal' at inception of the post-colonial period. Yet another example is provided by the San/Bushmen/Basarwa in a case whereby a recent article by Khwedom Council, a lobby group that advocates for the rights of the Bushmen/San also in reference to the Tawana ethnic group, argues against homogenous application of one ethnic group's cultural practice on others. The article titled 'Bushmen, Tawana cultures clash in ban on wedding ceremonies' (Sunday Standard newspaper, 11–17 October 2015) carries a story by the Khwedom Council representative Keikabile Mogodu who questions Tawana ethnic group ban on weddings between the period of September and November to observe ploughing season, stating that for the Khwedom group and the Bushmen, this is the cultural time in which the Bushmen conduct their weddings.

Yet another chieftaincy petition followed in a different newspaper addressed 'Basarwa petition Bangwato over chieftainship' (Mmegi newspaper vol 32, no. 158, 23 October 2015). Here the Bushmen are decrying being ruled by chiefs from polities other than Basarwa over the years. It is this ruling phenomena that has manifested in the case study of Shoshong communities several years ago, and is being challenged the same way Basarwa are challenging in the newspaper article.

These demanded cultural discrepancies are at the core of the politics of the past in the present, showing that traditional rulers in designated geographical areas have to take into account the diversity of the cultures under their jurisdiction, rather than apply a dominant, pre-colonial approach. In addition, other localised contestations continue to occur, largely catalysed by evolution of identities as African countries

become more and more democratic and join international worldviews such as human rights frameworks.

Before Botswana independence, 'There was no paramount Chief nor any other supra-tribal authority, and no 'national' consciousness transcended tribal loyalties' (Proctor 1968: 59). Chiefs ruled over their ethnic groups. However, this changed with the advent of independence and post-colonial rule. During the historical paradigms of pre-colonial, colonial and nationalism in present-day Botswana, most polities and ethnic cultural groups were more concerned with collective identities and somehow suppressed their distinct ethnic visibility and identities to rally behind one powerful polity such as the Ngwato under Kgama III. It would appear therefore that in the past (pre-colonial and colonial eras), ethnic consolidation was viewed as a necessary survival strategy to fight a powerful foreign force such as the Ndebele/Matebele, the Boers and the British capitalist, Cecil John Rhodes's annexation of Bechuanaland. The British conquer of the Ndebele in the late 1800s and the advent of democratic independent states in southern Africa however changed these pre-colonial power points of chiefs like Kgama III and subsequently altered socio-political and socio-cultural alignments, leading to various polities or ethnic cultural groups to revisit settlement histories and start a process to assert their communal identities.

Most African countries now identify themselves with democratic principles and human rights existence which incorporate the right to cultural identity through recognised international conventions such as the 1957 ILO Convention No. 169 (see Chap. 2). Other conventions support cultural conservation through distinct recognition of community cultures, and these are mainly UNESCO conventions such as 2005 Convention on Cultural Diversity and 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

It appears from the case studies below however that when it comes to chieftaincy, the African countries' traditional systems of governance fail to some extent to align with the new world and are rather intent on holding onto the pre-colonial model.

3.2.1   Historical Paradigm Shifts and Evolving Communities: Autochthony and the Fight for Senior Chieftaincy by Baphaleng and Bakaa of Shoshong Village, Botswana

As already stated, the case studies presented here from Shoshong village, Botswana, illustrate a chieftaincy heritage contestation shaped by southern Africa's nineteenth-century pre-colonial and colonial and twentieth-century nationalism paradigms, as well as twenty-first century democratic and human rights paradigms (Fig. 3.1).

The bone of contention is that two ethnic cultural groups, Baphaleng and Bakaa of Shoshong village, are fighting to retain their chieftaincy independence (seniority) in Shoshong village from Ngwato regency, Kgamane family. The main point is that their communal cultural identity is founded on them having been socio-politically

Fig. 3.1 Shoshong village in east-central Botswana (autochthony discussion) and Kgalagadi desert areas of indigenous Bushmen (indigeneity discussions)

autochthonous—first comer to the landscape as independent merafhe (polities/ethnic group) with their own line of chieftaincy governance who are custodians of their cultural histories and cultural affiliation lineages. However, within the advent of paid chieftaincy in Botswana and with the need for a long needed dynastic rule by what is now a Ngwato regency, Baphaleng and Bakaa chiefs lament that they are being reduced to subordinate chiefs in their cultural village of Shoshong, Botswana. On the other hand, as the historical events in the next section will outline, the Kgamane line of Ngwato rulers has since the nineteenth century (1872) fought to reach the height of the Ngwato rule and, after a long quest for dynastic rule, for the first time secured a substantive regency opportunity from the Kgamas in 1979. The anticipated end of the regency in coming years is forcing the line of Ngwato rulers in the form of Kgamanes to seek a territory where they can remain on top of socio-political leadership, hence the clash with the two ethnic groups in Shoshong village.

In addition to their first-comer claims (autochthony) outlined in their settlement histories below, Baphaleng and Bakaa view themselves as having earned their autochthonous status by sustaining the legacy of one of the great rulers of Ngwato chieftaincy Kgama III during pre-colonial and colonial times. Historical records show that Kgama III's dynastic rule was under threat first from Ndebele/Matebele attacks (Willoughby 1905; Parsons 1972; Schapera 1970), then Sekgoma I and later the Kgamane brothers (Knight-Bruce 1895; Chirenje 1977, 1978).

The sections that follow explain the historical events in detail. The Baphaleng and Bakaa chiefs in Shoshong therefore argue that their chiefs have always been senior in Shoshong village *kgotla* (ward), since they parted with Kgama III in the 1890s, and are fighting not to be relegated to junior chiefs under the current regency. This is a clear case of evolving identities for both the two ethnic groups and the regency, which shows a play out of issues that at times are at the core of communal identity selection and representation in African traditional systems that host cultures and cultural heritage. In general therefore the case study illuminates on the politics of communal existence and the socio-political nuances that can affect the flow of cultural heritage conservation and management of community heritage which heritage managers should look out for balanced cultural representation.

Shoshong is a traditional rural village in Botswana where chieftaincy system of governance prevails. The two ethnic groups are contesting their ethnic independence as a reaction of their being administratively relegated from occupying the senior chieftaincy position of the village which is a symbol of socio-political position that determines cultural production and consumption patterns.

In this case the two ethnic groups of Baphaleng and Bakaa argue that in a situation where the Ngwato regency retains chieftaincy seniority in their village (cultural landscape), this automatically translates to the elimination of their cultural existence and visibility as ethnic groups that have exclusive historical ties to the landscapes. They posit that the move will disrupt the channels through which they communicate and express cultural values and norms attached to their cultural landscape of Shoshong since as far as the seventeenth century. The regency's forceful need to dominate chieftaincy in the village is further viewed as forcing the two ethnic communities to suppress and suffocate their cultural belonging to identify and celebrate the dominant group's cultural line—i.e. become culturally assimilated by a group that itself has a cultural landscape in another village where it is dominant. Already the celebration and organisation of *mephato* (past communal clans) is following this line.

In this chapter the Baphaleng ethnic group is used as the main case study given their lineage position to the Ngwato ethnic group that the regency is using to claim dominancy over them. Bakaa polity who inhabit Shoshong with Baphaleng are established occupants of the Shoshong village after Baphaleng, and the two groups have intermarried over time, and it is currently difficult to separate the two physically. However, everyday existence in the village is lived in distinction of the two groups, with landscape spaces separated and still observed and respected even where it is apparent that only mental maps exist. The two ethnic cultural groups

have their own distinct *dikgotla* (wards) that have acknowledged and respected each other over time.

Because '…autochthonous ethnicities are always embedded in specific historical, political and cultural contexts, in which the institutional arrangements of "the state" figure prominently' (Zenker 2011: 74), the sections below outline the settlement and contact histories of Baphaleng, Bakaa and Bangwato to place the discussions on contested communal heritage identity into context.

3.2.2   Baphaleng of Shoshong Village, Botswana: The Fight for Senior Communal Chieftaincy

In order to bring a comprehensible account of their autochthonous claim in the present, Baphaleng's history in RSA's Transvaal, contact in Bechuanaland (pre-Botswana) and finally in Shoshong village is outlined below:

> Baphaleng can be traced, together with other Tswana polities (*merafhe*) in Botswana, as the natives of the Transvaal region in present-day South Africa where most of the merafe (ethnic groups) that make Botswana today originate. They originate mainly from the larger Kwena group. While in Transvaal, Kwena separated from his brother Mohurutshi about the beginning of the sixteenth century and called his people Bakwena, choosing the crocodile (Kwena) as his totem. "This race [Kwena] has a large number of representatives in the Transvaal" (Massie 1905: 19) in early 1900s, and also had a large number of politically strong ethnic groups in Bechuanaland as well.

3.2.2.1   Baphaleng in Transvaal Area, Republic of South Africa: Sixteenth Century

The 'History of the Baphalane Bakwena' of Pilansberg while in the Transvaal area, before relocation to Bechuanaland, is outined by Hunt (n.d. before 1900) as follows:

> This tribe is an offshoot of the great Batswana tribe of Bechuanaland and whose chief Pukwe had his sons Mookoodi/Moohodi? and by his second wife Litlape. At the chief Pukwe's death…they fought Mochudi at the latter's chief village, …and being defeated, fled to the north East, and settled at Gopane, Goodfontein…near the junction of the Buirsprint? With the Crocodile. Like most of the district through which…the Crocodile flows, Gopane abounded with Rooisbuck, or Phala, on which the people waxed fat…After Letlape's death, his son Mokoka travelled North to Mapelaland, where he fought with the aboriginal (?) inhabitants the Banaren… the Baphalen were driven South, being however accompanied by many of the friendly Babididi…retreated to Thokwe in the southern angle of the Zand (Sand) river and Crocodile river where Moatse established himself in the hills along the line of Zand (Sand) river…The Baphalane…moved to their present site at Phalane, or Ramokoka's kraal… the tribe is spread along the Crocodile river, from its junction with the Elands river to Vluigpoort. The Bakwena and Babididi are now so intercoupled? as to have become one tribe.

Massie's (1905: 22) report titled *The Native Tribes of the Transvaal* corroborated this history stating that:

> The Bakwena-Baphalane's name, "…Baphalane is derived from Phala, the Rooibuck Antelope, which animal abounded in the neighbourhood of the settlement of these people… After separating from the parent tribe of the Bakwena, these people moved eastward to the Waterberg district, where they waged a desultory war with the Bamapela, a tribe of Zulu extraction, for some years with varying success. The incursions of the Matabele, however, so reduced them that the Bamapela were eventually able to drive them out of the district. They then retired to their present location, Ramakok's Kraal (307) In Pilandsberg, so as to be near their allies, the Bakhatla".

It is probably during their war association with the BaMapela in Transvaal that Baphaleng mastered the skill of using hills as defence which they later used to their advantage against Matebele wars in Shoshong village, Bechuanaland, between 1838 and 1872.

In the twenty-first century, anthropological and archaeological research literatures continue to locate Baphaleng in RSA's Transvaal region. For instance, in history, the Baphalane of Transvaal are mentioned in the intertribal wars struggle like South African war of 1899–1902 around areas of Palla camp on the Limpopo south beyond the Elands River and east as far as the Middleburg district (Morton 1985: 184). Also, in anthropology, when analysing the role of maternal aunt amongst the Tswana of the Ventersdorp district in Transvaal, anthropologist Carmen (1987: 425) notes that within '…the Kwena of Phalane…the malome contributes an animal towards his nephew's bride' bogadi (bridewealth)'—a prevalent practice amongst Baphaleng of Shoshong village, Botswana. Furthermore, in archaeology, Pistorius et al. (2002:55) noted in their analysis of skeletal remains of burials from a stone-walled site called Malle, in the Republic of South Africa, near Marikana, North West province, that the '…settlements are associated with late Iron Age Sotho-Tswana farmers who occupied the central Bankeveld between Pretoria and Rustenburg during the last four centuries', identified as '…Tswana clans such as the Kwena Mogopa, the Kwena Mogale or even the KwenaPhalane…' (ibid: 60).

However, between the sixteenth and nineteenth century, most of the Hurutshi and Kwena clans dispersed into present-day Botswana (Bechuanaland) either due to intertribal wars or the need to attain autonomy from the bigger Kwena group. Baphalane, together with many others, are one such group. The section that follows provides an account of Baphaleng in Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana).

3.2.2.2 Baphaleng in Shoshong: Pre-1700

Fosbrooke (1971: 178) states that '…the history of Shoshong village started in the pre-1770 era, the generally accepted date for the arrival of the Ngwato, the tribe which dominated the area for so long. At the time the two groups, the Kaa and Phaleng, who form the majority of the inhabitants of the village today, were already there, whilst a third group which features in our story, the Talaote had arrived and later moved on. The Ngwato, when they arrived in 1770, only stayed for a short time, moving on to Serowe in `1795. They later returned seeking refuge from

Ndebele in about 1838, so that when David Livingstone arrived in 1842, he found a composite village of Ngwato, Kaa, Phaleng and Talaote, totaling…600 huts…'.

By 1971, Shoshong population count revealed '325 in Kgamane ward, 2, 592 in Kaa ward, and 3, 419 in Phaleng ward, a total of 6331 residents in the village' (Fosbrooke 1971: 180).

Historians such as Ncongco (2003) relate the history of Baphaleng in Bechuanaland (later present-day Botswana) as follows:

> …The chiefdoms that claim descent from a common ancestor, Masilo are… the Bahurutshe chiefdoms…the Bakwena chiefdoms…the <u>Baphalane</u> and Bakwena cluster of Botswana which comprise the Bakwena of Molepolole, the Bamangwato, the Bangwaketse and the Batawana. (Ncongco 2003:33)

Historical literature has popularly categorised Baphaleng of Botswana as Bakgalagadi, one of the indigenous groups (after the San/Basarwa) in Botswana (cf. Ncongco 2003; Parsons 1973; Tlou 1974). This owed to Baphaleng's long time association with the Bakgalagadi in Bechuanaland, an indicator of Baphaleng's first-comer claims (autochthony) from which they are contesting chieftaincy authority in Shoshong. For instance:

- Parsons (1973) categorises Baphaleng with the Kgalagadi, as follows:

  > The westward expansion of the main Kwena cluster forced Kgalagadi communities from the Kweneng District north and westwards. The Kgwatlheng-Kgalagadi retreated to the Letlhakeng gorge; Phaleng-Kgalagadi settled in the Shoshong hills;… (Parsons 1973:94)

- Ncongco (2003) also locates Baphaleng within indigenous groups to the landscape when referring to them as '…commonly referred to as Bakgalagadi' as statement below shows:

  > The Kwena-Kgabo went to occupy Dithejwane hills in the present Kweneng district. There they intermingled with groups such as Bakgwatleng, Banakedi, Baphaleng and others now commonly referred to as Bakgalagadi. (Ncongco 2003: 37)

- Chebanne and Monaka (2008) also link Baphaleng to Bakgalagadi, as well as place their first arrival in present-day Botswana (Kweneng) and Shoshong landscape in particular to around the 1560s (sixteenth century), possibly 1600 CE. The authors state that Baphaleng were found by Bakwena and Bangwato tribes when they finally arrived in present-day Botswana in the seventeenth centuries, Baphaleng having settled in what is now Lephephe, Shoshong and Mahalapye areas.
- Oral traditions point that having arrived earlier in what is currently known as Kweneng in Botswana, Baphaleng were harassed by the Kwena when they arrived into what Chebanne rightly refers to as areas of Bakgalagadi (one of the indigenous groups in Botswana) where they probably intermarried in the process of dispersal to Letlhakeng, Lephephe and later Shoshong, earning them an identity as Bakgalagadi.
- Furthermore, Gulbrandsen in his study of the dynamics of interaction of Tswana kingdoms notes that "…among the Bamangwato…another group also classified as Bakgalagadi, the Paleng, became closely linked with the Ngwato *kgosi*. The full circle of ambiguities is illustrated by the fact that one section of Paleng living

amongst the Bangwaketse, that of the senior descent group of Moswaana, is still referred to by the degrading term 'Makgalagadi'" (Gulbrandsen 1993: 563–4).

The identity of 'Kgalagadi' as a degrading term that Gulbrandsen refers to is also evolving or in some instances has already evolved to a context of whereby being 'Kgalagadi' has now gradually become a sense of indigenous pride, although still tied to social connotation of being economically marginalised as shown by the literature on the Bushmen/San/Basarwa of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa.

After leaving Molepolole area, Baphaleng moved south to what is now Shoshong village and the vicinity. Oral history by Baphaleng elders also supports Fosbrooke's (1971) earlier assertion that having been in Shoshong earlier, Baphaleng invited Bangwato to Shoshong to avoid being killed in large numbers by the marauding Matebele who were provoked into killing them in large numbers around Mosu area after the Ngwato under Kgosi Kgari had attacked the Ndebele around Matobo in present-day Zimbabwe. This account is confirmed by Fosbrooke (1971: 178) earlier on when he states that after passing through Shoshong in the 1770s, Bangwato '…later returned seeking refuge from the Ndebele in about 1838…'.

The oral history is also corroborated by Kgama III, in his interview with missionary Willoughby, transcribed by Parsons (1973) under the title *Kgama's own Account of Himself*, Kgama III notes the independent Baphaleng's assistance to the Ngwato during the Ndebele wars as follows:

> First collection of Khama is living at Serotlhe, which came afer Lotlhakanen, which followed Moshu…Baphalen were at Shoshong when Bamangwato at Serotlhe…When the Bamangwato nation were living at Natla they fought the Mashona at the Matopo Hills… The Baphalen were with them in that fight, and returned afterwards to Shoshong. (Parsons 1972: 139)

A specific event at the village of Shoshong village further outlines that:

> And one day about 4 in the afternoon the oxen were sighted coming to the hill where the Bamangwato were hiding, and the Matebele after them. Then they saw the Baphalen running along under the rocks and making for the oxen; but the Matebele made for them and they retreated; …and the Bamangwato gathered together and descended on them. Then the war began. (Parsons 1972: 141)

Baphaleng's use of fighting skill within the hills in Bechuanaland (later Botswana) was probably learned amongst the Bamapela and Ndebele fights during the pre-colonial era in Transvaal area, as outlined in the preceding section (cf. Massie 1905; Hunt n.d.).

The Baphaleng ethnic group's lack of visibility in most European missionary and travellers' written records has rendered their omission in most written records. Around 1838 their ethnic visibility in Shoshong was overshadowed by the arrival of Ngwato, who were politically organised, numerous (Moffat 1856; Morion 1993) and with authoritative rulers such as Sekgoma I and later a powerful leader like Kgama III (Moffat 1856; Knight-Bruce 1895; Willoughby 1905; Parsons 1972/73) who cast a political shadow not only on Baphaleng but on other ethnic groups at the time such as the Kaa, Birwa, Hurutshe, Talaote and Kalanga, to mention a few. Therefore in most historical literature, Baphaleng are subsumed as one group with

Bangwato, particularly by traders (e.g. Holub 1880); missionaries (e.g. Moffat 1856; Willoughby 1905) and later early historians (e.g. Parsons 1972/1973; Chirenje 1978; Russell 1976) who followed the texts of both early traders and missionaries. This invisibility worked and continues to work against Baphaleng in negotiating pre-colonial history identities in modern day democratic state.

3.2.3 Bakaa of Shoshong Village: The Fight for Senior Community Chieftaincy

Bakaa in Transvaal area of the Republic of South Africa are associated with the Rolong clan and '…they appear to have been, without doubt, earlier than those chiefdoms claiming descent from Masilo…' (Ngcongco 2003:31).

In particular Bakaa of Shoshong are described by Ngcongco (2003:32–33) as follows:

> Another off-shoot from the Rolong kingdom was that of the people later called Bakaa. Their secession was led by Tseme, a grandson of Maleka under whom friction with the main group started. After migrating to several places in what is now southern Botswana the Bakaa eventually settled near Shoshong hills, where they overthrew the Khurutshe state they found there. The Kaa state was ultimately destroyed by the Ngwato. Fragments of the Kaa joined the Kwena…. (Ngcongco 2003:32–33)

Parsons (1973:94–95) indicates that 'The Kaa were an early offshoot of the central Rolong clan. When the Kwena entered the Kweneng District of Botswana the Kaa were already in residence and cooperated in expelling the Kgwatlheng-Kgalagadi. From there…and the main body went less far north to the Shoshong hills – where they joined "Kgalagadi"'—who according to the earlier paragraphs are now known to have been Baphaleng, not Bakgalagadi.

After several years, 'The Kaa then rose up and subdued the remaining Khurutshe in the Shoshong hills' (Parsons 1973: 95), an event that may have sparked the fight against Bakaa by Bangwato when the latter returned back to Shoshong in the 1830s as Bahurutshe and Bangwato were closely related from Transvaal (sons of Malope Masilo) as earlier attested by Massie (1905) and Ncongco (2003). This incident is also very well known in oral histories of Shoshong, with Bakaa remembering that Baphaleng were somehow 'deceived' to fight them. Kgama III told this incident during his interview with missionary Willoughby (Parsons 1972) as having led to the naming of Kgama III's regiment name of *Mafolosa*. Kgama relates as follows:

> …word came that Sekhome wanted all the young men to come home for a great gathering of the people. Three days later others came saying that they were called to fight with the Bakaa… (Parsons 1972: 143)

Kgama III continued that:

> After this, it was that the circumcision ceremony (*go rupa*) was held, about April, while the corn was still white…They stayed in the veld for 3 months…Then we were told what our name was to be as regiment, it was *Mafolosa*. We had this name because our people had just

fought the Bakaa and had driven them down from their fastness, and so were said to be the *Mafolosa* a Bakaa. (Parsons 1972: 144)

Missionary Moffat (1856: 87) relates this incident when he passed through Shoshong in 21 June 1849 as follows:

> …we halted at the end of the mountains where the Bakaa tribe formerly lived, and where, though the owners of the country, they were terribly harassed by the Bamanguato. After these, who were more numerous [i.e. Banguato], came from the north and took possession, Sekhomi did everything in his power to annoy the Bakaas, who were always reported to be a peaceable people.... (Moffat 1856: 87)

In 1879, Patterson a trader in Shoshong described the presence of Bakaa in Shoshong as follows:

> The open country is sparsely inhabited by "Veld" people of two classes, the Bakala and Masarwa. The former enjoy the right to posses cattle and gardens…. (Patterson 1879: 241)

Bakaa were originally a nomadic tribe, and this is evidenced by their autochthony ties that are spread around present-day Botswana, such as Bokaa village in Southern Botswana (historical place known as Thaga-Kgame).

3.2.4   Bangwato in Shoshong (1838–1890): Migration from Molepolole Area

As already outlined, Bangwato and Baphaleng claim descent from a common ancestor, Masilo, that makes up the Kwena chiefdoms (Ncongco 2003; Tlou 1974).

In his study of Bangwato as a political hegemony rather than a polity, Parsons (1973:92) asserts that the founding father of the Kwena lineage cluster was Masilo (c.1440–1560) and further relates their origin in Limpopo region (Crocodile river) as follows:

> The Ngwato chiefdom originated from the Kwena cluster. A man called Ngwato is credited with having founded the clan in about the 16th century around Transvaal area, and it remained a section of the Kgabo- Kwena (Kwena of Sechele) chiefdom, itself a fissure from another Kwena chiefdom, until the late 18th century…under the ward-system prevailing in the post- Difaqane states of the western Tswana, the Ngwato would not have been royals but a very junior ward (as descended from so ancient a Kwena chief) among the Kwena. But it seems that the Ngwato were an ancient section (tlhase rather than kgotla) of the Kwena with an ascribed territorial 'direction' (the north-west).

3.2.4.1   Migration from Molepolole via Shoshong: 1780–1795

Schapera (1970) in his writing about the 'Early History of the Khurutshe' indicates that 'The Ngwato…did actually break away from the Kwena and move to Shoshong during the chieftainship of Mathiba (c. 1780–95)' (Schapera 1970:02) due to conflict between rulers of the two tribes. It is alleged in the account that chief of

Bakhurutse, Lesele, rescued Mathiba (Kgama I's father), chief of the Ngwato, from Motswasele (ruled c.1770–1785) of Bakwena, who had sentenced him to death for having castrated young bulls (dikgongwana) before Motswasele, the supreme ruler, had given permission. Lesele requested that Mathiba (Kgama I's father) be released to migrate with him. This move triggered Ngwato to migrate in Bechuanaland and seek territory to settle as a tribe as follows:

- During Mathiba rule (c. 1780–1795), Ngwato settled near Shoshong, Matlhakoleng, Marutwe Hills (Kgama I was born here).
- They settled in Mokokong and Mmanakalengwe (also near Shoshong).
- They settled in Paje (where Madisakwana of Hurutshe and Kgama I of Ngwato were circumcised).
- They settled in Kutswe Hills.
- Then finally they settled in Serowe. It is while in Serowe that the young rulers born of Lesele (Madisakwane) and Mathiba (Kgama I) went out to survey various areas for settlement whereby Madisakwane identified Tati (Sebina where Kalanga were already settled) area and Kgama I identified Mosu area where the two merafhe settled respectively. Mathiba remained in Serowe.

3.2.4.2   Bangwato in Northern Botswana: Mosu Area (Chirenje 1978)

- Settled in Mosu under Kgama I who bore Kgari who bore Kgama II (from senior wife) and Sekgoma I (from junior wife).
- Kgari ruled in Mosu (1817–1828), but was later killed when the Ngwato attacked the Ndebele at Matobo (Parsons 1973). Still in Mosu, Kgama II took over but did not rule long and died (1833–1835).
- Kgama (later Kgama) III's birth in Mosu, c.1835—The exact birth of Kgama III is not known. Although most history accounts attests that Kgama III was born of Sekgoma I (Chirenje 1978; 1972, 1973), oral history from the village of Shoshong attest otherwise and uses because of the abhorrence towards Kgama III by Sekgoma I and later Kgamane brothers between 1864 and 1909 when they wanted to eliminate Kgama III from chieftaincy as outlined earlier. In explaining the abhorrence, oral history from the Shoshong village associates this with the fact that Kgama III was the only Kgama legacy left after Mosu. In Shoshong village today, historical memory of Sekgoma I is that he had many wives in accordance with polygamy system of the time, and is known to have been determined to eliminate Kgama III against all odds. Some missionaries also document this hostility in some of their writings.
- 1837—The Boers drove away Mzilikazi's Ndebele/Matebele into Bechuanaland from the Transvaal area, whereupon the Ndebele went north into Ngwato territory around Mosu, creating a turning point that led to their migration to Shoshong village. Ngwato tried to fight Ndebele so as to tame them but lost terribly, including losing chief Kgari in the battle. According to oral history, this triggered their migration to Shoshong at the invite of Baphaleng (to the dissatisfaction of Bakaa) for protection.

- C.1838–1850—Ngwato under Sekgoma I fled to Shoshong with Kgama III c.3 years old.
- 1864—Hurutshe sought refuge in Shoshong from Sekgoma I.
- In Shoshong, Khama III relates the history of Bangwato in and around Shoshong area as follows (Parsons 1972:141):

> When Sekhome section of Bangwato returned from Victoria Falls, "…they built at the Shua River, from which place they moved to Moshu… they did not live at Shoshong when Livingstone came but at Pitsana, which is about 15 miles to the west of Shoshong. After that attack by the Matebele they moved up to the hilltop. From the hilltop they moved to the Shosho.

Kgama III continued: 'When water failed at Pitsana, and the people had to leave there, they built then at Mokaten.... They drank water of the Shosho while living at Mokata, having to fetch the water six or seven miles…and then they thought it wiser to descend from their fastness and build nearer the water at Shosho'—Willoughby as summarised by Parsons (1973: 143).

When missionary Robert Moffat passed through Shoshong in 20 June 1854 on his way to meet Mzilikazi, he described his encounter with Sekgoma I and Bangwato in Shoshong in a non-impressed manner after the former annoyed him by not giving him a reception proper of a white missionary at the time.

19 June 1854—'I sent to convey my respects to his most uninviting majesty Sekhomi,…From all I have heard of Sekhomi, he has not only a forbidding appearance, but is the very personification of greediness, selfishness, impudence, tyranny, and deceit. Of course I shall treat him with all due respect' (Moffat 1856: 86). Moffat further describe Bangwato as follows:

> June 20th 1854 "…Two only among the many thousands of the Bamanguato know the alphabet. They are, indeed, dark and ignorant; nor can it be wondered at that they are so rude and rough in their manners, when it is remembered that they have, during the present generation, been continually driven to and fro, scattered and peeled." (Moffat 1856:87). The "scattered and peeled" refers to their treatment by Ndebele wars as recited by Kgama III earlier.

However, during Kgama III's rule of Bangwato in Shoshong, more favourable descriptions became evident. In one of his travels across central Africa, Holub (1880:170) describes his encounter with Kgama III as follows:

> I crossed the Notuany, I entered the great territory of the fifth Bechuana kingdom, that of the Shoshong or Eastern Bamangwatos, so called by me to distinguish them from their neighbours, the Western or Lake Ngami Bamangwatos. I …entered King Khame's residence, Shoshong, on the 19th of May…Most of the Bamangwatos live in the southern central part of their country among the Bamangwato Mountains, but a number are also dispersed over the country…the Eastern or Shoshong Bamangwatos are the best in character amongst all the Bechuana tribes, and their chief Khame is a true native gentleman. He tries to abolish the heathen customs (differing thus from Sechele, though the latter has become a Christian since Dr. Livingstone's visit), and has abolished not only the liquor trade but also the importation of liquors. In short, I could, if desired, bring proof of his great ability, his sincerity in doing good, and his exemplary management of the affairs of his kingdom.

3.3   Discussion: Overshadowed Autochthony of Baphaleng and Bakaa by Ngwato Chieftaincy in Pre-colonial Shoshong Village

As rightly pointed out, '…autochthonous ethnicities are always embedded in specific historical, political and cultural contexts…' (Zenker 2011: 74), Baphaleng and Bakaa define the legitimacy of their autochthonous claim to chieftaincy authority in Shoshong village through settlement history and ethnic contact as earlier described. In addition, historical events taking place during pre-colonial and colonial times are cited. In particular, three stand out:

  (i) Baphaleng hosting Ngwato in Shoshong during Ndebele wars of 1839–1890 (Schapera 1970; Fosbroke 1971; Parsons 1972; Chirenje 1978)
 (ii) Baphaleng's support to Kgama III's legacy between 1864 and 1872 during internal (civil) chieftaincy wars between him and Sekgoma I (Knight-Bruce 1895) and later the Kgamane brothers, who are currently bequeathed senior chief position in Shoshong village on them
(iii) Kgama III's decentralisation of Birwa, Phaleng, Hurutshe, Kaa, Kalanga and others in Palapye

These three events are explained in detail as follows:

3.3.1   Internal Conflict, 1872–1909: Sekgoma I and Kgamanes Against Kgama III

Several events testify to evidence of Sekgoma I and later Kgamane brothers' efforts to eliminate Kgama III (Knight-Bruce 1895; Chirenje 1977, 1978):

- *1862–1863 during the Ndebele attacks*, Kgama who had turned to Christianity in 1860 refused to go along with Sekgoma I's use of traditional medicine as a prewar measure giving his Christian beliefs as the main reason. 'This incident marked the first serious estrangement between Sekgoma and his sons' (Chirenje 1977: 96). By 1865 Mrs Price, Missionary Price's wife who was a teacher at the missionary school, reported that 'Sekgoma detests our teaching and religion… His feelings to Kgama has grown into fierce jealousy and desire for revenge. There is a plot to kill Kgama and Kgamane' (Chirenje 1978).
- **1866 civil war**: a civil war ensued between Sekgoma I and Kgama III including a threat to missionary Mackenzie.
- **1873 quarrel with Kgamane and abdication**: Kgama III '…quarreled with his brother Kgamane…a rift that lasted until the turn of the twentieth century' (Chirenje 1978: 16). In 1873, '...Kgama became chief but quarrelled with Kgamane shortly after taking office. In 1873, he abdicated in favour of Sekgoma and went to live at Serowe; he later moved with his followers to the Botletle

River in Ngamiland. Kgama's abdication was clearly a ploy to give himself ample time to stage a permanent revolution. Consequently, when he had developed his plans, he invaded Shoshong in 1875 and defeated the forces of Sekgoma and Kgamane [85]; he became chief that year and ruled until his death in 1923' (Chirenje 1977: 103). The support to Kgama III to abdicate and escape Sekgoma I and Kgamane's ploys to murder him are well reported in oral histories of the village as owing to the support that Kgama III received from Baphaleng and other ethnicities in the village.

- **1872 Kgamane caucus with Boers against Kgama III**: Kgamane went as far as caucusing the Boers against Kgama III as outlined by Chirenje (1977): 124): 'The threat of a Boer attack came at a time when Kgama had hardly consolidated his position as Chief at Shoshong and when Kgamane, now a refugee in Kwenaland after the break with his brother, was flirting with the Boers in the Transvaal, urging them to support him in an attempt to unseat Khama…' (Chirenje 1977: 124).

- **1885 protectorate lobbying included protection against brothers**: during the lobby by missionaries for Kgama and others to place Bechuanaland under protectorate status, Sir Warren used Kgama III's threat by his brothers as one of the points to lobby Kgama III to accept the idea fully as follows: 'At Shoshong Warren …easily persuaded Kgama to accept the Protectorate by enumerating the advantages that Kgama and his subjects would derive from it, namely, that the British administration could check treasonable activities of Kgama's brothers…' (Chirenje 1977: 134) amongst others. In England, '…when Kgama, Sebele, and Bathoen visited England in 1895, the chiefs asked the British Government not to make it easier for ambitious brothers to stir up trouble in their respective chiefdoms…' (Chirenje 1977: 143).

In 1889, at the advent of defeat of Matebele by the British in present-day Zimbabwe and partly due to environmental resources depletion in Shoshong as a result of overpopulation, the Ngwato moved to a new location Palapye, with a large section of Baphaleng and a small section of Bakaa. There Kgama's brothers continued fighting him to the throne using other excuses as follows:

- At the height of rift between missionary (Hepburn) and chief (Kgama), the Kgamane brothers went on to appeal to the LMS alleging that Kgama violated the church rules by indicating that the church was under him (Kgama III), whereas it should be under Jesus Christ in accordance with the Christian and LMS law. And thus Kgama III should be punished for that. 'In May 1894 Raditladi and Tiro, together with Mphoeng and Gohakgosi wrote to the LMS through Roger Price at Kuruman alleging that Kgama had again usurped the clerical authority of Palapye missionary and that he had embarked on a systematic persecution of Christians which the uninitiated Willoughby could hardly notice, pointing out that "he is a white man-he does not understand the (Tswana) language"' (Chirenje 1978: 38). Willoughby, who came in 1893, was the new missionary who replaced missionary Hepburn after he left in 1891.

  But the society (LMS) had been forewarned of the faction's intrigues, thanks to Willoughby's reports, and Thompson accordingly ignored their charges. Instead he admonished them against initiating schism in the Ngwato tribe. Chirenje 1977: 173)

- **1895**: **Palapye quarrel over beer brewing with brothers**—More complaints came. '…the group again quarreled with Kgama over the chief's prohibition of the brewing and consumption of Tswana beer, Raditladi's group conveniently remembered Thompson's solemn declaration in 1892 that Christian duty took precedence over secular demands, and they used that cue to try to discredit Kgama'. 'By 1895 the group had given Kgama so much trouble that the chief wanted them removed from Palapye on the pretext that they violated his prohibition of the brewing and consumption of beer, an allegation that impressed some government officials and led to the removal of the group from the Ngwato capital' (Chirenje 1977: 173).
- **1895 move to Ramokgwebana**: Raditladi and his brothers moved to Ramokgwebana in 1895 when Kgama was away in England seeking protectorate status. On his return, Kgama first instructed them to return at which point they refused citing the idea that they were under the 'Government of the Queen' not of Kgama III. The chief Kgama then requested the British Admin to remove the Raditladi group's cattle from his territory, to which Mphoeng responded that '…the group did not recognize Kgama's tenure as chief of the Ngwato…' (Chirenje 1978:39).

  In reply Ashburnham[1] said that Kgama's chiefship was an accomplished fact, that it was too late to contest his rule and that in the circumstances the British Administration recognized 'that the disposal of the tribal land amongst the individual members of the tribe was generally left to the chief'. (Chirenje 1978:39)

- **1897**: Kgama's brothers were moved to Mangwe district in Kalangaland, Rhodesia, in 1897.
- **1899**—further chieftaincy fight on Kgama III by Kgamane: in 1899 Goold Adams[2] received a complaint from Kgamane while in Shoshong after Kgama expelled him from Palapye that Kgama III's chiefship was not legitimate as he has driven his father Sekgoma I from the throne but 'Goold-Adams dismissed the complaint and, like commissioner Ashburn had done in 1896, supported the chief on the grounds that Kgama's chiefship was now a *fait accompli* and that, in any case, the administration accorded him full *de jure* recognition' Chirenje 1978:43).

Oral history attests that in all these fights, Kgama III had the support of Baphaleng, Bahurutshe, Babirwa, Bakaa, Bakalanga and others.

3.3.2 1898 Decentralisation of Phaleng, Kaa, Birwa, Hurutshe, Talaote, etc. by Kgama III

- The most outstanding evidence that Baphaleng and Bakaa give in their oral histories to illustrate that Kgama III treated them as partners rather than subjects and did not assume dominancy over them together with Birwa, Talaote, is the action that came in 1898 when Kgama III dispersed/decentralised these polities

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[1] Ashburnham was a British Assistant Resident Commissioner for Bechuanaland between 1895–1901.

[2] Goold-Adams was a British Resident Commissioner for Bechuanaland between 1899–1902.

in Palapye. The events are also recorded in the written record, and this also attracted even more trouble for Kgama III from the Kgamane brothers, which British officials assed was channelled through Kgama III's son, Sekgoma II. 'According to Mr Willoughby trouble started when Kgama decided to re-allocate seven sub-tribes that normally resided at Palapye, including Birwa, and the Phaleng. Sekgoma objected to the move on grounds that no *pitso* (council) had been convened to discuss the issue' (Chirenje 1978:41). However, British official blamed Sekgoma II in this dispute with Kgama III, seeing it as Sekgoma II being 'merely a tool in the hands of Kgamane' (Chirenje 1978: 44).

In their view, Kgama III was reducing their 'subjects' base. This incident is viewed as support of historical chieftaincy autonomy of both Baphaleng and Bakaa of Shoshong together with Birwa, who now have their representatives in the house of chiefs, Hurutshe and others.

The **decentralisation of other polities** by Kgama III is narrated in oral interviews as another evidence of the chieftaincy independence of these polities from Ngwato chieftaincy rule and marked the end of a long (1838–1898) political pact that started in Shoshong village against the main dangers of intertribal wars (Ndebele killings), Boer wars and Cecil John Rhodes's annexure plans. In addition, oral tradition on Shoshong also attests that Kgama III acknowledged polities such as Baphalengas that had supported his ascend to the chiefship and hence secured his legacy against forces such as Sekgoma I and Kgamane wars in Shoshong to what it came to be and what it remains to be today. A new film titled 'I am Khama' is scheduled for 2016, directed by Mark Macauley.

The preceding case studies from written records, together with oral histories from the village of Shoshong, illustrate the point of departure from which Baphaleng's and Bakaa's current contestation for independent chieftaincy in Shoshong village emanates. Typical of most autochthony claims, they are anchored on communal historical events and settlement histories that make up communal identity in the present.

The Kgamane regency is viewed by Baphaleng and Bakaa as using the regency status to subjugate them the pre-colonial way by forcing a senior chieftaincy position on them in their native cultural landscape that became populated due to regional threats to present-day Botswana. Baphaleng and Bakaa demand the position of senior chief in their village of Shoshong, a chieftaincy position that they view as a channel through which their historical and cultural heritage identity is expressed.

3.3.3 Ethnic Grading in Twenty-First Century Traditional Chieftaincies: Towards Culturally Sustainable Communities

This struggle for recognition by Baphaleng and Bakaa of Shoshong in a traditional system of governance is also evident in other parts of Africa (Ladouceur 1972; Vaughan 2000).

Case studies like those of Shoshong illustrate that by reverting to the dichotomy of ethnic superiority/inferiority and subject-ruler dichotomies in the face of democracy and human rights, the paramount chieftaincy (*dikgosi*) institution is squandering its relevance and deteriorating its status as communal cultural custodians who act as default middle managers of cultural heritage in rural localities. This negatively affects cultural heritage recognition, identification and representation of certain ethnic communities whose identity become replaced 'principal' chieftaincy, placing them at the risk of slowly 'deleting' the significance of such ethnicities' chieftaincy lineages that carry their cultural identity from generation to generation—more like nationalising the village. The new world order of democracy adopted by most African states including Botswana, on the one hand negates this colonial approach.

The Kgamane regency's need to be senior chiefs in Shoshong village can be traced to colonial times' paramount chiefship's perception of merafhe (ethnic groups) as subjects, rather than national partners. From the case study, it is evident that some polity *dikgosi* (chiefs) continue to perceive, after 50 years of postcolonial existence in countries like Botswana, that historical paradigms have changed indicators of belonging. In order to build sustainable communities that are proud of their localities and engaged in their developments, the dikgosi of all levels have to endeavour to concentrate on their observed '…symbolic capital' that is sustained by the popular attraction of the customary order' (Gulbrandsen 1995: 440) to gain communal control and cooperation. In focusing on colonial perception of ethnic groups as subjects, the *dikgosi* run the risk of nullifying their position as links to communal cultural identities and are more likely to squander their relevance in the modern society through a focus on graded/scaled ethnicities that at times are negated by historical events like the written records and oral history on the case of Shoshong village has illustrated. This may come across as abdication of cultural responsibility that could result in a situation where pockets of ethnic groups are strengthened by international law and global governance, rather than strengthened by their grassroots leadership to search for avenues that sustain communal cultural legacies In this case ethnic groups that seek international law appear as if they are fighting the establishment that should be sustaining their culture and cultural heritage (cf. Wayeyi case at international court; Basarwa case at international NGO level). On the side of cultural conservation and management, this causes the disintegration of structures of rural socio-cultural conservation where most of African cultural heritage is situated.

In most parts of Africa, chiefs have been stripped of governance, administration and economic and legal powers (cf. Proctor 1968; Gulbrandsen 1995; Vaughan 2000) by the creation of a nation state. For instance, in Botswana there is enough evidence in the literature to suggest that Botswana *Dikgosi* (chiefs) have always fought a long struggle of recognition by the Botswana government (Proctor 1968; Gulbrandsen 1995; Vaughan 2003b), to an extent of requesting in 1966 that '…the House of chiefs be converted from an advisory body into a House of Parliament' (Proctor 1968: 67)—this was refused by the nationalist government on the basis that '…since traditional leaders had little formal education, they lacked the insight to tackle the pressing sociopolitical and economic problems of a rapidly change

society' (Vaughan 2003: 100). The chiefs' approaches to contemporary grassroots identities can be mistaken as a confirmation of this perception if they do not balance their assessment of the situation.

It can be argued however that the chieftaincy's loss of administrative power, and the failure to retain the remaining symbolic power among the general public may explain why paramount chiefs seem to cling to a perception of their rural community as 'subjects' of colonial times, rather than cultural partners within globalised democracies. In this instance paramount Chiefs may wrongly hold on to graded ethnicities as a power retaining mechanism, in the process failing to recognise that ethnic groups that have concordant identity with the paramouncy will feel suffocated when they are expected to call their ethnic Dikgosi (chiefs), *Dikgosana* (headmen or lesser chief) and identify with a pramouncy identity, even where the paramount chief has few or no direct kinsmen, or is outnumbered by the other ethnic groups in a particular village. This is illustrated by the case study on Shoshong village, that as far back as the 1970s, the Kgamane regency ward had 325 residents against 2592 of Bakaa and 3419 of Baphaleng (Fosbrooke 1971).

These observed politics of exclusion and subtle recolonisation of traditional levels of governance are eroding the significance of *bogosi* as a recognised communal cultural system that preserves cultures and drive cultural inheritance (heritage) by future generations. The politics of grassroot exclusion are also pushing *bogosi* to become irrelevant at traditional structure level where it is strongest. To retain relevance therefore, chiefs need to first acknowledge and embrace evolving communal cultural identities as inevitable and perceive communities as partners in cultural governance as opposed to subjects. Cultural heritage managers' responsibility is to ensure that African traditional leadership proceed with an understanding of a balanced approach towards identification and selection of cultural values in projects they engage in so as to develop cultural heritage that results in sustainable communities.

3.4   Summary and Conclusion

This chapter illustrated the complexities surrounding identification, presentation and representation of cultural heritage of a community in an African traditional governance system, i.e. African village context of most southern African cultural landscapes. It is also a case study on the complexities of interpreting community heritage within a multiple-identity landscape like Shoshong village which has hosted various cultural stakeholders through multiple historical paradigms that continue to shift with time. As the case studies on Baphaleng, Bakaa and Bangwato have shown, Shoshong has been a hotpot of ethnic groups, chiefs, traders and missionaries during pre-colonial, colonial, protectorate and post-colonial times and thus experienced a constant evolution of identities that are both regional (southern African) and local (Bechuanaland and Botswana).

The case study on Shoshong village traditional leadership squabbles addresses these evolving communal identity politics that are shaking present-day Botswana but that are also characteristic of most parts of southern Africa that carry traditional leadership and ethnic identity as an important marker of community difference and consequently a point of departure for anthropologists, archaeologists, sociologists and psychologists working on cultural heritage matters.

To illuminate on implications on modern cultural heritage management at community level, the case study on Shoshong village featured a seemingly dormant ethnic group identities of Baphaleng and Bakaa ethnic groups who both view themselves as original inhabitants of a contested landscape that was politically dominated in the past. The case study illustrates that cultural heritage managers need to be aware that cultural identity is anchored in fluid foundations such that an undeclared claims to an identity can be easily awakened either by new claims to sociopolitical superiority or by changes in historical paradigms in parallel with changing communal identities.

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Chapter 4
Towards Sustainable Communities: Community-Based Cultural Heritage Resources Management (COBACHREM) Model

Abstract The *precautionary principle* of sustainable development requires that conservation measures be developed prior to destruction of a resource. Development of a community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM) model aims to provide a point of departure for African cultural conservation, whereby production and consumption indicators of cultural heritage resources conservation are identified and isolated for montoring purposes. A focus on community is important because it is at grassroots level where people apply their socio-cultural and psycho-social behaviours and processes to interact with environments. People use their socio-cultural understanding of phenomena to interact with the environment. These characteristics make cultural values ubiquitous in all people-accessed and people-inhabited geographic spaces thus making people readily available assets and mediums through which environmental sustainability can be implemented.

Keywords COBACHREM • Sustainable communities • Cultural competence • Cultural knowledge • Cultural heritage indicators • CBNRM

4.1 Introduction

As stated in earlier chapters, cultural resources are tangible and intangible remains of societies' past activities on the biophysical environment which when revisited, re-evaluated, reused and reconstructed transform into various forms of cultural heritage (Keitumetse 2011).

Although management of cultural and heritage resources is commonly associated with international conventions, particularly those of UNESCO 1972 and 2003 conventions described in Chap. 2, local communities have long devised strategies through which they managed cultural resources using psycho-social behaviour and relationships as well as local indigenous knowledge systems. However, communities are currently challenged and driven by multiple modern needs that impact negatively on their relationships with their cultural and heritage resources, prompting cultural heritage practitioners to formulate management initiatives that address

threats posed by socio-economic transformation. In Chap. 2 we have referred to intellectual property safeguarding in terms trade marking, patenting and/or copyrighting aspects of cultural property for future use by community generations. To get to specifics, one way to pursue the link between cultural resources and sustainable development is to inventory community-based practices that can safeguard cultural resources and cultural values for upcoming generations.

Hence, this chapter brings out a community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM) process that provides an approach through which communities can harness and safeguard their cultural knowledge and skills through formal systems such as education. A development of a community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM) model represents a narrowed (micro) approach, whereby initiation of cultural and heritage conservation indicators takes place.

Why community based systems?

People inhabit and change environments using socio-cultural and psycho-social behaviours and processes. People use their socio-cultural understanding of phenomena to interact with the environment. People are carriers of cultural heritage. These characteristics make cultural values ubiquitous in all people-accessed and people-inhabited geographic spaces of the world, making people readily available assets and mediums through which environmental sustainability can be implemented. Yet, people's conservation development is rarely planned using cultural resources but rather a skewed focus on natural resources is embarked on.

4.1.1   Sustainable Cultural Heritage Management Using COBACHREM

Within the broader sustainable development context, the COBACHREM model aims to provide a guide to sustainable use of cultural resources by applying a point of departure equivalent to the *precautionary principle* of sustainable development, whereby resources conservation measures are developed prior to destruction of the resource. As such the COBACHREM model advocates for a process, whereby heritage resources at grassroots communities' level are first identified and isolated as a preliminary process to the second stage where operational parameters are also isolated for long-term impact monitoring.

The development of operational frameworks of the model is a gradual and continuous process that will be constantly updated to enhance the model through time.

One particular example through which conservation indicator(s) can be developed for monitoring is the development of educational unit standards (or assessed units of learning registered as part of a qualification) that use community cultural heritage knowledge. These could be certified and credited to enable community members and heritage practitioners to use them for cultural heritage service as tour guides, museum curators, interpreters, storytellers and other vocations. Through

this process, community members will format their cultural heritage knowledge (i.e. document/inventory, safeguard, package, interpret and present), for future use to bargain and compete within both the intellectual and economic environments.

4.1.1.1 COBACHREM and Cultural Policies

The policy relevance of the COBACHREM model is to operationalise sections of international conventions such as sustainable development ideals that call for new initiatives aimed to enhance community participation. Also the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention Article 5 (UNESCO 1972) that looks:

> "…to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programs" is one component that is targeted through the COBACHREM.

In addition, the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Section III Articles 12–15 (UNESCO 2003) on measures for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and inventorying cultural heritage, with a view towards 'participation of communities, groups and individuals' in safeguarding intangible heritage, is also addressed by the COBACHREM model descriptions.

Furthermore, the 1989 UNESCO Convention on Technical and Vocational Education (UNESCO 1989) will be operationalised by the model, in particular its focus on Article 2 of the Convention in designing education within the framework of people's 'respective education systems' which is seen as enabling them '…to acquire the knowledge and know-how that are essential to economic and social development as well as to the personal and cultural fulfillment of the individual in society' which could be facilitated through a community-based cultural knowledge competency education (collection, documentation and dissemination).

At national policy level of countries southern African countries, a COBACHREM model will cancel out the tendency to apply incompatible models to manage cultural resources. For example, in southern Africa the natural resources model called community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) programme is commonly used for this purpose. The consequence of applying an incompatible management model is that management programmes for natural resources are applied by default on cultural resources, a practice that is not sustainable. The section that follows problematises application of CBNRM programme in managing cultural resources and outlines features that render CBNRM programme incompatible for cultural and heritage resources.

4.1.2 The Problem with CBNRM for Cultural and Heritage: The Need for COBACHREM

A community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) programme was introduced in southern Africa in the 1990s. Its application have been interrogated and discussed by various scholars from a point of departure of natural resources

where it originates. Most have hailed the programme as a success (Cf. Cassidy 2000; Roe et al. 2001; Mbaiwa 2004; Thakadu 2005; Sebele 2010), with a few identifying it as a challenge for management of other resources (cf. Phuthego and Chanda 2004; Blaikie 2006; Keitumetse 2007).

In general, however, although most southern African countries like Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe impose this programme on management of cultural resources, no comprehensive evaluation of the implications of the CBNRM programme for cultural resources management has been embarked on by environmental conservationists. Together with the ecotourism model, CBNRM programme ideals are commonly applied in community projects dealing with cultural heritage. There are, however, profound differences between natural and cultural heritage.

To a greater extent, the CBNRM programme follows the protected area model represented by the national parks system where resources are fenced off from people. The fencing system has often been criticised as 'the tendency of the Western mind to detach aspects of traditional cultures…from their contexts so that they become seen as art objects' (Millman 1995: 15). The creation of wildlife parks in particular has been further criticised as an example of '…ecological apartheid which stems from Western secular culture which rejects the idea of cohabitation between humans and animals' (Keefe 1995: 44). Therefore, application of this system of resources conservation is clearly not supportive of communities' interaction with their cultural landscapes. As observed in Kenya, the national park practice has led to a situation where 'the Maasai are excluded from the Game Parks but are allowed to graze their animals in the reserves' (Keefe 1995: 45; Goldman 2003). This is also the case in Botswana where communities are not allowed to reside in national parks and game reserves as per the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act No. 28, 1992. Bolaane (2004) provides a specific example of game reserve policy on an indigenous community called Bugakhwe Bushmen or River San in North-West Botswana (e.g. Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Selected salient differences between CBNRM and COBACHREM

CBNRM existing principles	COBACHREM formulated principles
Land and resources ownership bordered and under modern systems of leasing, tendering, subleasing	Cultural and heritage association following traditional systems of ownership that encourage shared cultural landscapes extending to across borders
Concept of 'community' defined within legal frameworks on establishment of community-based entities such as a community trusts.	'Community' defined by established traditions of social belonging and related benefits, e.g. Chap. 3 discussions
Economic benefits as means to conservation	Innate association with landscapes through cultural facets as a means to conservation. Tourism comes after the fact and it is not the only one benefit

Table 4.1 (continued)

CBNRM existing principles	COBACHREM formulated principles
Income and employment benefit	Intrinsic value, sense of belonging, social cohesion and sustainable communities in harmony with environment
Focused on natural resources in designated protected areas	Addresses the broader environment even outside WMAs
Devolution of authority from community to private concessionaire to manage wildlife and wilderness for tourism	Traditional systems of authority following cultural custodianship systems of a community
Takes place in government's heavy investment areas like game reserves and national parks; hence, interaction with historic environments is hampered, e.g. national parks. Conflict prone areas	Ubiquitous hence broadly shared, less conflict

4.1.2.1   Community-Managed Controlled Hunting Areas of CBNRM: Implications for Cultural Heritage

Operational process of CBNRM is such that in community-managed areas communities can choose either to manage the quotas themselves or lease them to commercial operators. The common practice is to lease the quotas to commercial operators since most communities lack business and professional skills and have no sufficient investment capital. For cultural and heritage resources characteristics, several negative issues arise as a result of this practice:

(i). The temporary transfer of management responsibility to a commercial operator in order to meet business standards is bound to have negative impact on communities' interaction with their cultural landscapes and the overall responsibility. As reiterated in Chap. 1, this nurtures communities to see environment only as a cash cow, as well as gradually nurtures them to become indifferent to environmental protection. A lease to a private operator gives power to the concessionaire (commercial operator) for a period of about 15 years (in the case of Botswana). In principle, therefore, community members temporarily abstain from control, interaction and ownership of the landscape and its resources, consequently hampering sustainability of the knowledge and practices associated with the landscape heritage.

(ii). Because a lease temporarily transfers the site management to a third party, it is more likely that the operator would be responsible for choosing a personnel team that can meet the needs of the tourists and the business project. Given the education standard of communities around wildlife management areas (WMAs), members of the local community are more prone to being sidelined or as observed by Roe et al. (2001) given insignificant tasks that do not require majority interaction with the environment. In the context of cultural and heritage resources conservation, the practice is regarded as non-sustainable since communities do not interact directly with the environment and its resources.

(iii). Because of (i) and (ii), traditional knowledge and skills transfer processes from generation to generation are compromised.

(iv). In instances where communities bring their cultural heritage aspects to the concessionaire partnership, issues of cultural co-modification may occur, as they are not monitored for sustainability given that they are being used as supplements to wildlife tourism. Such uses of the cultural heritage can be explained by what Palmer observed in the Bahamas that where '…economies are heavily dependent on tourism…' it is more likely that the countries '…may find it necessary to 'play along' with the brochure images so as to keep the tourists coming back for more' (Palmer 1995: 92). Communities living around Okavango Delta World Heritage already 'play along' haphazardly to perform dances for tourists in the evenings. The level of impact of this approach on cultural sustainability has to be considered.

 (v). The use of designated geographical boundaries to determine ownership of resources by communities is a common practice in the CBRNRM programme of southern Africa. Communities that reside in proximity of a particular protected area automatically 'own' the wildlife resources in it and can benefit directly from financial proceeds accrued through leasing out tourism areas to private investors. In contrast, however, cultural 'ownership' cannot be determined along such geographical categories because as discussed in Chap. 1, it is without borders. Communities that are culturally affiliated to a site or a village even when they do not reside in their immediate environment are common throughout southern Africa.

(vi). The extent to which communities are attached to a particular heritage has a bearing on the level of conservation they place on the resource. In contrast, the mobile nature of wildlife resources means that communities are less likely to assert any profound claims on their ownership. Consequently, a sense of attachment to and control of these resources by communities are somehow superficial, and subsequently responsibility allotted to its conservation is limited. In contrast, affiliation and 'ownership' issues in cultural heritage are profound because they are entangled within communities' histories, inheritance issues and spiritual beliefs. A sense of 'ownership' and responsibility entrenched through cultural affiliation is not readily disposable, indicating that community culture exclusion through CBNRM process can have negative consequences even for management of natural resources in WMAs.

In summary, it can be concluded that the significance of the CBNRM practice to resident locals around protected areas is limited to business contracts. It thus provides economic benefit but does not lead to sustainable use and management of communities' cultural and heritage resources. Given these characteristics the programme is unlikely to enhance knowledge about the value of the archaeological, historical, traditional and ethnological resources of communities located in WMAs, hence the need for programmes like COBACHREM.

4.2   Community-Based Cultural Heritage Resources Management (COBACHREM) Model: Guiding Frameworks

The community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM) model merges the technical and academic approaches with community cultural knowledge and skills base to allow these to be tapped on at community levels.

The model constitutes a two-phased process with four (04) levels of operation, namely, level I (production), level II (reproduction) and level III (consumption), that distinguish specific components of cultural heritage resources to be monitored at level IV for sustainability.

Monitored indicators, which are limitless, constitute work in progress of the model and will be constantly reviewed, renewed and updated through time.

Examples of monitoring provided in this chapter are the development of cultural competency-based training curriculum that will assist communities to transform cultural information into certifiable intellectual (educational) and culture-economic (tourism) assets. Another monitoring example is the mainstreaming of community cultural qualities into already existing environmental conservation frameworks such as eco-certification to infuse new layers of conservation indicators that enrich resource sustainability.

The technical COBACHREM model acknowledges and builds onto existing academic frameworks of communal identity formation such as indigeneity and autochthony discussed in Chap. 3 case studies.

Where can competency be identified, unearthed, and assessed for COBACHREM model?

4.2.1   Guiding Framework 1: Identifying Stakeholders' Competency Using Noel Burch (1970)'s Theory of Competence Learning

Because our aim is to have various stakeholders give and acquire cultural knowledge and skills as an asset for multiple uses, one way to answer this question is to refer to Noel Burch's (1970) theory of hierarchy of competence learning, which is also associated with Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory. The theory consists of four steps of competency in learning a new skill. These steps are:

1. Unconscious incompetence (individual does not know about or how to do a particular task)
2. Conscious incompetence (lack of knowledge and skill recognised as a deficit by an individual)
3. Conscious competence (the individual recognise the skill but time allocated to doing the task is a lot and needs to be broken down)
4. Unconscious competence (the knowledge or skill is well known that it is second nature)

While Noel Burch used the model to analyses learning steps, in cultural heritage the model can be used to identify stakeholders, as well as analyses stakeholders' capacities during acquisition and dissemination of cultural knowledge and skills amongst various communities. Below is an outline of stakeholder identification process using Noel Burch's (1970) model:

Burch's Step 4-Unconscious competence: *#1 in COBACHREM stakeholder analysis*

The individual has had so much practice with a skill that can be performed easily. For COBACHREM this is where cultural and heritage knowledge and skills associated with landscapes, monuments, sites and artefacts are situated. In a community these are represented by traditional leaders, community elders and designated cultural apprentices and all other custodians of varieties of cultural knowledge and skills.

Burch's Step 3-Conscious competence: #2 in COBACHREM stakeholder analysis

According to Burch's learning, here the individual understands or knows how to do something. However, demonstrating the skill or knowledge requires concentration.

For COBACHREM stakeholder analysis process, this group constitutes cultural heritage research experts, international institutions on heritage and heritage bearers. These groups have the competence to demonstrate, but they need time for coordination and consolidation.

Burch's Step 2-Conscious incompetence: #3 in COBACHREM stakeholder analysis

In Burch's learning assessment, at this stage though the individual does not understand or know how to do something, he or she does recognise the deficit, as well as the value of a new skill in addressing the deficit.

For COBACHREM stakeholder assessment, this includes expert academics on the subject, students of the discipline, select government policy makers and NGOs on the field.

Burch's Step 1-Unconscious incompetence: #4 in stakeholder analysis

In Burch's theory, the individual does not understand or know how to do something and does not necessarily recognise the deficit.

For COBACHREM these are youths yet to have cultural knowledge passed to them by elders, students yet to learn the importance of cultural heritage, natural resources managers yet to know the relevance of cultural resources in broader environmental conservation and social development and community members dislocated by modernity from their cultures, amongst others.

Understanding where cultural knowledge and skills are located and lacking makes planning manageable.

The COBACHREM model operates within a multi-agent landscape made up of socio-spatial and geographic components that influence concepts of community and community participation.

4.2.2   Guiding Framework 2: Conceptualising Community Participation Within COBACHREM: Social Agency as a Cultural Reproduction Process

Psychologists and behavioural scientists have long observed that cultural agency in particular is constituted within social processes carried out by individuals involved in cultural construction. However, cultural heritage management as a relatively new field of study is yet to situate its discourses within psychology and/or behavioural science. Once such links are profoundly established in the future, the concepts of 'community' and 'community participation' will undoubtedly be extended to psychologists' discourses of 'group' (Sandelands and Clair 1993a, b) and 'social and cultural agency' (Orfali 2002; Ratner 2000) influencing cultural and heritage resources management discourses and approaches. Until then the field of cultural heritage conservation can be said to borrow obliviously from psychologists and sociologists' discourses on social agency as a 'social habitus' that is constituted within a group collective (community) guided by both individual and social conceptions (Orfali 2002; Ratner 2000). In particular, reference to the communal nature of agency, Ratner (2000) posits that:

> "Social intentionality is necessary if social life is to occur. Agency must adapt to and promulgate social patterns. Otherwise, there would be no common, stable, or predictable social life. Qualitative social change is possible, however only if individuals are socially oriented to cooperate in mass movements to transform the social organization of activities and associated cultural concepts…" emphasizing the relevance of a collective community (community participation) in cultural production and reproduction.

Within international cultural heritage resources management, a collective community (or community participation) is recognised by, amongst others, the local community participation principle in sustainable development (Keitumetse 2011) and within Article 5(a) of the World Heritage Convention as well as Chapter III of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003).

While most psychologists recognise agency as situated within a society or a majority community, Orfali (2002) illustrates situations where agency becomes active within a minority, when the latter moves away from conformity with majority, towards action that creates conflict strong enough to cause socio-cultural change and subsequently reshape heritage identities. Examples from Botswana cultural contexts where 'active minority' theory is manifested in this manner include the long-standing issue surrounding cultures such as those of the San/Basarwa/Bushmen of Botswana (Keitumetse 2007) and Wayeyi community in the north-west part of the country (Ramahobo 2008). In both instances, the minorities' activeness has created a space for their cultural heritage to be acknowledged, identified and catapulted to not only government where constitution amendment becomes necessary but also at an international level invoking international conventions such as the ILO Convention (ILO Convention 169 1989). The Botswana case studies cited above

evolve around existing academic concepts of community identity formation existent in most cultural contexts and discussed in the section that follows.

While the concept of community participation may have entered sustainable development process (Burhenne-Guilmin 1993) through a rather political context, largely spearheaded through indigenous communities' rights movement (Keitumetse 2007; Midgley 1986), with time there has been a shift towards resources conservation inclusive of other groups although only within natural resources (Sengupta 2001). The phrase 'community-based' has become synonymous with development, prompting formulation of community-based approaches such as COBACHREM model that are tailor made for cultural and heritage resources conservation to provide a formula that plans geographical existence, ownership structures and sharing processes surrounding cultural and heritage resources towards a sustainable conservation strategy. Given this background, conceptualisation of community participation within the COBACHREM model inevitably departs from the concept of community.

4.2.3   Guiding Framework 3: Planning Process

The model processes are technical in nature, but its various operations are rooted in existing academic scholarship, situating the model within both the academic scholarship and technical/practical contexts. The academic acknowledges but is not bound by concepts of identity formation, while the technical/practical follows planning processes in steps I–IV of the COBACHREM model (Fig. 4.1).

The synergy between the intellectual and the technical is better illustrated through a discussion of well-known concepts of identity formation, being *indigeneity* and *autochthony*. The two identity concepts exist in academic scholarship around which the COBACHREM model will operate. Gausset et al. (2011) observes that indigeneity and autochthony concepts are oftentimes presented as synonymous because of their focus on primo-occupancy (place of origin) and cultural specificity but are different in that '…indigenous people are commonly regarded as being the first inhabitants of a given territory, or at least to have occupied it prior to successive waves of settlers' with distinct social, cultural, economic and political characteristics relative to those of the dominant societies in which they live, while autochthony '…is more often used with reference to agricultural or industrial populations, who are not necessarily marginal, but rather believe that their resources, culture or power are threatened by 'migrants" (Gausset et al. 2011: 139).

While indigeneity is more localised, autochthony is compatible with both local and global communal frameworks and, as observed by Hilgers (2011), assumes a characteristic of being malleable, thus applicable to both rural and urban communal contexts where the COBACHREM model will be implemented. Examples from Botswana where both indigeneity and autochthony could be used as guiding frameworks within COBACHREM model are briefly discussed in reference to Chap. 3 content in the results section that follows.
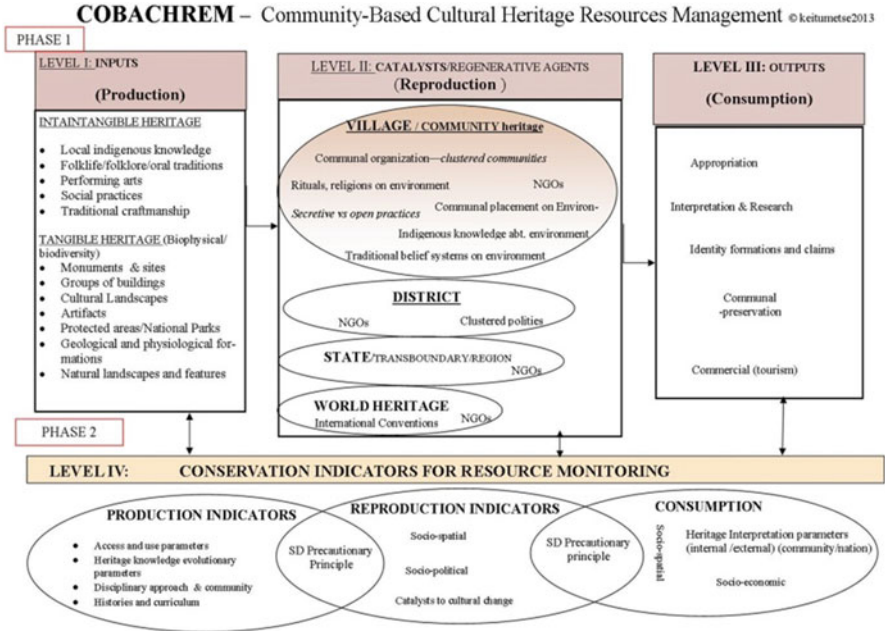
Fig. 4.1 Showing phases 1 and 2 of the community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM) model with indicators of production (level 1), reproduction (level II) and consumption (level III) and monitoring (IV) are constituted in the four levels of the model

4.3   Results and Discussion

The COBACHREM model is founded on a two-phased process being phase 1 with three (03) levels and phase 2 with one (01) level(s). The levels contain isolated operational parameters from which community conservation initiatives and indicators can be clearly distinguished per category of stakeholders within the cultural resources management framework. Once the indicators are identified, a much more focused monitoring (phase 2 level IV) process is feasible.

4.3.1   COBACHREM: The Model and Levels of Operation

Two main phases of the COBACHREM model illuminate on this new perspective:

- Phase 1 (levels I–III): Devises a community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM) framework that isolates and outlines production (inputs), reproduction (regeneration) and consumption (outputs) indicators specific to cultural and heritage resources as a process that enables efficient monitoring

of activities that affect the use and reuse of cultural resources at community levels. This process will also facilitate development of monitoring strategies specific to cultural and heritage resources—e.g. phase 2 below.

- Phase 2 (level IV): The development of operational guidelines (indicators) from the isolated parameters in phase 1 of the model necessitates monitoring approaches and tools for activities in levels I–III. In this chapter, two examples of monitoring tools provided are (i) a development of competency-based education training using people's cultural competency and (ii) mainstreaming of community cultural competency into an already existing eco-certification process.

The paragraphs below outline processes taking place in sections I–IV (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2) as follows:

- Level I (product/production): identifies the foundation upon which cultural heritage resources exist and are contained, i.e. environment as container and cultural environment as a product. Borrowing from Soja (1980, p. 209), we will call this '… space per se, or contextual space …'. The main divergent categories of cultural resources are identified and isolated into distinct categories such as tangible and intangible cultural heritage to enable distinct separation of conservation indicators going forward.
- Level II (reproduction/regeneration): identifies stakeholders that interact with cultural heritage, including grassroots communities. The stakeholders represent reproductive/regenerative agents or socio-spatial catalysts that interact with cultural heritage resources and give them meaning. Section 2.1 above reinforces this level. Questions such as; 'whose heritage?', 'who uses heritage?' and 'for what and why?' are common here. A socio-spatial placement and representation of cultural heritage within sectors and regions is considered. Local heritage transformation to world heritage in what can be termed the geographical transfer of value (Soja 1980) is prevalent at this stage, where community interaction with cultural resources is redefined. Setting *catalytic limits* is necessary here to maintain resource authenticity and benchmark the scale (*catalytic stretch*) at which inputs are influenced by various stakeholders for monitoring in the future. This is equivalent to limits of acceptable change concept in natural resources management (Stankey et al. 1985). It is here where communities are faced with competition for use of their cultural heritage knowledge and where cultural bearers require sensitisation and empowerment through new strategies such as COBACHREM to give them a competitive advantage through their cultural competency.
- Level III (consumption): again borrowing from Soja (1980), we will call this the '… socially-based spatiality, the *created space* of social organization and production', where appropriation of cultural resources through various uses by regenerative agents in level II is at its highest. Consumption of heritage takes the form of identity affiliation; use in claims to resources such as land; traditional, ritual and religious practices; and use in cultural heritage tourism, to mention but a few.
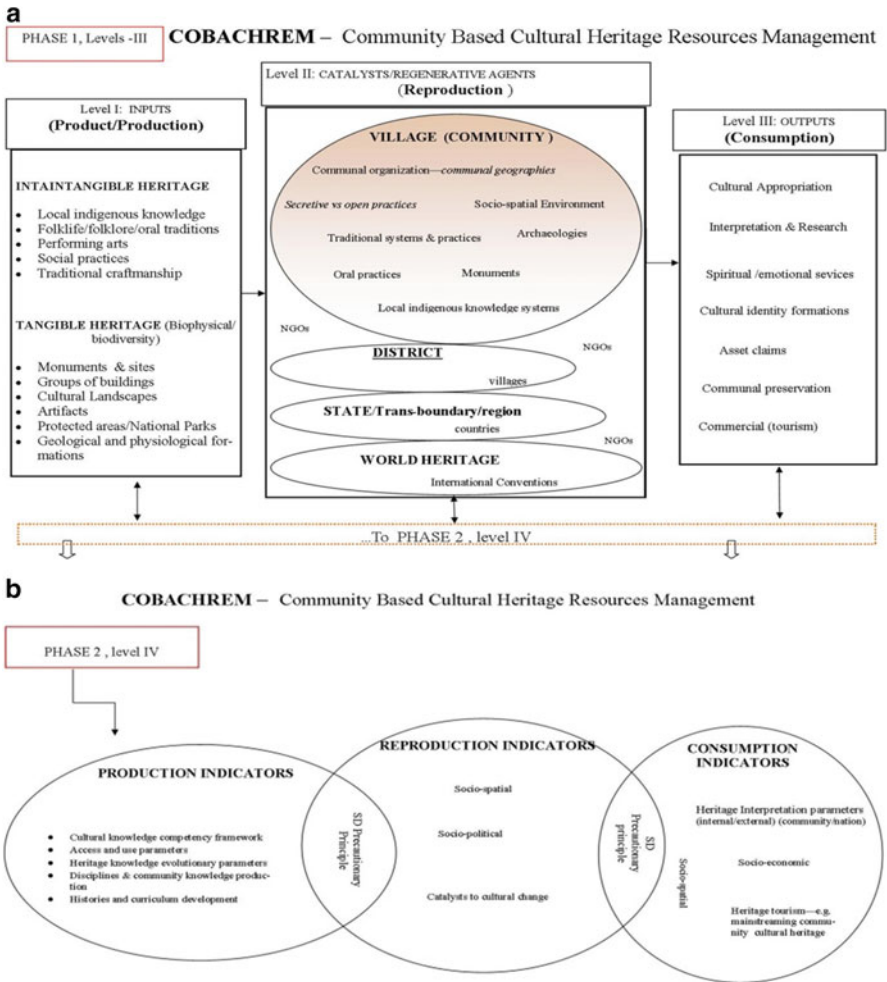
Fig. 4.2 Showing expanded phases 1 and 2 of the COBACHREM model. (**a**) Showing phases 1 with level I (production) level II (reproduction) and consumption (level III); (**b**) Showing phase 2 of the model with level IV where monitoring indicators for levels I–III are developed for conservation

- Level IV (monitoring): is where conservation indicators for each of levels I–III are developed based on identified characteristics of cultural resources that require various conservation approaches. For example, in level II, indicators that will maintain product authenticity are key, while for level III, indicators that limit catalysis to acceptable standards of resource use are encouraged. Finally for level IV, indicators that will maintain a sustainable consumption of cultural resources are sought.

4.3.2   Examples of Identity Formation Concepts for COBACHREM Model: Indigeneity and Autochthony from Chap. 3 Case Studies

As already discussed in the preceding section, the COBACHREM model is technical in nature but sharpens its academic approach to the concept of community from existing discourses and conceptual frameworks of identity formation such as indigeneity and autochthony that are discussed here in brief and in detail in Chap. 3.

4.3.2.1   Kgalagadi Desert Area and Shoshong Village, Botswana, Mentioned in Text

The San/Bushmen community is generally understood to be an indigenous population not only in Botswana but the whole of southern Africa. In Botswana they are mainly, though not exclusively, confined to the Kgalagadi desert area which constitutes two thirds of the country's habitat (Fig. 4.3). Article 1 (a) of 1989 ILO ((1989) Convention No. 169 defines indigenous people as:

> Tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulation. (ILO 1989 online)

This fits most characteristics associated with the concept of indigeneity that they are native or original inhabitants of the southern African area prior to other settlers; they have a distinct social, cultural, economic and political characteristics compared to other communities in the region and are generally perceived to be discriminated against or marginalised within their countries.

The significance of the indigeneity concept of communal identity formulation is better understood for the COBACHREM model when discussed within the model's four processes of operation (Fig. 4.1) as follows:

- Level I (production)—physical environment (locality) or '…contextual space' as characterised by Soja[20], within Botswana San/Bushmen being commonly Kgalagadi desert areas (Fig. 4.3), which by virtue of its distinctiveness determines the constitution of tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the community in question. This comes from the fact that a community work on what it has in terms of environment, not necessarily on the fact that the environment determines what becomes heritage about a community because some skills that are brought to an environment have been innovated outside that environment but ultimately alters it to a particular heritage context.
- Level II (reproduction)—identification of stakeholders that interact with indigenous cultures and communities, in order to assess evolutionary direction of a community heritage resulting from the interaction. Considering indigenous communities as '…first inhabitants of a given territory, or at least to have occupied it
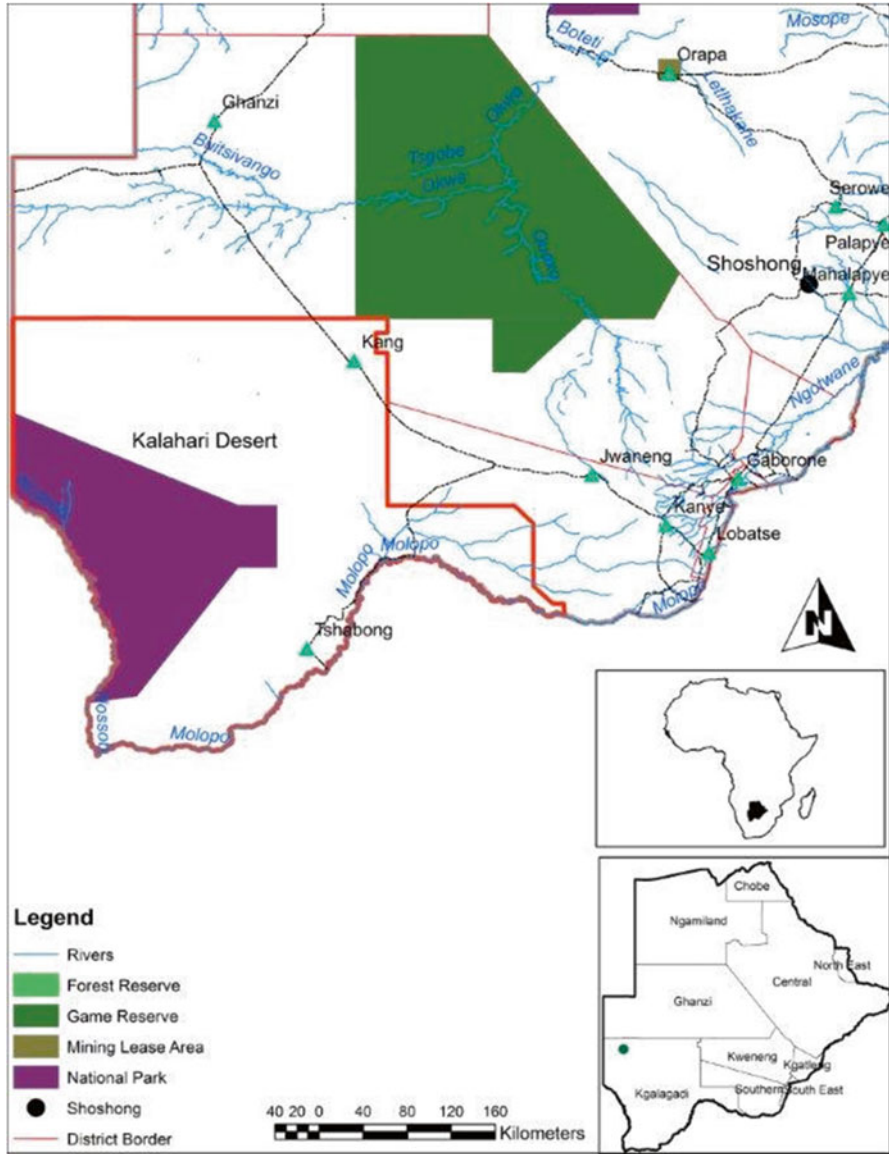
Fig. 4.3 Shoshong village in east-central Botswana and Kgalagadi desert in South-West Botswana

prior to successive waves of settlers' (Gausset et al. 2011), stakeholders in a country such as Botswana can be traced to kingdom/chiefdom status, European explorers and missionaries, to mention but a few. Events that will have brought more stakeholders and influenced the shape of indigenous communities' cultures may include pre-colonial regional wars such as *Mfecane* (Eldredge 1992) which

will have pushed them into environmental frontiers that prompted a revised cultural context, modifying cultural identities from the authentic ones. Many other events will follow including colonial period, nation-state building period and current democracy model, all of which bring along different stakeholders that require identification in order to determine factors that influenced change in authentic cultural context and its resuscitation where necessary. In addition, identification of stakeholders also enables a temporal tracking of their influence on indigenous communities' cultural consumption in step III. The outcome of the identification of stakeholders and/or events process is later used to benchmark the degree of dilution of cultural context as a step towards a more representative cultural component for the community.

- Level III (consumption)—with some of the characteristics of indigeneity being native occupation of land and marginalisation, examples of the *catalytic stretches* of cultural heritage may include the degree/scale of contact with identified stakeholders in II, while *catalytic limits* can be drawn from temporal parameters of the *before-after* contact. In instances where catalytic limits may already have been exceeded, intangible heritage from memory and archaeological data become necessary to determine the boundaries of cultural identity resuscitation, reconstruction and restoration.
- Level IV—monitoring of catalytic limits identified through steps II–III takes places at this stage as a sustainable conservation approach. An example within indigenous concept includes implementing sustainable cultural consumption methods such as keeping sacred knowledge sacred and slowing the scale of extinction of varying cultural domains such as hunting songs, to mention but a few.

4.3.2.2   Autochthony Concept: Shoshong Village People Identities, Botswana

The autochthony concept as defined in Chap. 3 illustrates the relevance of COBACHREM model within a cultural landscape (environment) that consist of multiple and often subtly contested identities and potential benefits derived from applying COBACHREM model's four levels of operation which provide opportunities to achieve balanced selection and presentation. The topic on balanced identities is discussed in detail in Chap. 5 that follows. Balancing identities provides a democratic process through which historical identities of landscapes are expressed. As rightly observed by Vubo (2003) in a study of historical awareness and identity formation in Cameroon, '…the process of globalization is accompanied by the rise of individual group identity awareness and of a politics based on it'.

Autochthonous claims by communities discussed in Chap. 3 illustrate Vubo's observed awareness when cultural identities of two ethnic communities are awakened by one ethnic group's intended dominance of their customary political system of *bogosi* (chiefdom). Within the confines of the definition of autochthony as an

identity concept, it is safe to classify the two ethnic groups of Baphaleng and Bakaa in accordance with Gausset et al.'s (2011) description that they are '…agricultural or industrial populations, who are not necessarily marginal, but rather believe that their resources, culture, or power are threatened by 'migrants'' (Gausset et al. 2011).

In the context of COBACHREM application, Shoshong village can be viewed as a cultural landscape consisting of multiple communal identities with varying competences as per Burch's (1970) category outlined in earlier sections of the chapter. Two of the ethnic groups in Shoshong being Baphaleng and Bakaa have physical presence in the landscape and contest chieftaincy heritage identity against representatives of Bangwato ethnic group that has virtual presence in the village derived from past occupation history by their predecessors.

Following the descriptions of autochthony, the Bangwato ethnic group represent the dominant 'migrant' having moved into the landscape early- to mid-nineteenth century running away from regional wars (Mfecane) to use the Shoshong hills as security shared with the other two ethnic groups. Unlike Baphaleng and Bakaa, historically the Bangwato were then organised into a complex political system of ruler/servant which made them dominant and more visible in the landscape than their hosts. After approximately 40 years, at the end of the regional wars, they moved on to settle in what has since become their distinct cultural landscape in the form of a village called Serowe. Both written and oral history presents Bakaa and Baphaleng as two distinct ethnic groups that occupied the Shoshong village landscape prior to Bangwato. Later on Baphaleng invited Bangwato into their territory as a strategy to amass support against stronger groups in the region that were leading marauding wars in most parts of present-day southern Africa in early- to mid-nineteenth century. The interaction that has now turned into cultural contestation started here.

A brief summary of the settlement histories of the three ethnic groups in relation to the Shoshong village landscape places the Baphaleng ethnic group's settlement in Southern Botswana and later Shoshong village to the sixteenth century following migrations from present-day Republic of South Africa (Chebanne and Monaka 2008) date Baphaleng's presence in present-day Botswana around the 1560s (sixteenth century). In addition, the Bakaa ethnic group is historically known as an offshoot of a kingdom different from Baphaleng, and they settled in the Shoshong village and lived alongside Baphaleng, with whom they still coexist. After migrating to several places in what is now Southern Botswana, the Bakaa eventually settled near Shoshong hills' (Ngcongco 2003, pp. 32–33) around the seventeenth century.

On the other hand, the Bangwato also originated from present-day Republic of South Africa within a lineage that they share with Baphaleng ethnic group, though in an independent and distant relationship. Bangwato ethnic group migrated to the village of Shoshong during the nineteenth century, oral history pointing that it was at the invitation of Baphaleng ethnic group, to run away from regional war massacres. Due to their political and economic organisation, though late arrivals, Bangwato became dominant in Shoshong in the nineteenth century, prompting European missionaries and travellers' to attest the landscape authority only to them in existing

written records later referenced and adopted by local historians as representative of the settlement history and traditional governance of these ethnic groups.

However, in traditional governance practice, the autonomy of the Bakaa and Baphaleng ethnic groups has always been maintained in the village of Shoshong. The traditional governance system of Baphaleng and Bakaa is only coming into contest in the last 3 years by virtue of former political dominant group members wanting to usurp the senior chief position from the two groups though their population has long migrated.

4.3.2.3   Applying COBACHREM Model to Chapter 3 Case Study

Management of cultural traits within which the brief communal history of Shoshong village in Botswana exists requires steps I–IV of the COBACHREM model as a prerequisite to community cultural heritage identification, selection and presentation. The most important trait is that the landscape has multiple communal identities that need to be balanced to create or sustain social harmony within the landscape. As a point of departure, cultural characteristics that overlap are better prioritised to bring cohesion and cultural visibility for all groups concerned. Below is an example of how the COBACHREM model steps can be applied to this particular case study:

- Level I (production)—village settlement history discerned with a focus on various historical locations and events characterising the existing multiple communal identities.
- Level II (reproduction)—reproductive agents of cultural heritage are first traced through historical origins and political and economic history. Communal mapping becomes a prerequisite at this stage. Many other events will follow including colonial period, nation-state building period and current democracy model, all of which bring along different stakeholders that require identification in order to determine factors that influenced change in authentic cultural context and its resuscitation where necessary. Village to state level stakeholders are crucial.
- Level III (consumption)—identification of heritage that is common and neutral to the two communities that have physical presence in the landscape followed by the community with a virtual presence on the landscape. Communities that are 'living the environment' possess a sense of place to the landscape and that should be prioritised.
- Level IV (monitoring indicators)—conservation indicators are developed for historical processes and events identified in steps I–III to sustain communal and social cultural democracy.

The two presented case studies on indigeneity and autochthony illustrate a practical implementation of the COBACHREM model as a platform through which community interventions are mainstreamed in cultural resources management to achieve sustainable use of both historic and natural environments.

4.3.3   Examples of Phase 2, Level IV: Monitoring Initiatives Derived from Production, Reproduction and Consumption Levels in Fig. 4.2

Examples of phase 2, level IV—i.e. isolated operational parameters that emanate from production, reproduction and consumption levels but focused on grassroots communities and can be monitored for cultural conservation. However, in this chapter only two are provided to introduce the COBACHREM model. These include the following examples:

Example #1 Community-based curriculum development framed within competency-based education and training (CBET) framework or education for employment, whereby educational unit standards are developed using community cultural heritage traits as illustrated in Table 4.2 (cf. Botswana Training Authority 2009; New Zealand Qualifications Authority 2004).

In each *title* learning parameters are incorporated/mainstreamed into subcategories that include level of operation, classification, recommended skills and knowledge, criteria for merit, criteria for excellence, outcomes, evidence requirements, etc.

Table 4.2 Competency development framework for cultural heritage curriculum within the (COBACHREM) following competency-based education and training (CBET) guidelines

Competency	Examples of possible titles for curriculum development within COBACHREM	Examples of possible outcomes for learner members of community
(A) Core	Identify local level communities' parameters	Define local in geographic and communal contexts
	Identify heritage knowledge bearers (people)	Classify characteristics of heritage bearers
	Identify historical events	List domains of tangible and intangible cultural heritage
	Categorise domains of cultural heritage	Establish and state communal histories
	Extract heritage knowledge	Demonstrate interview skills
	Inventory/archive/package heritage knowledge	Design a local inventory of communal cultural heritage
	Select and format cultural knowledge suitable for interpretation in heritage tourism	Produce and supply a brochure for heritage guiding
		Etc.
(B) Support	Heritage tourism service	Respond to tourists' questions
(C) General	Interpretation skills	Demonstrate interview skills
	Inventory/archiving skills	Respond to tourists' question
	Presentation skills	Develop a guide brochure
		Organise site tour

Keitumetse (2013)

Table 4.3 Mainstreaming local community cultural competency into environmental accreditation in tourism accommodation establishments

Example of ecotourism and eco-certification attributes Botswana Eco-certification (2010) principles	Select examples of community cultural competency that can be tapped through COBACHREM approach
1. Policies relating to conservation of both wilderness and wildlife resources	Use of taboos and totems relating to wilderness and wildlife conservation procedures
	Traditional hunting practices and select animal species for only rare status occasion
	Sacred places with limited access (carrying capacity related)
	Etc.
2. Physical design and operations	Cultural settlement patterns for social cohesion
	Traditional architecture for minimal land pollution
3. Visitor experience, impact	Communal hospitality
	Exchange of culture in a respectful manner
4. Maximising local community and districts benefits	Procure community made materials such as mats, bedding, furniture, bedside lamps
	Community chefs for cultural meals
	Outsourcing services from community cultural groups
	Procurement of supplies such as traditional food from traditional agriculture systems
5. Conservation	Explore traditional systems of land use
6. Ecotours (nature interpretation)	Example #1 on community cultural knowledge curriculum development

Example #2 Mainstreaming community-based cultural practices into existing environmental accreditation systems such as ecotourism and eco-certification to increase conservation efficiency as well as recognise community cultural competency within popular natural resources conservation frameworks. A detailed discussion on mainstreaming can be found in Chap. 8. Table 4.3 above demonstrates this example using the Botswana eco-certification system (BTO 2010) derived from the global ecotourism framework and discussed in detail in Chap. 6.

4.4   Conclusions

Almost three decades since the formulation of sustainable development (SD) principles (WCED 1987), environmental conservation is still largely centred on environmental sustainability as a consequence of 'natural' resources. The approach has perpetuated a neglect of cultural values found in landscapes and by extension has contributed to a neglect of conservation approaches relating to community cultural use. In contrast with natural resources, cultural heritage resources management approaches are yet to develop clean-cut procedures and processes for formulation of

conservation indicators to use in monitoring, and as such, cultural and heritage resources are rarely prioritised as dominant enablers of sustainable development initiatives. The loophole does not lead to sustainable use of cultural resources that in most parts of Africa are key in various sectors such as landscape planning (Hammani 2012), influencing attitudes to environmental conservation and, recently, enhancing rural economic systems, amongst others. However, the situation does not mean cultural resources are insignificant in enhancing resources conservation initiatives but rather that cultural heritage experts are faced with a monumental task of developing conservation indicators to create a systematic conservation process. The ubiquity of cultural heritage resources in world environments (Laplante et al. 2005; Keitumetse 2005) advocates for an initiative that considers them as more significant drivers that have potential to diversify o the sustainable development ideal at community structures where people are social agents and carriers of cultural heritage. COBACHREM is just one of these initiatives.

The COBACHREM model addresses this loophole by devising a grassroots-based conservation framework that is specific to cultural and heritage resources. The approach is anticipated to enhance conservation of the broader environment as follows:

- Advance planned use of cultural and heritage resources in poverty alleviation strategies to add value to existing conservation initiatives within natural resources.
- Use cultural resources management process (COBACHREM) to diversify communal resource uses in a way that curb competition and subsequently conflicts, surrounding the use of natural resources in poverty-stricken environments such as African wetlands like the Okavango Delta area of Botswana.
- Facilitate the building of sustainable communities in rural landscapes by using cultural resources to connect people to their historic and natural environments in a spiritual, emotional and economic manner expedited through recognition of cultural competency. The approach reduces pressure from overuse of wilderness and wildlife resources.
- Provide cultural resources as alternative resources to curb communal poverty in rural areas of developing countries.
- Merge the technical (model) and academic (concepts indigeneity, autochthony) aspects of cultural resources use to come up with sustainable management approaches.
- Illustrate incompatibility of natural resources models application to cultural and heritage resources management.

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Chapter 5
Interpretation: Dealing with Multiple Identities

Abstract The need for sustainable interpretation of cultural and heritage resources is heightening due to the resources' growing use in socio-political as well as socio-economic forums. Contestations for the resources are bound to surface in situations where multiple identities belonging to multiple stakeholders from multiple historical frameworks exist. Balanced interpretation therefore becomes important. Interpretation can be approached from both a scholarly perspective and a management perspective – the former when knowledge production is a target and the latter when knowledge packaging is the main focus. Preceding chapters of this book have illustrated some conservation and management dichotomies that already exhibit multiple identities. These include amongst others the nature-nurture divide in Chap. 1, tangible-intangible dichotomy in Chaps. 1 and 2, African-European in this chapter and governor-governed in Chap. 3. To illuminate on approaches to interpretation, this chapter uses a site imbued with multiple cultural meanings and values and brings out potential issues to discuss and critique in search of sustainable interpretation. The 'Livingstone Memorial' site in Botswana is a landscape constituting of local (native) and foreign (missionary) components of heritage, therefore conflated with multiple cultural meanings. The case study characteristics invoke questions such as: Whose heritage? Selected by whom? The name of the site denotes a singular identity brand, but the chapter analysis will show that other identities exist and even go beyond historical stativity of missionary brand as they extend to current descendants of natives that shared the site with the missionary. In Africa, sites denoting David Livingstone's heritage are found in Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Madagascar, RSA, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Keywords Multiple identities • Historical dichotomies • Sustainable interpretation • Cultural equity • ICOMOS Charter • Public heritage • David Livingstone sites • Southern Africa

5.1   Introduction: Why Interpretation?

Society, scholars, communities and heritage practitioners place significance on cultural resources, thus transforming them to a heritage status. A process of assessing factors that contribute to some cultural meanings coming to the limelight for social consumption, and others remaining dormant, is the core of heritage studies. This process is dependent on the interpretation process. Interpretation has evolved from exhibition of a single story about a cultural phenomenon to include critique by various stakeholders in and outside identity confines of a particular resource. In carrying out this process, balancing interpretations is key because cultural identities constantly evolve, acquiring and accumulating new meanings over time. Some meanings found acceptable in the past may be transformed as culture becomes dynamic or could be challenged by changing world views that impose change in the way they have been regarded by society (see Chap. 3). Some cultural meanings may be important in serving contemporary society, while others may remain dormant and become useful in the future. Sources of cultural contexts and mediums of cultural expression are several.

Interpretation is the process of sieving and scaling cultural significance of a place, site, monument and/or artefacts. In official contexts interpretation process is hosted within conservation and management platform supported by disciplinary frameworks, legal instruments of international significance, government policies and globally agreed practices. In informal set-ups, interpretation process is hosted by society's ideologies and practices usually entrusted to selected group of custodians in a community who then disseminate the ideologies to the rest of the society using socio-cultural and socio-political networks.

Various sources influence the type of information produced and interpreted. Research disciplines are one of the sources. The influence of research disciplines on cultural knowledge production is briefly introduced in Chap. 1 under 'Scholarship as Conservation' section. It is also illustrated using a case study from this chapter. International legal instruments are also one source of influence on what becomes heritage. This influence is discussed in Chap. 2 on 'international conventions as frameworks of identity'. The contribution of communities (grassroots or otherwise) in shaping cultural and heritage knowledge production is the subject of Chaps. 3 and 4. In particular, Chap. 3 illustrates evolving identities premised upon changing cultural ideologies of a community in a traditional governance system. Chapter 4 in particular highlights a situation where cultural resources are infused in management programmes that are incompatible with its characteristics, a situation with the potential to negatively affect interpreted heritage narratives. In Chap. 7 competing affiliation claims surface as cultural resources assume socio-economic status, challenging interpretation process to be inclusive. I outline these here to show that interpreted meanings come as a result of aggregated identities driven by different social agencies. Heritage practitioners have to have a sieving mechanism that will lead to balance interpretation of a site conflated with multiple cultural values.

Most landscapes in southern Africa are conflated with multiple identities, such as Kruger National Park in South Africa, that have been designated 'natural' category (cf. Cock and Fig 2000). Already existing dichotomies of historical, racial, social status value point to the multiplicity of issues to be managed going forward. Some of the dichotomies that exhibit multiple identities include amongst others: nature-nurture discussed in Chap. 1, tangible-intangible discussed in Chaps. 1 and 2, African-European, coloniser-colonised touched on in Chap. 3, black-white, male-female and royal-commoner touched on in Chap. 3, amongst others. These situations demand a formulated heritage interpretation strategy to enable us to achieve equitable meaning distribution within a landscape and amongst people with a view to curb potential conflict amongst resources custodians and resources users.

Modern interpretation is further challenged by equal rights frameworks to account for issues of cultural equity, i.e. going beyond focus only on the cultural product, to incorporating lateral analysis of ideologies, human generations, human rights components, minority views and informal knowledge sources, amongst others. To illustrate this point of departure, a site carrying cultural identity of a nineteenth-century European historical figure in an African landscape is interrogated as a case study that illuminates discussions and critique on how past and future interpretation frameworks may be approached.

5.1.1   What Is Interpretation?

Sustainable interpretation is premised on the basis that all stakeholders and their cultural identities attached to a site, monument, landscape and/or object are recognised, acknowledged and incorporated as part of the heritage narrative.

In general, interpretation of heritage can be placed into two conceptual categories: subconscious and conscious.

Initial interpretation can be viewed as a *subconscious*/oblivious/spontaneous interpretation where a reflexive process of social self-preservation is embarked on through description and, less so, definition of what a particular heritage signifies.

The second category of heritage interpretation (in particular, but not limited to, modern heritage tourism processes) can be conceptualised as a *conscious* process stage where description is coupled with heightened awareness on existing dichotomies such as the ones outlined above including between host-visitor and visitor-host interrelationships. At this stage human beings produce, reproduce and appropriate cultural meanings and identities to propagate cultural continuity through various mediums.

Southern African heritage interpretation can be placed at the preliminary phase of the second stage where heritage sites such as those earlier inhabited by missionaries are expressed through historical descriptions extracted from historical archives and texts sources, at the exception of the 'future generation' component which in heritage studies provides a window of opportunity to embrace values situated within contemporary resident/local communities' cultural histories and memories. The

Livingstone site in Botswana illustrates this case as well as shows the importance of assessing and presenting '…historical moments …as part of a larger historical process which are still in operation, and which often have wider spatial ramifications …' (Uzzel 1998: 04). Such point of departure acknowledges that native inheritors of a site, monument or landscape continue to engage in the process of 'meaning-making' (cf. Reisinger and Steiner 2006: 481) and cultural value placement, whether in a conscious or an unconscious format.

For operational processes, interpretation can be addressed from both a scholarly and a management perspective.

5.1.1.1 As a Scholarly Approach

In African heritage management practices, heritage interpretation, be it in natural or cultural resources, is commonly treated as a site management issue first and a scholarship or an academic issue second. This order of operation is devoid of academic critique premised on disciplinary, geographical, communal and cultural specifications. As the case study illustrates however, academic research process (knowledge production) is proving to be a key pre-requisite in the management of African cultural landscapes due to its potential to balance presentation of past, present and evolving heritage meanings and identities of African cultural landscapes. Scholarly discourses relating to evolved and continuously evolving cultural meaning are still lacking within heritage site interpretation in sub-Saharan Africa. Insights on interpretation as a scholarly process can be drawn from British contexts as outlined by Uzzel (1998) who identifies three (03) common characteristics necessary for a fully fledged heritage site interpretation as follows:

(a) Challenging '…the visitor to really question their values, attitudes and actions' (pg 01) within a site—this leans towards the ecotourism model used in natural resources management. In a site such as 'Livingstone Memorial', the approach challenges the visitor to reflect on both missionary and local heritage elements.

(b) 'Places, processes and events are invariably subject to multiple or competing interpretations yet rarely do interpretive sites present alternative versions of the past, or of process'—this point is at the cornerstone of this case study illuminating that while landscapes can appear stagnant (e.g. past Livingstone landscape) at a glance, the cultural meanings and identities are in fact fluid and constantly float as human beings exert identities with each new generation of local residents. Alternative histories are a subject of Schmidt and Patterson's (1995) volume on *Making Alternative Histories*.

(c) The non-connectedness of past, present and future (pg 04)—indicative of omission of sustainable development aspect of site management that adds the future version by adding a host-oriented aspect, in addition to the commonly considered visitor-targeted site knowledge production process. Host studies are commonly addressed in ecotourism research under certification. Non-connectedness

evokes the literature on the wider subject of sustainable development (WCED 1987), which then calls for specific operational strategies such as development of cultural resources indicators for cultural resources monitoring (cf. Keitumetse 2005, 2011).

5.1.1.2 As a Management Approach: International

The most significant tool in the field of cultural heritage management is the 2008 ICOMOS Ename Charter for the sustainable interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites which provides a benchmark that:

> Define the basic objectives and principles of site interpretation in relation to authenticity, intellectual integrity, social responsibility, and respect for cultural significance and context. It recognises that the interpretation of cultural heritage sites can be contentious and should acknowledge conflicting perspectives…The Charter seeks to encourage a wide public appreciation of cultural heritage sites as places and sources of learning and reflection about the past, as well as valuable resources for sustainable community development and intercultural and intergenerational dialogue. (http://www.enamecharter.org/initiative_0.html)

In management approach, the ICOMOS Charter (2008) outlines key conditions for sustainable interpretation as constituted within seven (07) principles, being: access and understanding; information sources; setting and context; preservation and authenticity; planning for sustainability; inclusiveness; and research, training and evaluation.

Interpretation as scholarship and interpretation as management are discussed in detail in this chapter using a case study on the Livingstone site to explore avenues through which multiple identities of a site are interpreted from a discipline approach and/or following instruments like ICOMOS Charter principles.

'Livingstone Memorial' in Botswana is a site that was inhabited by missionary David Livingstone during the nineteenth century. The heritage site carries multiple historical dichotomies that subsequently suggest multiple cultural meanings from multiple stakeholders. However, it is expressed only through missionary Livingstone. The most distinct of these dichotomies are local (native) and foreign (missionary), pre-colonial (before independence) and post-colonial (during and after independence) historical paradigms. The site is therefore imbued with multiple meanings that allow interrogation of the subject of interpretation in a cultural heritage management approach. In Africa, Livingstone sites are found Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Madagascar, RSA, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, majority of which are southern African countries.

The case study characteristics invoke scholarly discussion on heritage such as: Whose heritage? Selected by whom? The name of the site denotes that the landscape carries a single identity, in this case, missionary heritage. The case study will show that this is a result of heritage practitioners following a mono-disciplinary approach of written texts and documents that have already heavily expressed the site in a biased brand, with marginal or none acknowledgement of other identities affiliated to the site. Another disenfranchising aspect is the reliance by practitioners

on the physical material (cultural remains) as alluded to in Chap. 1, at the oblivious exclusion of intangible cultural meanings which are evident in records of past relationship between the missionary and the natives of the time, as well as living and constantly changing meanings associated with current communities local to the site.

5.2 Case Study: Multiple Identities of the 'Livingstone Memorial' Site, Botswana

This and subsections introduce the presence of missionaries in southern Africa and presents the case study subsections of Livingstone (missionary) heritage and the Bakwena (native) heritage. The purpose is to illustrate how sites are presented, which elements are often inflated or deflated and why, and what could be done to aim for balanced interpretation of the heritage site.

5.2.1 Missionaries and Native Contact in Southern African Landscapes

Events relating to missionary landscapes in southern Africa have been well documented by various scholars (Blaikie 1881; Charles 1927; Schapera 1959, 1960, 1961; Parsons 1997; Ross 1999; Comaroff and Comaroff 2001; Leornardi 2003; Volz 2008). They illustrate that missionary presence in various parts of southern Africa accorded them the opportunity to '…locate their identities within landscapes or have their identities metaphorized as landscapes' (O'Keeffe 2007:09) as evidenced by Botswana's 'Livingstone Memorial' site. Further example is in present-day Zimbabwe, where Simmons (2000) describes the landscape spread of nineteenth-century missionary churches as follows: London Missionary Society (LMS) in Matabeleland, the American Methodist Episcopal Church amongst the Manyika, the Dutch Reformed Church amongst the Mashonaland and the Anglican Church situated within the Umtali district in the Eastern Highlands, creating geographical points of both religious influence and cultural influence.

The European settler attributes of missionaries provide a good opportunity to assess whether in the present, the multiple identities of landscapes they populated are reflected in their interpretation or are shrouded in great men narratives of the nineteenth century.

Contact of southern African natives with missionaries impacted on their cultural lifestyles (Livingstone 1857; Endfield and Nash 2007) in various areas such as building of tribal relationships (Simmons 2000; Willoughby 1905); political engagement, e.g. assistance in regional wars (Livingstone 1857); provision of health services (Endfield and Nash 2007); and exertion of socio-political influence at a local community level (Rutz 2008; Livingstone 1857). The interventions and interactions

have thus created cultural meanings and cultural heritage values that we expect to see coming up in heritage reinventions of these sites and monuments located all over southern Africa.

Simultaneously, African agency was also manifested through various interventions, amongst them Africanisation of Christianity by southern African Tswana polities (cf. Comaroff and Comaroff 2001), with other scholars arguing that European missionaries may have '…had little control over the different ways that early Tswana converts in particular perceived, adapted, and proclaimed the new teaching' (Volz 2008: 112). Applied resistance towards European Christianity has also been noted in several areas (Volz 2008; Arkush 2011), a specific example being that of Madagascar, where Leornardi (2003) describes how since 1783 Malagasy's Merina crown in central highlands of Madagascar shaped Christian practices to suit their strategy to gain socio-economic power.

Africans also manifested agency through religious governance which more often sparked discordant thinking amongst missionaries and native communities. For example, in Kuruman Robert Moffat and two of his colleagues, John Phillip and James Read (Rutz 2008) maintained polarised views on the extent to which native agency and native independence should be encouraged. Inevitably Africans would have taken advantage of the polarised views to shape their interaction with both missionaries and Christianity.

In general however, most missionaries, like David Livingstone, aimed to abolish traditional activities viewed as heathen by converting natives into Christianity, and in this, '…churches….served as ideological factories where European and American worldviews were institutionalized…' (Simmons 2000: 07), and landscape served '…as a "veil" to cover the internal contestations and contradictions' (Claval 2007: 91), all of which make up historical heritage components of the landscape in the present.

5.2.2   David Livingstone (Missionary/European): Heritage Attributes of 'Livingstone Memorial'

The Kolobeng river site that came to be known as the David Livingstone Memorial site's contact with missionary heritage began in 1847, when Livingstone the missionary reached former Bechuanaland, Kolobeng. He left the area in 1851. Prior to Livingstone' arrival, Bakwena polity of Chief Sechele resided in the landscape and engaged in their cultural practices through agencies such as chiefdom system, polygamy, rainmaking, traditional doctors' practices and traditional rituals for various life challenges, to mention but a few. The now David 'Livingstone Memorial' site in Botswana (Fig. 5.1) is located in the south of Botswana near a village called Kumakwane, along the local Kolobeng river, approximately 40 km west of the capital city, Gaborone (Fig. 5.1).

Fig. 5.1 Road signs for 'Livingstone Memorial' site in southern Botswana

'Livingstone Memorial' site, fenced in 1916, was first established as a protected monument during the colonial period under Proclamation No. 40, of 18 November 1911, cited as *The Bushmen Relics and Ancient Ruins Protection* (*Bechuanaland Protectorate*) following concerns of its deterioration by European travellers (file BNA S.175/2/1: *Star* newspaper1930 and 1949). Between 1928 and 1930, concerns by the Caledonian Society of South Africa and the European Advisory Council prompted the London Missionary Society (LMS) to finally erect a commemorative plaque in 1949 that read:

> *Here dwelt Dr Livingstone, Missionary and Explorer, from 1846 to 1851*
> (BNA file S.175/2/1), obliviously marking the site as predominantly "Livingstone".

In 1952, the site was declared a historical monument, and in 1970 it became protected under a new post-colonial legislation, the *1970 Monuments and Relics Act*. These initiatives preserved tangible cultural heritage (cf. UNESCO 1972) that are relatively favourable to missionary heritage at the exclusion of intangible heritage (UNESCO 2003; Keitumetse 2006) and that are relatively favourable to African natives' forms of heritage.

Livingstone site is currently protected under a revised *Monuments and Relics Act No. 12 of 2001*, bearing the 'Livingstone Memorial' tag (Fig. 5.1) that still ascribes a significant identity to the missionary relative to Bakwena polity of Chief Sechele. The naming of the site (Fig. 5.1), together with factors discussed in sections below, is skewed towards missionary heritage, although both native and missionary cultural meanings exist within the landscape. As already stated, native communities' cultural legacy and affiliation are largely intangible (belief systems, folklife, norms, etc.) and more impressionable/malleable through time, while missionary cultural identities are commonly tangible (e.g. architectural feature remains, written historical

records) and more rigidly situated, leading to the latter being more noticeable and with a more elevated presence than the former. This observation triggered the need to assess theoretical approaches to interpretation of missionary landscapes as a whole as an aim to develop sustainable site interpretations that can be considered for other sites and monuments in the region.

David Livingstone, born March 1813 in Blantyre, Scotland, lived in several parts of southern Africa including Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, RSA, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. After being ordained a minister in 1840, Livingstone reached Bechuanaland, Kolobeng, in 1847, having before settled in Kuruman in 1841, Mabotsa (1844–1845) and Chonuane (1845–1847)—all in present-day Republic of South Africa. One of his children, Elizabeth, died in Kolobeng at 6 weeks old and her grave is marked on the landscape. The geographical spread illustrates 'missionary sites' that would benefit from management approaches suggested in this article.

Livingstone's work in Bechuanaland Protectorate amongst a '…section of the Bechuanas, called Bakwains…' (Livingstone 1857: 09) left behind a significant legacy. He set up a school in Kolobeng (Parsons 1997), where his wife, Mary, taught natives reading and writing skills. Livingstone finally left Kolobeng in 1851 and died in present-day Zambia in 1873. Several written events bear testimony to his legacy.

During his stay in Bechuanaland, Livingstone assisted Bakwena to protect themselves against the Boers' treatment which he expressed in a letter to his parents (March 1847):

> Preached to many tribes who never heard a kinder message from a white man than a kick of the foot or shot of a gun…their oppressors are Dutch Boers… and the Bechuanas live in the land of their fathers only by sufferance. (Schapera 1959: 188)

His criticism of the ill treatment of the natives alienated Livingstone further from the Boers as they believed that he supplied ammunition to Chief Sechele (letter to Schapera 1960):

> The Boers believe that I have sold Sechele 500 guns and cannon. This belief has tended to keep them from slaughtering the Bakwains as they have done to several other tribes…. (Schapera 1960: 129)

The Boers finally attacked the Bakwena after Livingstone had left Kolobeng in 1851:

> The natives under Sechele defended themselves…and in that defence killed a number of the enemy, the first ever slain in this country by Bechuanas. (Livingstone 1857: 39)

5.2.3   Chief Sechele and Bakwena Polity (Local): Heritage Attributes

The natives represented by the legacy of Chief Sechele and his polity known as Bakwena are illuminated in this section as part of the heritage site that deserves to be significantly expressed through the site.

Chief Sechele's interaction with Christianity symbolises some of the resistances that the Tswana exhibited towards European Christianity. Sechele is described in some of Livingstone's records as: '…a man of great intelligence, [who] became a convert in October 1848, and learned to read' (Anonymous 1895: 26) after following '…a consistent profession for about three years…' (Livingstone 1857: 18).

Sechele had been the village's renowned rainmaker prior to his conversion which demanded that he discontinue rainmaking rituals and give up all but one of his five wives, a decision that led to resentment amongst the villagers:

> All the friends of the divorced wives became the opponents of our religion. The attendance at school and church diminished to very very few besides the chief's own family. (Livingstone 1857:18)

A drought that followed also fuelled rejection of the Christian gospel by Bakwena polity who associated the environmental events with Sechele's conversion to Christianity as noted in Livingstone's letter (November 1848):

> …successive droughts having only occurred since the gospel came to the Bakwains, I fear the effect will be detrimental. There is abundance of rain all around us…and yet we who have our chief at our head in attachment to the Word receive not a drop…. (Schapera 1960: 301)

Native agency is further illustrated in Livingstone's frustrations such as his acceptance that the native doctors use traditional medicine around his house to incite rain:

> …Our house was supposed the cause why no rain came down, and we were requested to allow them to sprinkle it with medicine. To this we had no objections…. (Schapera 1961: 103)

It appears that the Bakwena of Sechele applied resistances to Christianity as a way to sustain and manifest their cultural beliefs. For Livingstone to accept that Bakwena perform their rituals on his house may be interpreted as indicating a refusal to condemn native practices outright as they formed a cultural identity that is part of the heritage site today.

Livingstone left Kolobeng in 1851, citing terrorism by the Boers as the main reason:

> As there was no hope of the Boers allowing the peaceable instruction of the natives at Kolobeng, I at once resolved to save my family from exposure to this unhealthy region by sending them to England…, with a view to exploring the country in search of a healthy district…. (Livingstone 1857: 92)

Sechele continued his opposition of the Boers' repression of his polity long after Livingstone's departure. Sechele died in 1892.

In addition to the above account, Livingstone's historical records outline events, such as rainmaking ceremonies, polygamy and witchcraft beliefs and practices, as indicators of native agency that prevailed on the site and have potential for presentation where '…a landscape approach [that]…avoid unhelpful divisions between the human and material dimensions of the site…and [captures] …diverse experiences of the landscape in the past and the present' (Hicks and MacAtackney 2007:15) is adopted through further research such as ethnography and oral histories that provide

potential to '…re-contextualize landscape memory or reconnect images from oral traditions with the older contexts through which they were transmitted in the past' (Shetler 2007: 18).

5.2.3.1   Alternative Identities Derived from Alternative Methods: Community Heritage Superimposed

Components of heritage outlined in sections above were derived from approaches of historical texts and archaeological methodologies. Through archaeological survey and excavations, as well as reliance on historical records written from a discipline-based perspective, physical remains of the missionary's house and the burials of missionaries' relatives (Fig. 5.1) were identified as core heritage of the site. Also brought to the fore was the history of Livingstone the missionary and his 'great' deeds.

In contrast, this section illustrates the other heritage that comes to the limelight when other perspectives and methods are superimposed on historical texts analysis and archaeological methodologies followed from a conservative alignment of cultural heritage studies with these.

The approach involved looking beyond 'bordered heritage' in a protected site designated by national policy instrument such as the Monuments and Relics Act to nearby environments in the form of a community village of Kumakwane where descendants of Chief Sechele's polity of Bakwena are located.

Site survey, oral interviews, participant observations and informal conversations with local visitors and residents of nearby Kumakwane village brought out elements testifying to communities' interactions with 'bordered heritage' site which were previously not included.

Ethnographic survey was conducted to supplement other sources of information such as archival documents from Botswana National Archives (BNA) and libraries as well as printed media (Fig. 5.2) which were used as information sources that yielded most of the information presented in earlier sections of the article.

In Kumakwane village, which is in close proximity to the site, residents of three ethnic wards or *dikgotla* (traditional wards) named Kgosing, Masetedi and Newtown were interviewed. Ethnography was engaged to '…understand the ways in which individuals make sense of their everyday life' (Palmer 2009: 125) around a site, covering not just surveyed landscape but also assessing present-day local communities' cultural interaction with the now missionary landscape. Ethnography allowed inclusion of oral traditions which are known to cover social, mental and literary frameworks (cf. Ki-Zerbo 1990), amongst others.

The ethnographic questionnaire was divided into four sections on *knowledge* about the site (mental/literary), *benefit* from the site (socio-economic), *current and continuous* use of the site (social/identity) and *development potential* (sustainability) of the site. Fifty three (53) respondents identified through a snowball approach (respondents recommending one another) were interviewed and aggregated verbal responses analysed for summative association presented in the following paragraph.

Klobeng ruins

David Livingstone's ghost lives on in the remains of his 1840 mission, 3km outside Kumakwane on the Kanye Road. The ruins of Botswana's first church can also be found here. The mission was ransacked during one of the Boer raids, and the remains include Livingstone's house as well as several graves. (1)

THE SITE (3)

Remnants of the mud brick walls lasted until the 1930's. Unfortunately, there are no pictures or records of the station in its heyday. Excavations found traces of the ceilings which were made of mud and reeds, and some walls had been papered with a floral design.

The grave circled with stones has recently been identified as Elizabeth's. Two others are now known to be those of Alfred Dolman, adventurer, and his servant John Coleman. While the Livingstones were making their way to the Cape, these men met their deaths a few miles north of Kolobeng, possibly at the hands of another traveller. Their remains, which were scanty after lions found them, were probably buried by Paul or Mabalwe. The fourth grave has not been identified.

KOLOBENG RUINS (2)

At the Kolobeng River about 3km outside Kumakwane, on the Kanye road, are the Kolobeng ruins—the remains of David Livingstone's 1840 mission and the site of Botswana's first Christian church. The Boers in one of their raids ransacked the mission. The remains today include Livingstone's house and some graves. Further information from the Botswana Society. Tel: 39511500.

To Gaboro

Kolobeng River

house
forge   graveyard
church   entrance
To Thamaga   picnic
                                          site

The site

verandah

study

bedroom   sitting room

bedroom

kitchen

The house

Fig. 5.2 Excerpts from local magazines publications illustrating site's perceived and marketed identity: 1 and 2 (From Botswana Focus 2003 and Discover Botswana 2003, respectively, commissioned by the Department of Tourism). Presentation 3 (From a brochure by Archaeology Unit, Botswana National Museum, c.1998)

In general 73.6 % of respondents who visited the site before exhibited different 'knowledges' about it: 50 % knows the site to contain graves of Europeans; and 23.6 % indicated that the site contains Livingstone's grave only, a biased perception of the landscapes as foreign (European).

The questions on use and benefit from the landscape elicited mixed responses with 43.4 % stating that resident populations do not benefit (both financially and emotionally), and 28.3 % indicate the site is used as a resting place. About 22.6 % indicated the site to be used for resource (firewood) harvesting and others cited use for religious purposes (11.1 %) such as worship, ritual and baptism (Figs. 5.3 and 5.4) taking place along the nearby Kolobeng river stream. The results also yielded a prevailing knowledge that the area is used for picnics and parties (39.6 %; Fig. 5.4). The use of burial site for recreational rather than sacred purposes marks a divergence that is significant and extraordinary for Batswana's (Botswana citizens)

Fig. 5.3 Remnants of partying on site
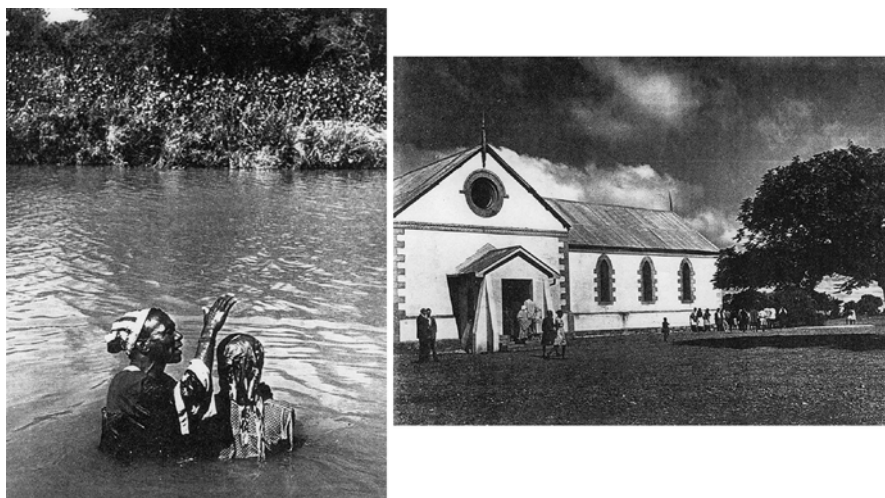
Fig. 5.4 Missionary legacies (BNA, Illustration 297; BNA Illustration 302). *Left*: baptising of church members takes place at Kolobeng river. *Right*: LMS church at Kanye village of the Bangwaketse (one of Tswana ethnic groups) in 1871

culture as it does not conform to the usual Batswana regard for places associated with mortuary practices—usually regarded with awe coupled with a degree of fear (cf. Keitumetse 2006). This may be interpreted as resident communities' indifference to the 'Livingstone' rather than 'their' landscape.

The dialogue below exhibits one of several captured between a site custodian (CTN) and several local tourists (TRT) during a guided tour. It illuminates the potential of ethnography to bring out issues that core science approach cannot capture, as well as indicate general discussions relating to some of the missing cultural affiliations and identities associated with the site.

5.3   Discussion and Conclusion: A Framework for Sustainable Interpretation of Sites with Multiple Identities

Sustainable interpretation is premised on the basis that all stakeholders and their cultural identities attached to a site, monument, landscape and/or object are recognised, acknowledged and incorporated as part of the site narrative. The ICOMOS

Box 5.1 Exhibit of Some of the Questions Asked by Local Visitors to the 'Livingstone Memorial' Site (administerd by author)

CTN: 'The big stone remains show that Livingstone could not have built the house on his own…'.

TRT: Where did Bakwena go when Livingstone left?

CTN: To Dimawe (another site).

CTN: 'This stone that was used by Livingstone for patients is called the Livingstone dental stone. When Trinity Church was built in the city (Gaborone), Revered Jones (UCCSA church pastor) came and borrowed it. However, Dr Merrriweather (former medical doctor) instructed that it be taken back to Kolobeng where it belongs'.

TRT: Where did Bakwena live? Here…in Kumakwane?

TRT: When Livingstone lived here, were there other people living here?

CTN: 'They lived on the other side of the road…over there' [pointing outside site fence].

CTN: Mary was fluent in Setswana and taught in this school [pointing to stone remains].

TRT: Were these graves set up by the museum? [Referring to Elizabeth and explorers' graves on the site]

CTN: No, they were set up during Livingstone's time.

CTN: 'I sometimes ask myself where archaeology was when all these things [Bakwena cultural remains] were getting destroyed…'.

Charter (2008) identifies principles of sustainable interpretation as those that enable intellectual access and understanding; uses accepted scholarly methods and living traditions; covers a wider context; respects authenticity; places sustainability as a central goal; includes all heritage stakeholders; and engages in continuing research, training and evaluation.

In the past, several factors hindered sustainable interpretation of heritage in southern African landscapes. For example, in South Africa, Hall (1996) and Schmidt (1995) point to the apartheid regime as having excluded cultural heritage of black Africans as a deliberate attempt to advance '… apartheid-related claims that Africans had not settled much of the southern part of the continent long before Boer settlement' (Schmidt 1995: 124). Great Zimbabwe monument provides another example where, '… the most damaging aspect of the whole African experience was… the attribution of Great Zimbabwe to outside influence, without a shred of evidence…' (Connah 2000: 223). Further off in Kenya, the absence of local identities is attributed to exclusion of African archaeologists who since the Leakey discoveries of the 1920s were excluded as research became 'predominantly the domain of white Kenyan pre-historians and their European collaborators…' (Schmidt 1995: 128).

In contrast, this article illustrated a threat within a seemingly localised problem of site interpretation of landscapes previously inhabited by missionaries but also containing constantly evolving identities contributed by living communities.

Drawing from the case study on 'Livingstone Memorial' site, it is fair to suggest that identities of resident communities are not significantly projected from the 'Livingstone Memorial' site due to an oblivious focus on biased disciplinary approach of archaeology and history characteristic of current perception of cultural heritage studies. As such material and visible cultural remains and written histories dominate knowledge of what constitute cultural heritage of the site. This leads to absence of intangible aspects of heritage as well as continuous living cultures contributed mostly by ethnographic, anthropological, sociological and psychological and general environmental studies, amongst others. It is thus that aspects of rural communities' sense of place identity that emanate from an abstract conceptualisation of heritage are somehow obscured as part of the site's interpreted heritage.

In post-colonial study critique, written records of history are sometimes perceived as representing 'the Western book and print culture' (Graham 1987: 08) as they more often emanate from a biased perspective of cultural perceptions of those that produced them. This is true of the site's historical texts focus on a dominant male figure's history, whereas in an African set-up, history is a contribution of multiple stakeholders such that its writing demands an all-encompassing inclusion of elders, advisors, custodians and performers. Given this realisation, knowledge generating methodologies in conservative cultural sites of Africa may need to look into ethnography and oral tradition as methods that provide opportunities for documenting living heritage and other continuous interactions within a site such as Livingstone Memorial. Such approaches recognise that '…historical knowledge is as much

about the journey [temporal changes in meanings], as it is about the destination [the actual past]' (Stahl 2010: 256). The past is static and living communities' oral histories are in constant evolution. As already stated, native communities' cultural legacy and affiliation are largely intangible (belief systems, folklife, norms, etc.) and more impressionable/malleable through time, while missionary cultural identities are commonly tangible (e.g. architectural feature remains, written historical records) and more rigidly situated, leading to the latter being more noticeable and with a more elevated presence than the former.

In addition to methodological framework and the ICOMOS Charter (2008) guidelines, an approach that requires identification of *production* and *consumption* indicators specific to cultural heritage resources is necessary. Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 provides a general reference to planning a process of formulating local heritage site production and consumption indicators.

Table 5.1 Principles of site interpretation and their attributes adopted from ICOMS Charter (2008) and applied into general Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (Column 3)

ICOMOS Charter principle #	Key attributes supporting multi-vocal, malleable and transitional identities' interpretation characteristic of southern African missionary sites	General implications for African heritage conservation and management
Principle 1: access and understanding	1.2—'Interpretation and presentation should encourage individuals and communities to reflect on their own perceptions of a site and assist them in establishing a meaningful connection to it…'	Heritage without borders approach discussed in Chap. 1
Principle 2: information sources	2.1—'Interpretation should show the range of oral and written information, material remains, traditions and meanings attributed to a site…'	De-tag from single discipline feeding cultural heritage knowledge
Principle 3: attention to setting and context	3.1—Interpretation should explore the significance of a site in its multi-faced historical, political, spiritual and artistic contexts. It should consider all aspects of the site's cultural, social and environmental significance and values	Evolving identities of landscapes, sites, monuments and artefacts added on by cross-cutting people aspect of conservation
Principle 4: preservation and authenticity	4.1—Authenticity is a concern relevant to human communities as well as material remains. The design of a heritage interpretation process should respect the traditional social functions of the site and the cultural practices and dignity of local residents and associated communities	Chapters 1 and 2 discussions on heritage without borders, social intellectual property, etc.

Table 5.1   (continued)

ICOMOS Charter principle #	Key attributes supporting multi-vocal, malleable and transitional identities' interpretation characteristic of southern African missionary sites	General implications for African heritage conservation and management
Principle 5: planning for sustainability	5.3—Interpretation and presentation should serve a wide range of conservation, educational and cultural objectives. The success of an interpretive programme should not be evaluated solely on the basis of visitor attendance figures or revenue	Recognition of fluid interactions with heritage spaces as representative of future generations' component of sustainability. Use should therefore be planned for. For example, Chap. 4 on COBACHREM
Principle 6: concern for inclusiveness	6.1—The multidisciplinary expertise of scholars, community members, conservation experts, governmental authorities, site managers and interpreters, tourism operators and other professionals should be integrated in the formulation of interpretation and presentation programmes	Conservative disciplinary approaches (Chap. 1) and dislocated (Chap. 2) international conventions approach to African heritage management can temper with inclusiveness
Principle 7: importance of research, training and evaluation	7.2—The interpretive programme and infrastructure should be designed and constructed in a way that facilitates ongoing content revision and/or expansion	Scholarship as conservation strategy for African heritage (Chap. 1)

Table 5.2   Principles of site interpretation and their attributes adopted from ICOMS Charter (2008) and applied in the Interpretation and Presentation of a site with multiple identities such as Livingstone Memorial Site (column 3)

Charter principle #	Key attributes supporting multi-vocal, malleable and transitional identities' interpretation characteristic of southern African missionary sites	Problem identified through 'Livingstone Memorial' site, Botswana
Principle 1: access and understanding)	1.2—'Interpretation and presentation should encourage individuals and communities to reflect on their own perceptions of a site and assist them in establishing a meaningful connection to it…'	Living tradition component missing
Principle 2: information sources	2.1—Interpretation should show the range of oral and written information, material remains, traditions and meanings attributed to a site…'	Written plaques lack oral tradition aspect of community
Principle 3: attention to setting and context	3.1—Interpretation should explore the significance of a site in its multi-faced historical, political, spiritual and artistic contexts. It should consider all aspects of the site's cultural, social and environmental significance and values	Only 'heritage in borders' accounted for as is the case in wildlife and wilderness areas. The nature of cultural heritage overflows borders designated using policy instruments

(continued)

Table 5.2 (continued)

Charter principle #	Key attributes supporting multi-vocal, malleable and transitional identities' interpretation characteristic of southern African missionary sites	Problem identified through 'Livingstone Memorial' site, Botswana
Principle 4: preservation and authenticity	4.1—Authenticity is a concern relevant to human communities as well as material remains. The design of a heritage interpretation programme should respect the traditional social functions of the site and the cultural practices and dignity of local residents and associated communities	Native heritage, traditional social functions not reflected in site presentation
Principle 5: planning for sustainability	5.3—Interpretation and presentation should serve a wide range of conservation, educational and cultural objectives. The success of an interpretive programme should not be evaluated solely on the basis of visitor attendance figures or revenue	Static preservation of missionary heritage in written records and archaeological material in situ. No account for fluid local interactions which contribute to site cultural value through time
Principle 6: concern for inclusiveness	6.1—The multidisciplinary expertise of scholars, community members, conservation experts, governmental authorities, site managers and interpreters, tourism operators and other professionals should be integrated in the formulation of interpretation and presentation programmes	Dominant historical descriptions of missionary
Principle 7: importance of research, training and evaluation	7.2—The interpretive programme and infrastructure should be designed and constructed in a way that facilitates ongoing content revision and/or expansion	Nineteenth-century missionary activities prevalent. Temporal meanings lacking

In summary, specific interpretation principles (ICOMOS 2008), relevant methodological considerations (Ki-Zerbo 1990; Palmer 2009; Darke et al. 1998) and sustainability approach that identifies *production* and *consumption* indicators (Keitumetse 2011) require a critique of methodological approach as well as assessment of conservation approaches towards protected monuments and sites. In particular to landscapes inhabited by missionaries, future research from other parts of southern Africa shown in Fig. 1.1 is necessary to assess the issues surrounding balanced interpretation further.

Table 5.3 Showing general guideline to identification, selection and interpretation of cultural indicators in a site such as Livingstone Memorial (After Keitumetse 2011)

Step #	General indicators of heritage site *production*	General indicators of heritage site *consumption*
1	*Research or knowledge production*—to balance identities	Multi-stakeholder, multi-vocal source components addressed
	Ethnography (contemporary community voice): for knowledge on contemporary local identities	
	Written records: for knowledge on missionary identities and past in general	
	Archaeological material	
2	*Accounting for evolving values*—present and future use values of landscape captured	Cherished site identities include those affiliated to both local and international communities
	Historical paradigms can ensure coverage as follows: pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial (independent), post-independent period (human rights, micro-visibility), etc.	
3	*Balanced identification*—selection of cultural meanings of all stakeholders	International history, national history and living histories prevalent on site
	Both tangible and intangible aspects of heritage	Reinforcement of community identities, e.g. ritual and traditional activities on site
4	*Politics of interpretation*	Manage perceptions relating to both national and international world views

Further Reading (Bibliography)

Archival documents from Botswana National Archives (BNA)

The following format is used to cite BNA documents:

//Botswana National Archives (BNA), File number, year, *title*, city, publisher//

BNA File S 175/2/1. 1949–51. Ruins: *Preservation of in Bechuanaland*. Mafikeng: Secretariat department contains the following documents cited in the text:

- "Plaque Marks Old Home of Explorer: Grave of daughter found overgrown" *Star*, 4th August 1949, Mafikeng: South Africa
- Macrae, Duncan Mackenzie, 1930. "One of Livingstone's Mission Homes: Inaccessible Kolobeng today" *Star* 1930, Mafikeng: South Africa
- Illustration 297: Pastor of the Apostolic church, an African sect, baptizes a convert, 1960
- Illustration302: LMS church at Kanye, 1895

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Chapter 6
Grading and Certification: Implications for Cultural Heritage Management

Abstract Anecdotal mention of cultural resources in already established natural resources grading and certification systems exists, in particular within the broader ecotourism model. In the absence of certification standards for cultural heritage management field, this chapter explores how certification initiatives that already exist can be used as a springboard to inspire similar initiatives in cultural heritage management. In this chapter the broader ecotourism model is identified as a framework for discussion. The most dominant use of natural resources in African landscapes is tourism, and as such most grading and certification programmes are modelled around tourism use. Resources use in tourism involves a broad range of stakeholders that are both local (host) and international (tourists). Tourism also uses a wide range of resources by type, spanning from landscapes to animals to features. The same is also true for cultural and heritage resources use, whereby as stated in Chap. 1, economic use value of cultural resources is heightening, though without any conservation strategy. To provide a platform for theoretical and practical discussions on ways to initiate certification processes for cultural heritage resources, a case study of the Botswana tourism establishment's grading and Botswana eco-certification systems is discussed in the context of cultural heritage. The analysis indicates that whereas some sectors incorporate cultural resources use in their management portfolios, this is done in an unsustainable manner, even where these resources are incorporated in a certification model such as the popular ecotourism framework. In ecotourism cultural resources are addressed as if they are natural resources, with incompatible indicators of conservation applied on them. Certification initiatives that recognise uniqueness of cultural heritage resources or those initiatives that focus solely on cultural resources are needed.

Keywords Standard setting framework • Grading • Certification • Cultural resources • Cultural indicators • Heritage certification • Natural resources • Cult-certified initiative

6.1   Introduction

Certification can provide processes and procedures to preserve and protect resources when used in contexts reflected in earlier chapters of this book, such as legal instruments (Chap. 2) socio-political forums (Chap. 3), socio-economic forums (Chap. 7) and their use in general socio-cultural platforms.

The aim of this chapter is to stimulate discussions on certification amongst cultural and heritage conservationists. Currently there is no certification programme for cultural heritage resources safe for anecdotal mention of cultural resources in already established natural resources certification programmes such as the ecotourism model. However, several sectors in natural resources have developed certification programmes that together form a single eco-label. A report by UNEP even suggests African regional approach to eco-labelling, rather than singular sector approach to curb what they call consumer clutter or consumer fatigue from numerous labels (UNEP 2007). The concern for consumers by UNEP reflects this book's reiterated sentiments that like natural resources, cultural resources are rapidly entering economic zones, but without conservation ammunition to safeguard its core character. Therefore, a chapter discussing certification for cultural resources management is a broad attempt to drive initiatives towards formulation of conservation ammunition for cultural resources.

In the absence of certification standards for cultural heritage resources conservation, this chapter discusses what exists and from the discussions deduces how that can inspire similar initiatives in the field of cultural heritage management. Alternatively the discussion will illuminate on how that which already exists can be enhanced to cater for specific conservation needs of cultural and heritage resources (e.g. Tables 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4) (Sect. 6.5). This only serves to provide a point of departure from which certification initiatives for the relatively new field of cultural heritage management can be embarked on. Chapter 4's formulation of a community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM) model represents a preliminary effort towards development of clear-cut models for cultural and heritage management that can become certified as time goes on.

As already stated, certification models in natural resources are dominated by those that address tourism. Tourism is one use that covers a variety of stakeholders that are both local (host) and international (tourists). In natural resources, it also uses a wide range of natural resources, spanning from landscapes to animals to features. These characteristics are also evident in cultural and heritage resources use as observed in Chap. 1. Given the scenario, this chapter discusses opportunities and challenges of initiating certification process for cultural and heritage resources from the point of view of tourism as dictated by the case study used. The chapter objectives are outlined below.

1. To share characteristics of cultural and heritage resources that can provide fodder to initiate certification strategies for managing cultural and heritage resources.
2. To explore opportunities where certification indicators for cultural resources and natural resources can be juxtaposed rather than consolidated into a model biased on the latter such as ecotourism.

3. To provide a case study that allows analysis of theory and practice needed to initiate a certification programme in cultural resources management. The Botswana tourism grading and eco-certification system is used as a case study.

6.1.1   The Difference Between Grading and Certification

While tourism accommodation grading generally ensures public health standards of accommodation establishments are adhered to, an eco-certification grading system serves to encourage tourism establishments to adhere to responsible environmental, social and cultural conduct by implementing a set of environmental conservation indicators. For example, there are two systems of tourism grading in Botswana.

One is the Botswana Bureau of Standards' BOS 50:1–5, 2009, for hotel tourism establishments (Table 6.2).

The other is the Botswana Tourism Organization's Botswana Eco-certification programme, 2009, for environmental grading.

Prior to the introduction of the Botswana Eco-certification System (2010), tourism establishment's grading in Botswana (despite policy bias towards wilderness and wildlife) was largely focused on hotel (accommodation) and hospitality (service) indicators espoused in the Botswana Bureau of Standards' BOS 50:2009, Part 1–6, which, although developed by a local government parastatal institution, follow an international hotel grading standard (Lopang 2007).

The development of the Botswana Eco-certification System (2010) developed by Botswana Tourism Organization has somehow balanced the equation between indoor (hotels) and outdoor (lodges, camps) facility grading. These are discussed in detail in Sect. 6.4.

Before that let us briefly look at some of the contentious issues surrounding the systems of grading and eco-certification in general so as to balance view points.

6.1.2   The Politics of Resources Grading and Certification: Implications for Cultural Resources in the Developing World

The process of tourism grading and certification provides clearly defined indicators for monitoring the impacts of tourism activities on the environment. However, several pointers have to be considered when adopting the processes and throughout implementation since goal posts change often to suit contemporary issues.

Tourism grading and eco-certification systems build onto the ecotourism model discussed in detail below. They are popular as environmental management tools. In developed countries where majority of current tourism eco-certification systems are conceptualised and formulated, tourism accreditation shapes consumers' attitudes regarding the choice of tourism destination. This illustrates that tourism accreditation systems define and shape what Li et al. (2008) refer to as customers' brand knowledge and brand loyalty to a particular tourism destination. It has also been

observed that tourists' destination knowledge and loyalty are construed on the basis of the breadth and depth of awareness they have about a place, and in this, eco-labelling and certification programmes are gradually achieving popularity as synonymous with conservation of the environment. It can be said that and in turn the two capture tourists' cognitive and affective responses to a particular destination (Li et al. 2008).

One example of an eco-labelling system is that of Tasmania in Australia where the Nature and Ecotourism Accreditation Program that is benchmarked against ISO14000, an international standard developed for environmental conservation, is in operation (cf. Matysek and Kriwoken 2003).

Grading and eco-certification use performance benchmarks (cf. Leslie 2001), ecotourism manuals (cf. Botswana Ecotourism Manual 2009) and environmental scorecards that quantify both environmental and financial impacts of tourism enterprises to enhance environmental sustainability (cf. Moreo et al. 2009). These serve as tools that enable a thorough assessment of impacts of tourism activities on the environment and consequently allow for stricter tourism management approaches. Sasidharan et al. (2000) observe that in this evolution eco-labels are currently being developed as additional layers of tourism management in the developing world. The developing countries however are not forthright about the measurements, perhaps owing to accreditation standards being incompatible with small-scale tourism enterprise characteristic of their geographical regions. The advent of global travel, in particular ecotourism, however, calls for tourism that ensures that local communities benefit from tourism proceeds brought by international tourists. Therein lies an opportunity to infuse cultural resources accreditation indicators particularly in protected areas as discussed in Chaps. 1, 2 and 4, amongst others.

One other attribute of current certification trends is that in developing countries public institutions such as Botswana Tourism Organization (BTO) in Botswana are tasked with the development of environmental indicators for conservation in tourism. In developed countries however, tourism industry players seem to be the driving force. The dichotomy indicates regional political and civil perception surrounding the purposes of certification. Clearly, governments in a developing country view themselves as responsible for monitoring impacts of tourism activities on the environment. Government involvement can therefore provide a favourable pace for locals and community enterprises to be capacitated at a non-competitive pace until they can fully take on the systems.

Tourists' loyalty to a place as observed by Li et al. (2008) is also played and shaped within these localised stages. Environmental responsibilities that tourists expect from their hosts are shaped by tourists' prior knowledge of the impacts of tourism on the environment acquired from tourists' countries of origin. Therefore, it is expected that Europeans would possess a different world view and expectation of environmental conservation than Chinese or Africans owing to culturally ingrained experiences and knowledge from their various regions.

Similarly, African countries have to assess whether tourism certification processes and systems are compatible with small, medium and microenterprises (SMME) (Leslie 2001) or whether '…small-scale, tourism enterprises of developing countries would be ill-equipped to conform to the environmental standards and

criteria circumscribed by international eco-labeling schemes originating in developed nations' (Sasidharan et al. 2002; 161).

In addition, questions of whether tourism certifications are adequate for resources such as cultural and heritage also arise (Keitumetse 2009), prompting opportunities to diversify tourism grading indicators to include those from cultural and heritage resources so as to maximise conservation of each resource category. What steps are being developed to make up for the loopholes, considering that cultural and heritage resources are more pronounced within nature landscapes of Africa? Asking these questions will enhance African approaches to tourism quality assurance.

In these debates, cultural and heritage indicators prove to be inclusive as they emanate from the heart of community where they are fully understood at grassroots level. Certification models that include cultural indicators only provide a layer of conservation to a resource that is already revered by local communities.

At a global trade scale is the question of whether eco-certification will widen the north-south divide while the two compete for similar clients. For instance, Germany, France and the UK contribute the highest-paying tourists to Botswana (WTTC 2007), and the country depends on these high-paying international tourists most of whom visit the spectacular Okavango Delta. Where, for example, Botswana tourism systems may not be in conformity with environmental expectations derived from the West, the country may lose European and American tourists. Already this is the case with Botswana beef industry which is facing accreditation challenges in Europe being the high-paying buyer of this product. Such issues need to be assessed as core when considering decisions to embark on tourism quality assurance mechanisms such as grading and certification programmes.

Sasidharan et al. (2002) points out some of the challenges that are specific to eco-labelling programmes in developing countries; amongst them the issue of the origin of eco-labelling schemes from developed countries which the authors argue may serve the agenda of developed countries at the expense of the developing world where large-scale tourism enterprises operated by companies originating from developed worlds based in developing countries could use eco-certification as a strategy to out-compete small and locally owned companies. Through in this instance eco-protectionism is used to lure whereby richer western tourists from developed countries away from those business that have not eco-labelled their tourism product. In most cases these are small and medium enterprises that are owned by locals. This is where certifying cultural attributes becomes beneficial to the whole process. By default cultural resources indicators emanate from communities' socio-cultural base which gives local enterprises an in-depth understanding of the system at the very beginning. With cultural indicators on board, local or community enterprises need not view certification as a foreign requirement because the system will only be used to protect what they already regard as important, their culture and heritage. In addition, Sasidharan et al. (2002) raise a concern about a situation whereby large or well-off tourism enterprises dominate the methodological approach and dominate the tourism sector category selection and criteria finalisation of eco-labelling programme such as the BES, limiting participation of small enterprises of loacals citizens such as those in developing countries. Minimal participation by small-scale enterprises originating from the developing countries is likely to downplay impacts that are of con-

cern to local people such as attitudes of local communities, over-development of cultural landscapes, damages to social fabric, cultural identity, etc. Furthermore, concern surrounding dominant profit-oriented agenda of the large private sector enterprises that would only drive eco-labelling for marketing purposes rather than genuine environmental concern at local level is also raised by the authors. In this case profit margins compete with stronger criteria and standards for eco-labelling.

Although at a varying scale, several of the concerns raised above have a bearing on the Botswana Eco-certification System (BES 2010) discussed in Sect. 6.4 as a case study. For instance, the concern of international standards being used to outcompete local tourism enterprises is of relevance to Botswana where the high-paying tourism businesses of the Okavango Delta area that form the core of Botswana tourism are foreign owned. Already majority, if not all, of the eco-certified establishments in Botswana are those foreign owned. It is however hoped that by developing cultural indicators into a certification mechanism, local culture attributes are included and by consequence community participation.

6.2 Cult-Certified: Identifying Potential for Cultural Heritage Certification

As a starting point, existing schemes of cultural and heritage resources management can be consolidated into stratified geographical or scale-based categories that provide a starting point in the formulating cultural resources grading and certification. Some of the categories provided below are reflected in earlier chapters of this book:

Level 4: International
Level 3: Regional heritage, e.g. Africa, southern Africa
Level 2: Country specific
Level 1: Community, site, monument and/or landscape specific

In addition to geographical categories then follows management and/or conservation categories as the diagram below (Fig. 6.1) illustrates a structural association of instruments that will be the makeup of any devised certification model. For example, a COBACHREM model discussed in Chap. 4 incorporates certain resources, uses some legal instruments and relies on existing operations within the sector to be a complete approach. Grading and certification process also require an initial inventory of all these categories prior to engagement. The case study provided at Sect. 6.4 of this chapter provides an example of stages that the 2010 Botswana Eco-certification System (BES) went through to arrived at the end product. The stages involved selecting natural resources to focus on, identifying necessary international instruments of accreditation such as ecotourism and identifying national conservation efforts and legal instruments on which to build the certification system. The field of cultural and heritage conservation will also have to engage in a similar process, with diversification only provided by the nature of the instruments being dealt with. Experiences from the case study therefore provide a point of departure for cultural and heritage conservationists.
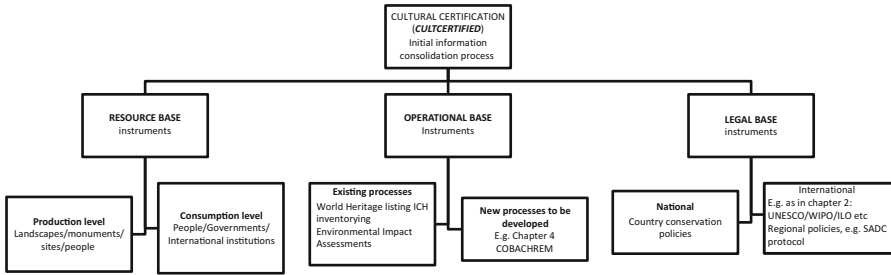
Fig. 6.1 Preliminary consolidation of cultural heritage components for standard setting exercise

Building the groundwork for a grading and/or certification process requires tapping from multiple sources of information and existing mechanisms. In the case of cultural heritage certification formulation, certain select processes are at the forefront. These are world heritage process, intangible heritage inventorying process and Archaeological Impact Assessment process/Environmental Impact Assessment.

A brief discussion on some of the existing processes and how they may benefit a cultural certification process is as follows:

6.2.1   World Heritage Listing Process (UNESCO 1972)

The process of world heritage listing is carried out under the auspices of 1972 UNESCO Convention on Protection of World Heritage. Several stages are involved that take on board a number of stakeholders in the form of people and/or institutions. As such future consideration of it as a feeding branch towards formulation of a cultural heritage certification programme is inevitable. For instance, the general approach to the process is initiated by a country in which a cultural resource is located. The process commences in-country with tentative lists that are submitted by member states that use the country's conservation priorities to categorise sites to be readied for the process of listing. It is also assumed that the categories are not only based on government political interest but fed by research information about the site as well as the willingness of interested stakeholders to participate in such a process. The processes of border set ups and community consultations are all relevant certification mechanisms.

6.2.2   Safeguarding Inventory Process (UNESCO 2003)

Another existing platform from which can be tapped for formulation of a certification process is found under UNESCO's inventorying process aimed at safeguarding intangible cultural heritage of communities within member states. Stakeholders are

also considered as well as various forms of communities recognised. From these, elements that build a certifying mechanism can be identified and incorporated.

Other existing information can be deduced from conventions such as those of World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and its associated treaties discussed in detail in Chap. 2. Through these mechanisms, aspects of cultural heritage such as knowledge are certified in the form of copyrights, trademarks and patents, to mention a few.

Other forms of sub-certifications can come through institutions such as the International Labour Organization Convention No.169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples that provide guidelines on dealing with cultural skills transfer of communities rich in culture. In partnership with UNESCO-UNEVOC, an education-based grading and/or certification programme can be formulated.

6.2.3   EIA/Archaeological Impact Assessment

The impact of development projects on cultural heritage the world over is overwhelming. The impact assessment process has evolved over time to include social, cultural and economic aspects of resources evaluation that can benefit a certification programme. The Environmental Impact Assessment process covers various steps such as institutional arrangement, environment in its entirety, development and society (cf. Smith 1993).

6.2.4   Education

As already reiterated in preceding chapters of this book, the passing on of cultural heritage to future generation depends on education. However, most cultural mechanisms equivalent to education have been disrupted by modern development. Therefore, formal education in schools and in the form of curriculum development is one way through which certifications can be improved. A certification programme can include curriculum development criterion that takes into account cultural facets of environmental conservation.

6.3   Ecotourism and Certification Process: Implications for Cultural Heritage Resources

The development of environmental indicators leading to sustainable tourism can be traced back to the conceptual framework that underlines most international tourism certifications and accreditations—the *ecotourism* model. The model is formulated under the auspices of the sustainable development. Ecotourism is generally defined

by The (International) Ecotourism Society as 'Responsible travel to natural areas that conserve the environment and improves the well being of local people' (Drumm and Moore 2002: 13). The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) has provided a new refined definition whereby ecotourism is defined as:

> responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education. (TIES 2015)

The new definition emphasises travel to natural areas, illustrating that while the model's principles are a good general guide to cultural heritage resources management, when it gets down to specific conservation details, cultural resources practitioners have to be proactive and innovative to ensure that these resources are included.

Of note however is that whereas the 2002 principles as outlined by Drum and Moore (2002) concerned themselves with protected areas, natural resources and biodiversity, the 2015 revised principles are more encompassing. This is in contrast with the definition by TIES (2015) above that has been revised more towards natural resources than the 2002 one provided by Drum and Moore (2002: 13).

Most developing countries like Botswana have formulated policies that follow the specifications of the ecotourism model, and in Botswana, this development resulted in the development of Botswana Ecotourism Certification System (2010), now in operation under Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO) and discussed below.

The ecotourism approach itself was formulated more than two decades ago as a move away from protectionism (*preservation*) towards natural resources, *conservation*, which acknowledged the need for people's sustainable access to natural resources. The newly (2015) adopted principles of ecotourism are summarised by The International Ecotourism Society (TIES 2015) as follows:

- Minimise physical, social, behavioural and psychological impacts.
- Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect.
  - *For cultural resources the nurture-nature gap in protected wildlife areas of Africa could be closed by this approach whereupon implementation is carried out. However*, t*his is rarely the case as highlighted by scholars such as* Cock and Fig (2000) *in South*, Maathai (2004) *in Kenya*, Goldman (2003) *in Tanzania and* Keitumetse (2009) *in Botswana. These are discussed in detail in Chap.* 1.
- Provide positive experiences for both visitors and hosts.
  - *As will be discussed in Chap.* 7, *tourism can overwhelm hosts*, *particularly so in developing countries where the relationship may become one sided due to hosts' desperation for tourists' financial resources. Hosts are likely to compromise authentic cultures to earn money. However*, *where there are well-defined and certified activities*, *the situation can benefit both stakeholders as well as all command respect for both cultural and natural resources*.
- Provide direct financial benefits for conservation.
- Generate financial benefits for both local people and private industry.

- *The lure of tourism is in bringing well-needed cash to communities. As outlined in Chap. 4 on CBNRM, private investors lease out community land and resources and generate income for them through rentals. However, from cultural conservation point of view, this is not sustainable as it disconnects communities from their interaction with cultural spaces and nurtures their indifference to the resources within as they do not experience day to day necessities for keeping the resources afloat. Thus, in cultural heritage approaches such as those espoused in COBACHREM that bring communities in touch with the lands and natural resources as well as generate funds are ideal ones to be promoted, particularly when dealing with protected areas of wildlife and wilderness value.*

- Deliver memorable interpretative experiences to visitors that help raise sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental and social climates.
- Design, construct and operate low-impact facilities.
  - *Most rural communities in Africa have traditional architectural systems that protect the environment. In cultural conservation these can inspire modern tourism facilities' approach to this component of ecotourism.*
- Recognise the rights and spiritual beliefs of the indigenous people in your community and work in partnership with them to create empowerment.
  - *Cultural synergy amongst communities needs to be encouraged to cultivate a spirit of peace amongst various communities, be they indigenous or nonindigenous. This can be achieved by a process of balanced interpretation of cultural affiliations in either a village or any platform where there are multiple identities. Chapter 5 discusses this in detail. Isolating and privileging often lead to conflict amongst communities. This is already taking place in areas such as the Okavango Delta wildlife management areas where communities that do not benefit from private partnerships using wildlife management areas are challenging those that benefit's ownership and even nationalist status in a country.*

6.4 Case Study: Botswana Tourism Grading and Eco-certification Programme

This case study is about a grading and certification systems case studies from Botswana. Section 6.4.1 gives an example of a grading system that focused on hotel accommodation, mostly urban-based structures. Section 6.4.2 is about an eco-certification system aligned with environmental grading and is commonly used to certify outdoor activities and associated accommodation establishments such as lodges and camps in most protected areas of wilderness and wildlife value in Botswana. The two are discussed in details as follows:

6.4.1   Grading Accommodation: Hotels and Related Establishments: Grading Requirements by Botswana Bureau of Standards (BOS 50:1–6, 2009)

The BOS 50:1–5, 2009, are Botswana tourism grading sets of accommodation that were established under the Standards Act No. 16, 1995, by Botswana Bureau of Standards (BOBS)—an institution responsible for formulating standards for quality control in Botswana. In particular BOBS is mandated to assist hotel operators and associated enterprises providing facilities to meet the needs of the international tourist trade. The institution achieves this mandate through formulation of grading standards for tourism establishments. BOBS also monitors the quality of service offered by hotels (Botswana Bureau of Standards 2009). To achieve development of standards indicators, the BOBS engages relevant stakeholders from various sectors.

The BOS 50 series of standards consist of several parts 1–6, listed in Table 6.2, under the general title *Hotels and related establishments – Grading requirements*.

The development of Botswana tourism grading process was synonymous with indoor accommodation facilities following Botswana Bureau of Standards 50:2009 as outlined in Table 6.2. This grading processes excluded outdoor spaces where tourism activities take place. The development of the Botswana Eco-certification System (BES) has covered this loophole.

Since the Botswana Eco-certification System (BES) addresses environmental conservation, it is elaborated in detail below to provide more insight into the process that goes into formulating an environmental certification programme.

Table 6.1 Specifications for graded tourism accommodation establishments as outlined by Botswana Bureau of Standards (BOBS) 50:2009

Establishment criteria under the BOS 50-1:2009	Brief description of establishment indicators as per Botswana Bureau of Standards 2009 (2nd edition)	Heritage establishment potential equivalent
Part 1: fully serviced hotels	An accommodation establishment that provides breakfast, lunch, dinner and personal service for the convenience of the guests	Accommodation modelled on a heritage theme. For example, indigenous architecture-inspired hotels. Urban tourists visiting archaeological museums
Part 2: selected service hotel	An accommodation establishment that provides the facilities and equipment necessary to meet the needs of the guest	Urban heritage bound tourists. For example, museum-visiting heritage tourists in cities and towns
Part 3: game lodges and camps	An accommodation establishment that provides breakfast, lunch, dinner and personal service, for the convenience of the guests	Cultural village; reconstructed villages such as those China's UNESCO listing

<div align="right">(continued)</div>

Table 6.1 (continued)

Establishment criteria under the BOS 50-1:2009	Brief description of establishment indicators as per Botswana Bureau of Standards 2009 (2nd edition)	Heritage establishment potential equivalent
Part 4: domestic guesthouses	An accommodation establishment, operating from a private property, that provides breakfast and that has an option with regard to the provision of lunch and dinner	Traditional homes where local families host tourists to experience cultures in situ
Part 5: commercial guesthouses	An accommodation establishment, operating from a private or purpose-built property that provides breakfast and that has an option with regard to the provision of lunch and dinner	
Part 6: self-catering establishments	An accommodation establishment that provides the facilities and equipment necessary for guests to prepare their own meals	Heritage places where tourists buy traditional produce from local communities and experiment with traditional recipes. Locals employed as demonstrator cooks to tourists their cooking with guide of local cooks who make business out of demonstration

6.4.2   Eco-labelling: Botswana Eco-certification System (BES), 2010

The advent of environmental conservation movements has sparked a need to extend grading and certification of tourism establishments beyond the bedroom ambience of hotel accommodation to the wider landscape where tourism activities take place. In the process, even the bedroom ambience of hotel grading has been challenged to take cognisance of effects on the environment in order to appeal to the ecotourist. To arrive at this, governments such as those of Botswana are beefing up decade's long conservation legislation with new initiatives to meet the changing conservation environments. The development of Botswana Ecotourism Certification Standards (BES) (2010) is one of the initiatives. The system was developed by building onto already existing environmental policy framework outline in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Brief outline of diverse national legislative framework used to inform contents of the Botswana Eco-certification System, 2010

	Legal instrument	Year	Brief descriptions
1	Botswana Ecotourism Best Practices Manual	2009	Identified ecotourism guidelines and criteria that later contributed to the development of Botswana Eco-certification programme. Funded by the Commonwealth Secretariat
2	Botswana Tourism Organisation Act	2009	A reenactment of the Botswana Tourism Board Act, 2003, creates, grades and markets tourism products in Botswana
3	Community-Based Natural Resources Management Policy (CBNRM)	2007	Guides community conservation of natural resources in tourism and regulates the use of natural resources in protected areas
4	Environmental Impact Assessment Act	2005	Guides the conduct of environmental impact assessments that evaluate the effects of planned developmental activities on the environment and determine mitigation measures where necessary
5	Botswana Tourism Board Act	2003	Provided for the establishment of the current Botswana Tourism Board, later renamed Botswana Tourism Organisation, 2009
6	Trade Act		Regulates licencing procedures and trade; hence, components of the legislation could be compatible with ecotourism principles
7	Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy	2002	Ensures adherence to ecotourism principles by outlining guiding principles for environmental management The instrument guides the headline content of the Botswana Eco-certification programme, 2009/2010
8	Wildlife Conservation Regulations	2001	Controls acts of hunting with specific focus on issuance of hunting permits and eventual export of hunting products as trophies
9	Monument and Relics Act (reenacted of the 1970 version)	2001	For protection of heritage environments and resources. Provides for Archaeological Impact Assessment (AIA) as part of EIA
10	National Parks and Game Reserve Regulations	2000	Regulates processes and procedures of activities taking place in protected areas through management plans, building and infrastructure specifications, waste management specifications, etc
11	Waste Management Act	1998	Provided for establishment of the department of sanitation and waste management and describes activities necessary to ensure environmentally compliant waste disposal regulated by local authorities
12	Workmen's compensation Act	1998	Guides compensation of workers in tourism establishments where they face public health challenges

Table 6.2 (continued)

	Legal instrument	Year	Brief descriptions
13	Tourism Regulations	1996	Provides processes, procedures and instruments, for setting up tourism business establishments and carrying out tourism activities in environmentally sensitive areas
14	Standards Act No. 16	1995	Established the Botswana Bureau of Standards (BOBS) tasked with preparing Botswana standards (Republic of Botswana 1995)
15	Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act (*under review*)	1992	Provides for conservation of both wilderness spaces and wildlife species in the country. Provides quotas and permits for use of natural resources, etc. (Republic of Botswana 1992)
16	Tourism Policy (*under review*)	1990	Guides tourism strategy for the country—e.g. high-value, low-volume strategy
17	Employment Act	1984	Addresses labour issues relating to workers' statutory rights in tourism employment
18	Public Health Act	1981	Promotes personal and environmental health in Botswana businesses
19	Herbage Preservation Act	1977	Control and regulation of veld fires for rangeland management purposes
20	Town and Country Planning Act	1977	For land use planning in both urban and rural areas

The interdependency of these policy frameworks indicates long-term commitment by Botswana government on efforts to reach a sustainable conservation of the environment within which tourism takes place.

The Botswana Eco-certification System (BES) is developed to provide audit for both hotel accommodation and the environmental landscape within which tourism business operates. These include tourism activities such as site seeing in wilderness areas and camping in open spaces. The audit process specifies values derived from the principles of the National Ecotourism Strategy for Botswana which was formulated following the sustainable tourism model of the World Tourism Organization (WTO), concerned mainly with nature tourism.

The BES operates on three levels outlined, namely:

Ecotourism (highest)
Green+ (middle range)
Green (level three—basic starting point)

In each level, there are minimum compulsory indicators to be satisfied in order for a tourism establishment to be certified within the criterion. These levels are summarised in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Botswana Tourism eco-certification levels derived from Botswana Tourism grading standards for ecotour and accommodation facilities (Botswana Tourism Board, now Botswana Tourism Organisation 2010a, b)

Type of level	Characteristics
Entry level—green	Reflects all the mandatory criteria that are necessary for facilities to be considered for certification. At this level the facility represents a substantial effort to be environmentally responsible
Middle level—green+	This level satisfies the needs of most ecotourists as it falls within the basic criterion for international certification programmes
High level—ecotourism	Establishments that have achieved attainable level of responsible operations. The preconditions for this level are reflected in the ability to meet National and International Ecotourism criteria

Fig. 6.2 Botswana Tourism eco-certification logo showing visual exhibit of the three levels

6.4.2.1   Methodological Approach to the Development of the Botswana Tourism Eco-certification Programme

Sasidharan et al. (2002) outline the development of eco-certification as a process that follows several steps, being tourism sector selection, environmental impact evaluation, criteria development, final criteria selection, eco-label award and finally periodic recertification. For Botswana the tourist sector selection stage benefitted from existing policy establishments as categorised in Table 6.2.

The process of tourist sector selection involved partnership with the tourism industry, and any other stakeholders that may be affected were roped into a committee that assessed the BES 92010 drafts. The author of this book chaired the process from inception to final stage. Workshops were held in various parts of Botswana, where tourism industry members and community-based organisations recommended inputs. An additional aim of the workshops was to enable a direct engagement with stakeholders to gather experience-based practices for mitigating impact of travel on the environment.

The steps involving environmental impact evaluation already existed in policies listed on Table 6.2, in particular the Botswana Tourism policy (1990) and the Botswana Ecotourism Best Practices Manual (2009). The environmental criteria development was derived from Botswana's National Ecotourism Strategy (2002) that consists of consolidated guiding principles (shown in Table 6.4, upper horizontal row). These principles also provided the basis for the process of final indicator criteria selection contained in the now Botswana Ecotourism System (2010). The field data that generated the baseline environmental practices of the eco-certification

system was generated mainly from tourism establishments in the North-West part of Botswana, along the Okavango Delta region which is the heart of Botswana tourism where majority of the tourism industry players operate in the country. The focus on North-West Botswana resulted in an inevitable bias on indicators associated with natural resources which is evident in the eco-certification system itself. Indicators that are aligned with indigenous tourism certification (cf. Vivanco 2007) or the ecotourism of cultural heritage (cf. Keitumetse 2009) are limited and/or absent, leaving a significant loophole for future research.

Ironically, the eco-label award symbol (shown in Fig. 6.2) is inspired by one of the country's heritage products, a traditionally woven reed basket (Fig. 6.2) also common in the Okavango Delta region.

Like most eco-certification programmes around the world, the introduction of the Botswana eco-certification programme is to achieve a voluntary level of environmental conservation performance which meets or exceeds basic environmentally responsible standards or legislation.

6.5   Discussion

The process of tourism grading and certification provides clearly defined and measurable indicators for monitoring impacts of activities on the environment. It therefore provides a guideline for any future certification initiatives within the developing field of cultural and heritage management.

What comes of the case study however is that in order to achieve a well-rounded standard setting system, there has to be a merger between the two systems of hotel grading and eco-certification. While awaiting a stand-alone system, a subset of cultural resources indicators can be juxtaposed upon what comes out of the merger. A consolidated programme has a potential to enhance performance of grading and certification mechanisms as they will include conservation indicators from across all resources sectors (Keitumetse 2011), thus bridging the nature-culture divide in environmental conservation.

Table 6.4 is an attempt to show some of the existing elements from hotel grading and eco-certification in partnership with juxtaposed cultural resources attributes. Possible value drivers (or assessment indicators) that emanate from a triple merger is illustrated. The matrix also allows for easier exhibition of where majority of initiatives that cover all three components are concentrated. Table 6.4 has only used matrix for fully serviced hotels (the highest standard in hotel grading). However, each tourism establishment listed in Table 6.3 can be placed in a matrix and matching attributes extracted. The horizontal table P 1–7 lists key principles within the Botswana Eco-certification System (2009) with the first row constituting value drivers. The vertical side represents assessment categories from the Botswana Bureau of Standards 50-1:2009 (specific to fully serviced hotels), which are also value drivers. The rest of the information in the table blocks are the various check points that could be used to assess an establishment for an award that not only focus on hotel and eco attributes but also cultural ones (cult-certified establishments).

Table 6.4 The in-between option: example of potential merger of indicators from Botswana tourism grading and eco-certification systems with cultural heritage indicators. ©Keitumetse 2015

	Botswana Eco-certification System principles' criteria (P 1–7)						
	P 1: policies [Table 6.1]	P 2: green marketing	P 3: physical design and operations	P 4: visitor experience, impact and interpretation	P 5: maximising local community and district benefits	P 6: conservation	P 7: ecotours (nature interpretation
Grading requirements for fully serviced hotels (BOBS 50-1:2009 part 1)							
4.1: bedrooms [security, floor area, bedding and linen, housekeeping, lighting, furniture, waste, ventilation, air conditioners, entertainment, water, electricity]	E.g. locally made materials (furniture, beds, mats, etc.)	?	Standardised planning specifications	?	?	?	?
4.2: bath/shower rooms [room, towelling, soap, lighting, sanitation, storage, ventilation, mats, toiletries, electricity]	?	Indigenous material mats, side lamp shades, etc.	Mats made locally with community members' traditional designs	?	?	?	?
4.3: public cloakrooms [lighting, gender privacy, ventilation, cleaning detergents, sanitary bin, toilet paper, wash bin]	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4.4: breakfast /restaurant facilities [room provision, meals]	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

(continued)

Table 6.4 (continued)

	Botswana Eco-certification System principles' criteria (P 1–7)						
4.5: general Reception [customer interaction]	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4.6: room service [morning coffee, meals, drinks, general customer service]	?	?	?	E.g. local brews and local etiquette	?	?	?
4.7: other services [shoe cleaning, washing and ironing, valet service, mini refrigerator]	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4.8: public area [heating and cooling or air conditioning, lounge]	E.g. local planning policy application	?	?	?	E.g. local acquisition of food supplies from local people's farms	?	?
4.9: general [cutlery, guest supplies, newspapers, etc.]	?	E.g. biodegradable and/or recyclable materials	?	?	E.g. local acquisition of supplies	?	E.g. support of green newspaper producing factory

Following on the observations made by Sasidharan et al. (2002), the ecotourism template used during the development of BES can be said to be oblivious of alternative resources such as cultural heritage resources which are ubiquitous in most parts of rural Botswana and African landscapes in which tourism operates. The bias towards nature indicators is reflected in the ecotourism model definition, and this approach was inherited by Botswana government's local policies shown in Table 6.2 that guided formulation of assessment indicators within the BES, 2010. Such influence of international instruments on national approaches is discussed in detail in Chap. 1.

However, the landscape of tourism in Botswana and sub-Saharan Africa is evolving faster than initially conceptualised, with a growing interest in community indigenous tourism (using cultural heritage resources), consequently prompting diversified approach to tourism certification. As already stated earlier, most of southern Africa is faced with the challenge to diversify their tourism product, and for this reason development of environmental indicators relating to cultural heritage resources products (archaeological artefacts, monuments, cultural landscapes, folklife and folklore and folklife attributes, cultural knowledge, cultural skills, etc.) is needed. The 'fragility' of cultural resources (Sorensen and Evans 2011) as well as what constitutes sustainable use at different levels has to be established. Indigenous tourism standards and certifications (Vivanco 2007) as well as community interpretation mechanism (Chap. 4, McDavid 1997; Chap. 5 of this book) also need to first be accounted for. Therein lies the challenge and/or opportunity for cultural heritage scholars and practitioners.

The bottom line however is that, as developing countries look into using cultural heritage to diversify tourism, they also need grading and certification mechanisms that are enriched with all necessary assessment indicators that can enhance environmental conservation. Grading and certification schemes are relevant as they incorporate conservation operations which can continuously safeguard resources once formulated. Grading and certification also enforce compliance towards environmental conservation at both local level and international contexts. The two grading Botswana standard setting systems illustrate how to contextualised international standards to a local situation, a process that will be needed within cultural and heritage management as standard setting is introduced at both resources and stakeholder levels. As observed by Sasidharan et al. (2002), localising environmental indicators lessens political and economic concerns associated with certification and resource use.

Other colleagues at BTO who I worked closely with on the grading and certification issues in Botswana tourism as experts in the field. In particular former board chair Mr Victor Senye, former CEO Myra Sekgororoane, former manager of Quality Assurance section Mr Stephen Ramalepa, current manager Mrs Joyce Morontshe, consultant on the process Mr James MacGregor, Botswana Bureau of Standards Manager Mr O. Lopang, former Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB) CEO, Ms Morongoe Ntloedibe-Disele, Mr G. Kupe, Mr T. Soutter, Mr L. Peloewetse and all colleagues in the section with whom I exchanged ideas during committee deliberations.

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Chapter 7
Heritage Enterprising: Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Tourism in Southern Africa

Abstract Southern African tourism is dominated by natural resources that sustain safari tourism operated in the region's national parks and game reserves. While this pattern of development brings a much needed income to governments in the region, it lacks other important characteristics such as social beneficiation and diversification of tourists' experience. The use of cultural and heritage resources in southern African tourism provide potential to address these loopholes by broadening the scope of engagement and adding diversity to both the tourism product and the tourists' experience. For this balance to be realised, several new ways of operating tourism have to be explored. They include diversification of natural resources management models to include approaches specifically tailored to conserve and attract cultural heritage resources use. For instance, the community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) programme has to be partnered with a community-based cultural heritage resources (COBACHREM) model described in Chap. 4 of this book. In addition, juxtaposition of cultural heritage resources in nature reserve tourism interpretations can diversify tourism experiences. Furthermore, compilation of cultural resources in tourism gateway localities of natural value can enhance tourism value of localities that lie in periphery of nature reserves, thus reducing overdependency on protected nature reserves as sole sources of tourism packages. In implementing the strategies, characteristics of tourism and their implications on cultural heritage have to be monitored to achieve sustainable use of cultural resources.

Keywords Heritage tourism • Cultural tourism • Heritage industry • Nature tourism • Community heritage • African villages • Tourism gateway localities

7.1 Introduction: Southern African Tourism and Cultural Heritage Resources

Tourism as a medium of engagement presents both opportunity and challenge for cultural heritage resources in Africa and other parts of the world. The fear surrounding tourism's industrialisation of cultural heritage is better expressed in Hewison's (1987) volume titled 'The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline'. The volume may explain why archaeological heritage stakeholders in particular have for years been

trying to avoid entertaining public service fields such as tourism as part of archaeological heritage management (cf. Carman 2000). However, pressing needs for economic diversification in developing countries such as those in southern Africa, it is inevitable that cultural heritage resources be incorporated into broader service industries such as tourism sector (Carman and Keitumetse 2005). The ball is in the hands of cultural heritage specialists to choose, as discussed in other interventions by Thomas (2015), whether they collaborate, condemn or ignore the new development. Collaboration seems to be the better option as it allows heritage specialists to achieve the following:

- Position themselves to apply expert knowledge to facilitate the scale at which cultural heritage resources are involved in tourism.
- Be in a position to monitor impacts on the resources.
- Make choices about which of cultural heritage resources can and should be used in tourism and how.

7.1.1   Sustainable Development, Tourism and Cultural Heritage in Southern Africa

Tourism is a dominant and reoccurring theme in most strategies for sustainable development (SD) using natural resources in particular (cf. Hens 2009). Most international and national legislative frameworks make reference to tourism as a form of resource use; see Chaps. 4, 5, 6 and 8 of this book that all point tourism as one of the dominant ways through which communities consistently interact with cultural heritage in their localities.

Tourism is also recognised in sustainable development framework's Agenda 21 (a political collective operational strategy for environmental protection) as one way of empowering communities (Robinson 1993). The sustainable development framework is however biased towards natural resources, largely owing to the framework initially being designed and adopted as a conservation strategy for natural resources management (Robinson 1993; WCED 1987). Concepts such as ecotourism, responsible tourism and direct benefit of local communities from natural resources tourism have with time become popular examples of sustainable tourism.

7.1.2   Southern African Tourism and Protected Areas: Safari Tourism

Building onto the discussions in earlier chapters of this book, certain factors/characteristics already influence the direction that cultural heritage tourism can take in southern Africa, the most significant factor being protected areas' pre-established safari tourism.

Chapters 1 and 2 have already indicated that most southern African governments have national parks and game reserves for natural resources management. These are found in countries such as Tanzania, South Africa, Malawi, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana amongst others in the region. In almost all of these protected areas, the presence of cultural heritage values in a particular landscape are rarely acknowledged, let alone assessed for inclusion in nature tourism. Such protected landscapes continue to be recognised and managed solely as nature reserves of wildlife and wilderness tourism. For example, in 2014 the now Okavango Delta World Heritage Site in Botswana was listed solely as a 'natural' site, although there are evidences of people interaction with the environment, both in the past and in the present. To some extent this can also be attributed to the role of an already existing safari tourism image that has been in existence since before the countries' independence.

Most southern African countries are involved in highly developed safari tourism. Countries such as South Africa have managed to tap onto this tourist market and expand it to the pro-poor tourism strategy in areas outside the national parks and game reserves. The initiative has been largely motivated and driven by the need to achieve post-apartheid geographic spread. However, the rest of the southern African countries are still solely dependent on wildlife and wilderness tourism. For example, countries such as Botswana have even developed a tourism strategy that supports high-paying tourists, specifically targeted at ensuring a low volume of tourists coming to the Okavango Delta. The strategy however has become a local political hotpot, whereby international investors are perceived to be accorded extended privilege by the government through the strategy as they are perceived to be the ones who possess high financial, know-how and knowledge capital and hence can afford to go along with the strategy. The locals on the other hand argue that they are marginalised by the strategy as they lack robust financial capital to align with a high-end tourism strategy. This type of tourism development was observed by Cohen (1984) in his analysis of the sociology of tourism that '…as the industry develops, locals lose control and their relative share in the total benefits from tourism gradually declines' (Cohen 1984: 383). Roping in cultural heritage resources provides opportunities to lessen this negative perception of local potential investors towards international foreign investorst. The discussion on how cultural heritage can be used to curb conflict in tourism industry is provided in the upcoming sections of this chapter.

The arguments notwithstanding southern African safari tourism attract a significant amount of revenue for the region. This is evident from the yearly GDP contribution statistics reported by the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC) as shown below from select country revenue for 2013.

The revenues in Table 7.1 are derived from nature tourism.

The majority of tourists coming to enjoy southern Africa nature tourism are sourced from Europe, Americas and Australia where consumption of cultural heritage in museums and cultural theme parks are already a common leisure activity. For example, the USA's National Park Service, UK's English Heritage and Australia's Kakadu National Park, to mention a few. Cultural heritage is therefore a package that internationals visiting African countries already expect to interact with, making the marketing of such a product easier as the consumers are already

Table 7.1 Excerpts from
2013 WTTC tourism
contribution to GDP

Country	2013 revenue in bn (USD)
Botswana	1.7
Madagascar	1.6
Malawi	0.4
Namibia	1.6
RSA	33.4
Senegal	1.8

Excerpts from World Travel and Tourism (WTTC)
report, 2013

well versed with its existence. The end analysis is such that tourists are missing out on a diversified tourism experience during their visits in the region. Also, on the other hand, southern African countries are losing out on maximising financial benefits that can be accrued using cultural heritage.

7.2 Tourism and Cultural Heritage: Origins, Opportunities and Challenges

Cultural heritage tourism commercialises historical events related to people's lives. Unlike safari tourism currently taking place in most of southern African countries, the use of cultural and heritage resources in an open market setting requires more attention towards the sensitivity of the cultural resources (Carman and Keitumetse 2005; Keitumetse 2013). The relationship between tourism and cultural heritage resources requires an approach that differentiates between a service like tourism that is fluid and exchangeable and a resource like cultural heritage that is somehow static and fragile in form. Tourism contributes a network of activities that impacts on uses of cultural heritage, while cultural heritage can or cannot have impact on tourism experiences. The origins and uses of tourism all have cultural heritage resources in one form or another.

7.2.1 Tourism Origins in Brief

The origins, practices and consumption patterns characteristic of tourism as a service today are commonly associated with the West; in particular Thomas Cook's 1842 travel is often cited as having inspired exotic travel by the ruling class, pioneering present-day tourism. Cohen's (1984) analysis of tourism as a neocolonialism exercise could be traced to this development. European explorers in particular, together with earlier anthropologists, recorded elements of culture that are known

internationally as cultural heritage of certain communities in Africa. Smith (1989) highlights that recording cultures of exotic societies before they vanish into mainstream of a one-world culture has always been anthropologists' priority. With time, the media have created strong visual images that beckon the tourist to such supposedly 'diminishing' cultures, in the process converting anthropologists' hidden corner of the world into a focal point for ethnic tourism (Smith 1989). Today, some of anthropologists' recorded images are portrayed in tourism marketing as authentic cultural heritage of certain communities. For instance, the indigenous San of southern Africa and the Maasai in Kenya are common examples (Keitumetse 2007). Chapter 5 cautions against such naïve representations and calls for evaluations that results in equitable interpretation of cultural identities. Questions of whose heritage and represented by whom and how have become necessary.

Today, an increase in awareness of environmental protection, spearheaded through international conventions such as the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), has resulted in wildlife tourism becoming a dominant form of tourism in southern Africa. For a long time, southern African safari tourism and trophy hunting have motivated tourists to visit pristine areas, in particular national parks, described by some as leading to 'ecological apartheid' (Keefe 1995: 44) due to their separation of communities and wildlife. From the late 1980s, community-based natural resources management programmes, mostly run by NGOs, have used the national park system to generate financial profits for communities through private sector and community partnerships based on tourism activities. The CBNRM programme in southern Africa, discussed in Chap. 4, follows from this approach.

In particular to cultural heritage resources, conventions such as the UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention discussed in Chap. 2 can be cited as facilitating tools. Like CITES, though not formulated specifically for tourism development, the world marketing of the sites under the world heritage programme has resulted in international visitors wanting to know about these, in the process enticing entrepreneurs in those areas to facilitate paid visits to these sites.

7.2.2 Tourism and Cultural Heritage Resources

Despite the above-mentioned developments, there have been minimal focused strategies on cultural heritage tourism in particular although with time, international tourists are developing more and more interest in heritage, pointing to the observation that 'The unique selling point for destinations in developing countries is likely to be increasingly associated with the uniqueness of unusual cultures, as opposed to the physical environment…' (Burns 1995: 12). The question is what could this mean for cultural heritage in particular?

Tourists' visits to sites and monuments can influence the way communities interact with a heritage over time (cf. Keitumetse and Nthoi 2009; Apostolopouls et al. 1999). Hosts, in the form of local communities, might at times be compelled to meet consumers' demand and standards at the expense of their socio-cultural norms and practices. In such situations, cultural heritage value may be compromised.

Some studies have described tourism as a modern form of acculturation, pointing out that: 'Tourists are less likely to borrow from their hosts than their hosts are from them…' (Crick 1996:18). Keefe supports this by pointing out that: 'The majority of indigenous people will never travel abroad because they lack the funds, so their impression of Western culture is also flawed' (Keefe 1995: 43) or is learnt only from what the tourists say about themselves, a process that Cohen (1984) categorises as tourism being an acculturative process. It is therefore important to constantly establish the impact of tourism on local perception.

Smith (1989) has identified some of the various reasons for tourists' travel and found out that for some, tourism is a special form of play involving travel or getting away from 'it all' (Graburn 1989: 22–23). Cultural sites and activities offer opportunities where tourists can detach themselves from modern workplace demands in particular.

Continuous reference to tourism in national government policies shows that like disciplinary discourses and heritage legislation, tourism activities are some of the ways through which cultural heritage is consumed by both locals and tourists alike.

The challenge is to explore sustainable approaches through which this consumption could be managed. One way to do that is to evaluate the sociology of tourism.

7.3   The Sociology of Tourism (Cohen 1984): Implications for Cultural Heritage Resources Management

Tourism is commonly analysed in the context of economic and/or commercial contribution such as how much financial gain comes into a country's economy (Table 7.1 above) or how much profits locals gain from tourism proceeds. For instance, Chap. 4 section discusses joint-venture partnerships between communities and private companies that are based on financial gain. Another common form of tourism assessment is its role in conservation of biophysical resources. The sociological and psychological aspects of tourism rarely gain focus, particularly where nature tourism is dominant. However, the use of cultural and heritage resources in tourism by default demands that a topic on the sociology of tourism be prioritised because people are at the centre of cultural heritage resources production and consumption. Conflicts are bound to ensue (cf. Robinson 1999).

To bring out a broad analysis of the sociology of tourism, this section looks at Cohen's (1984) conceptual analysis of the nature of tourism and evaluate that against characteristics of cultural heritage resources use in tourism. Eight characteristics are discussed as follows:

7.3.1 Tourism as Commercialised Hospitality (Commodification)

In this context, social relationships created by, and for tourism encounters, are viewed as a reconstruction, a commoditised and staged product that lacks authenticity.

Where tourism experience has reached this stage, roping in cultural heritage resources has a high likelihood of closing the authenticity gap in that cultural resources will contribute factual archaeologies, histories and folklore traits of hosts, bringing the tourist a little closer to authentic experience. However, presentation of prehistoric heritages of hominid sites such as Sterkfontein caves sites in South Africa and Olduvai gorge site in Tanzania is more likely to create more or less the same commercialised experience as wilderness and wildlife resources because both tourism products are removed from contemporary societies' heritage memory.

The use of cultural resources can provide this diversified experience to tourists through museum experience and site-specific interpretations. In most of southern African countries, development of museums for tourism is still lagging behind.

7.3.2 As Democratised Travel

Here the focus is on whether a particular tourism opportunity is availed to all types of visitors including mass tourists with low income. Democracy in travel is when travel options are available to all tourists of varying incomes, age and other demographics. A country that has both high-end and low-end tourism packages is seen as contributing to democratised travel.

Except for the Republic of South Africa, mass tourism in most parks and game reserves of southern Africa is not an option due to expenses associated with safari tourism in the area. Also, the type of travellers who prefer safari tourism to loathes mass tourism. It can be said therefore that southern African tourism in its current status is not democratised even in terms of opportunities for investment by low-income locals. In fact, countries such as Botswana have gone further to instigate a tourism strategy of 'low volume high value' deliberately to deter mass tourism in protected areas as a way of managing carrying capacity of such environments, as well as pleasing the already high paying tourist.

To transform safari tourism in particular from an elite event and experience, a mixture of it with cultural heritage tourism initiatives is needed. Cultural heritage is a product that is imbued within society and therefore is more likely to democratise participation of both low-earning travellers and low-capital locals who wish to invest in diversifying the high-end nature tourism.

7.3.3   As Modern Leisure (Non-obligated Traveller)

In this context tourism and tourists are not under any social obligation to the host or environment and as such do not concern themselves much with in-depth analysis of the impact their activities may have on any phenomenon they encounter. In the context of this book, it is this characteristic of tourism that requires initiatives such as community-based cultural management models (Chap. 4) and/or environmental standard setting mechanisms as outlined in Chap. 5 to address negative impacts that may arise during leisure activities involving host populations and host environments. The use of cultural heritage resources could limit or modify impacts in that host populations are emotionally connected to their cultural heritage and are more likely to go an extra mile to protect its integrity where the need arises. The same cannot be said about tourists. Silverman (2016) discusses such relationships in his analysis of heritage production by chiefs for tourism in a historical monument in Ghana.On the other hand, wildlife and wilderness in protected areas are likely to be valued passively by locals, in particular where it is viewed as government property in secluded spaces. Poaching cases in most of southern African parks and game reserves substantiate the superficial relationship that local populations are nurtured to cultivate when animals are 'locked' away with cultural heritage in designated areas such as protected parks owned and maintained by governments. Cultivating cultural value of protected environments like parks and game reserves can bridge this gap by nurturing locals' emotional connections to such landscapes.

7.3.4   As Modern Traditional Pilgrimage

The proponents of this analysis likens tourism travel to going on a pilgrimage or a sacred journey to cleanse one's body and spirit and get refreshed. This may explain visitors' preference of southern Africa's pristine wilderness found in its various biophysical environments of countries such as Tanzania's Maasai Mara, Zambia's Kafue National Park, Botswana's Okavango Delta and Namib desert in Namibia, to mention a few.

Cultural heritage can diversify this kind of travellers' experience and allow them to enjoy a pilgrimage of diverse cultural knowledge and cultural practice. The common fascination with indigenous and traditional societies such as the Bushmen/San and Maasai, for instance, exhibits an innate need by tourists to connect with something more sacred than their contemporary life experiences (cf. 2 2007; White et al. 2013). A more formalised engagement of these societies' culture in tourism can diversify both tourists' experience and social development at the host level. Chapter 4's COBACHREM model specifications provide for the sustainable formalisation of such cultures in tourism amongst other pursuits in southern Africa.

In modern tourism this aspect is emulated by what is now being labelled as religious tourism, whereby travel patterns that used to be sacred and restricted to

believers of such religion now turn into leisure packages. In this context tourism involves places that are historically known for commercialised pilgrimages in traditional societies, for instance, Israel and Jerusalem tours.

7.3.5   As Expression of Basic Cultural Themes

This is a form of tourism, whereby travellers compare different experiences. Exchange of travel experience is the main activity for this particular traveller. Protected area cultural heritage inventorying and interpretation has a potential to make this an exciting form of travel even at regional level of southern Africa owing to the diverse nature of cultural heritage resources. Nature tourism experience can be uniform across landscapes and country borders; for example, an elephant in Zambia is still an elephant in Mozambique. The same cannot be said of cultural traits of those similar spaces.

7.3.6   As Acculturative Process

This aspect of tourism analysis is concerned with analysis of tourists' effect on hosts, i.e. altering a host community's socio-cultural fabric. In southern African tourism, communities situated at gateway localities into pristine nature areas are at a high risk of going through such a transformation. Gateway localities are those that border national parks and game reserves and act as entry points to these protected areas (cf. Frauman and Banks 2011). To maintain cultural components of a communal landscape and consequently preserve a social fabric of gateway communities, inventorying and interpretation of cultural heritage of such communities and their landscapes can raise awareness amongst community generations as well as diversify locations where tourism activities are concentrated (cf. Keitumetse and Pampiri 2016).

7.3.7   As a Form of Ethnic Relations

Looks at production of ethnic arts for tourists market to illuminate how cultural content can be changed by a commercial focus such as tourism and how this change impacts on ethnic identities. Some study findings already testify to this. For instance, research by Moepeng (2006) shows that while production of baskets by rural women in a village of Etsha 6, Okavango Delta, Botswana, brings the well-needed cash, some cultural elements are being quickly replaced by patterns from international catalogues rather than by cultural patterns that for years have been carrying cultural meanings generated by a particular community. Yet another research by Keitumetse and Nthoi (2009) from Tsodilo World Heritage site, Botswana illustrates how

basketry production is dictated by tourism demand which in turn lead to negative modifications of communities' intangible cultural heritage and practices associated with basketry. In this case study, it is shown that socio-cultural production is replaced by economic production. More studies and conservation measures are required per each managed site to maintain the cultural fabric that produces the unique cultural heritage.

7.3.8 As Neocolonialism

A situation whereby tourism creates dependencies between tourism-generating and tourists-receiving countries is viewed as tilting the power of relations to the tourists, not hosts' countries and people. Source countries are identified as centres with purchasing power and ultimately control over tourism. Though they may have the resources, host countries end up being dependent on countries where tourists are sourced. Ecotourism ideals emanated as efforts to balance this equation and have to be commended in that regard.

In southern African general economics, this economic relationship can also be observed in the production and consumption of other natural resources such as diamond and gold from developing countries, whose beneficiation acquires a higher value outside countries where a raw material is sourced, resulting in raw mineral-producing countries becoming dependent on those countries that own the technologies used for beneficiation.

Similarly in southern African tourism, yearly World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) reports highlight Europe and the Americas as source markets for tourists visiting the region. Lucrative international tourists have enabled countries like Botswana to adopt the earlier-mentioned high-paying tourists' policy not only to control carrying capacity into nature parks and game reserves but also to deter mass travellers who more often cannot afford to pay exorbitant safari tourism fees. However, the high prices do not only deter mass tourists but also deter locals from participating in the type of tourism taking place in landscapes that they inhabit, and this as discussed in Chap. 4 is causing conflict amongst stakeholders. In the Okavango Delta, there is also a clash of conservation ideologies, whereby international community from which tourism finance is derived prefers that hunting wild animals for sport be banned as it is viewed as unethical, whereas local hosts would rather let it continue as hunting is financially lucrative and yields higher profits through joint-venture partnerships.

With Cohen's (1984) classification of characteristics of tourism and their potential implications for cultural heritage resources management, the section that follows provides a brief outline of emerging research with potential to diversify tourism and tourists' experience using cultural heritage resources.

7.4   New Approaches to Incorporate Cultural Heritage in Protected Nature Reserve Tourism

A number of initiatives can be applied to diversify tourism product of protected national parks and game reserves popular in most of southern Africa. Some have already been discussed in preceding chapters and are mentioned here for emphasis.

7.4.1   Overlaying Cultural Heritage in Nature Reserves and Game Parks: Archaeologies and Histories of Nature Tourism Environments

The politics surrounding the apartheid system have led the post-apartheid South African government to take proactive steps in addressing some of the social ills that came with apartheid era nature conservation and management of parks and game reserves. Such areas as Kruger National Park is one example where cultural heritage has received some attention within an area solely designated for nature conservation. These efforts are reflected in publications such as of Cock and Fig (2000) and Meskell (2011).

Most of southern African environments are still managed through an approach that separates nature environment from culture/historic environment. However, the ideal is to bring nature-culture together as entities of one environment, i.e. where there is a national protected area, cultural components have to be consciously researched, brought out and made part of a site interpretation and consequently part of a tourist experience. Such merged initiatives have potential to bring variety of experience as well as stakeholders to the table such as local people, local investors and local tourists who will visit nature spaces not only to see wildlife and wilderness but also to garner knowledge about their ancestral relations to the landscape, hence cultivating identities that reconnect them to the landscape. Such efforts are likely to enhance locals' sense of responsibility towards protected nature reserves and may modify criticism of safari tourism in southern Africa as a neocolonialism activity. Some of the initiatives in this direction are documented in the work of Keitumetse et al. (2011) on inventorying cultural heritage components of wetland areas in Robben Island (South Africa) and Okavango Delta (Botswana) and also on isolating specific characteristics of cultural heritage compatible with ecotourism (Keitumetse et al. 2011). Figures 7.1 and 7.2 show part of the preliminary results derived from a survey for cultural sites and landscapes in a supposedly nature resources environment like the Okavango Delta World Heritage Site.
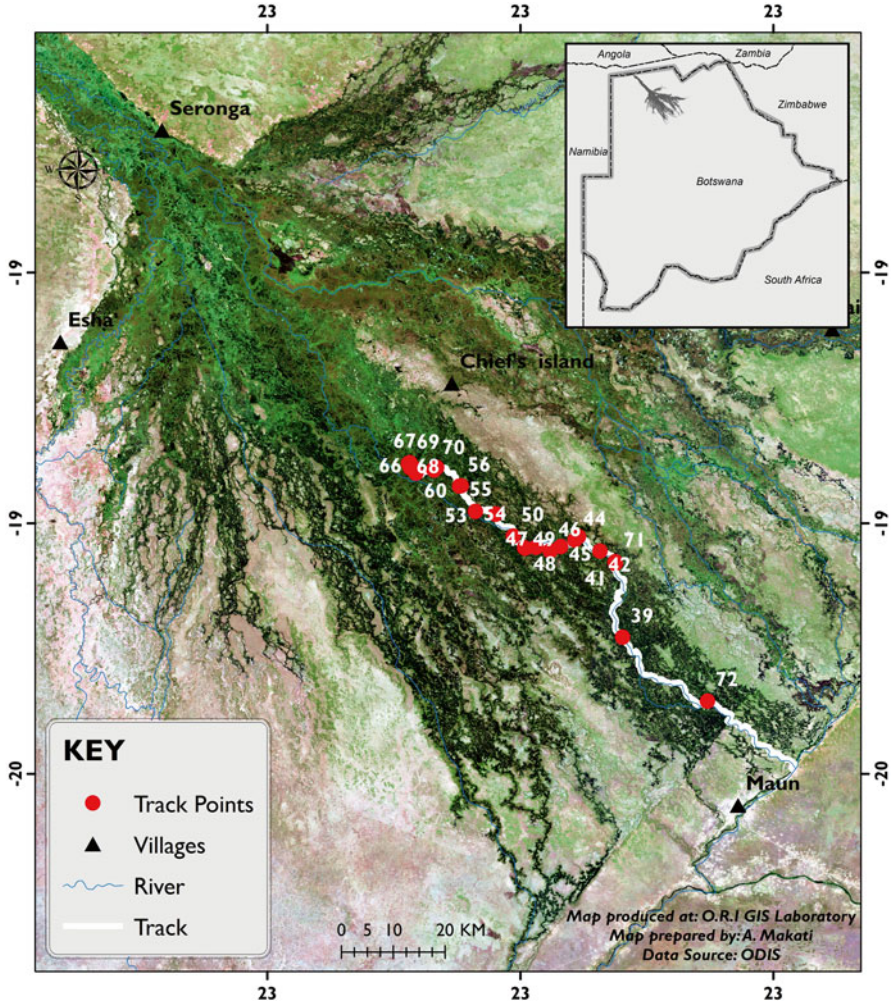
Fig. 7.1 Map showing an overlay of cultural sites (represented b numbers) on the Okavango Delta Wetland, Botswana

7.4.2   Tourism Gateway Localities and Cultural Heritage as a Diversification Resource

Discussions from the previous example show that research on overlaying cultural heritage value on nature landscapes is directed towards already designated nature reserves of southern Africa. One extension to this approach, as well as an additional nature tourism diversification strategy, is to unearth, document, inventory and interpret cultural heritage of gateway localities to nature places (Keitumetse and Pampiri 2016). Gateway localities are those that border national parks and game reserves

Fig. 7.2 Team mapping cultural sites of Okavango Delta wetland, Botswana (Access courtesy of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF))

and act as entry points to these protected areas (cf. Frauman and Banks 2011). In southern African countries, gateway localities to nature reserves that host high-end tourism mainly constitute of rural villages and non-gazetted settlements. Concerns relating to imbalances in participation and benefit between locals and international tourism investors in high-end safari tourism are always abound in southern African tourism. Oftentimes gateway villages and settlements in southern Africa supply menial job labour to high-end tourism destinations. But they can be of other value as earlier suggested.

Research initiatives that address gateway community empowerment using cultural heritage can contribute a balanced participation and benefit. A study by Keitumetse and Pampiri (2016) looks at identification, acknowledgement and use of cultural aspects of a gateway village whose cultural identities are hijacked and/or overwhelmed by wilderness/wildlife tourism brand of the Okavango Delta World Heritage Site (OD-WHS) in Botswana. The objective of the research is to illustrate the existence of local cultural identities that demonstrate the strength of community ties to the cultural landscape and support and unveil dormant intangible use values that can then be interpreted alongside the famous high-end tourism brand. The study results show that while Maun is well known for its brand as a gateway flight station for tourists who visit the Okavango Delta World Heritage Site, the village is also conflated with communal cultural values that can supplement the gateway image/status and reduce competition for nature tourism amongst stakeholders. The cultural

features and landscapes in Maun can be harnessed and used by communities to engage with the already visiting tourists as well as to diversify the tourist wilderness and wildlife experience of the Okavango Delta World Heritage Site. In addition to being a gateway point into the Okavango Delta World Heritage Site (OD-WHS), Maun village is also part of the Ramsar site that covers the delta under the Convention on Wetlands (1971) outlined in detail in Chap. 2. This study shows that tourism gateway localities can use cultural heritage resources as a comparative advantage and diversify the high-end tourism; doing so modifies competition for designated nature spaces as well as engage a resource that they have full understanding and control of.

7.4.3 International Listing of 'Living' African Villages to Stimulate Sustainability in Motion

This is an initiative that UNESCO has already started through its world heritage cultural landscape designation programme. The current limitation for southern Africa is that it is focused on relic and/or archaeological landscapes as opposed to living and continuous villages. There is a need to catapult the programme to include 'living' villages because it represents an opportunity to achieve sustainable use of cultural resources. It has potential to provide a bridge between the 'frozen past human life' of relics, monuments, and protected cultural sites of world heritage value and people's continued engagement in the process of production and consumption of culture and heritage, allowing stakeholders to explore fluid sustainability in a social context. A village such as Shoshong in Botswana discussed in Chap. 3 has a potential to be listed as a living landscape that continues from the past given its historical, archaeological and cultural heritage value. In such contexts, sustainable conservation using cultural resources can be applied to illustrate their relevance in social development.

7.4.3.1 Cultural Landscapes in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention: Gateway Localities Tourism Diversification Opportunities

The world heritage convention provides criteria of landscapes in four (04) categories as follows (Mitchell et al. 2010):

1. *Clearly defined landscape*—created intentionally by humans (culture) for aesthetic purposes.
2. *Organically evolved landscapes*—these are landscapes whose initial social, economic, administrative and religious activities and purposes started off active (with cultural activities taking place) but later died off and the landscapes developed into a natural environment. A process of evolution takes two forms:

   (i) A relic or fossil landscape whose evolutionary process has ended.
   (ii) A continuing landscape that retains active social role in contemporary society, associated with traditional way of life. Its evolution in progress.

3. *Associative cultural landscape*—these are environments where powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations exist rather than material culture. The characteristics are in line with outlines of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Together with cultural criteria for world heritage listing, these categories influence decisions on whether a particular landscape could be listed under the world heritage list or not. Examples of UNESCO world heritage listed landscapes from Africa are outlined below to show focus on relic landscape, rather than living landscape.

In light of the discussions in Chaps. 1 and 2 in particular surrounding pre-existing nature-culture environmental dichotomies, initiatives to diversify become necessary. To trickle conservation and management initiatives down to cultural custodians, more focus should be placed on listing living villages rather than relic cultural landscapes in southern African tourism gateway localities. Keitumetse and Pampiri (2016) illustrate how this initiative could be approached in the context of the Okavango Delta World Heritage Site's gateway community in Maun village (Keitumetse and Pampiri 2016). Such responsibility falls on both national governments and international institutions. Listing of living rather than relic villages is also encouraged because it will pave way for implementation of both the 1972 World Heritage Convention and the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage as combined tools rather than as exclusive conventions. A living village by its nature has both relic heritage and living heritage that brings a much more compacted use of cultural resources in both past and contemporary lives.

7.5 Case Study: Southern African Safari Tourism and Cultural Heritage Resources Use

Safari tourism as the dominant form of tourism in southern Africa can benefit from improvement using resources such as cultural heritage. In this section the case study discusses how pre-existing safari tourism can utilise cultural and heritage resources to enhance the tourism product and experience in protected nature environments.

Chapter 4 Sect. 4.1.2 outlines the differences between community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) programme and management models designed specifically for cultural heritage resources, e.g. COBACHREM. This section elaborates the discussion in the context of tourism rather than just pure conservation.

7.5.1 Joint-Venture Partnerships for Nature Tourism: Diversification Using Cultural Heritage

In southern Africa, several partnerships between private tourism investor companies and local communities owning land rich with wilderness and wildlife resources exist. The operational model of these partnerships is commonly known as community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) programme, outlined

in detail in Chap. 4. In all of the agreements, the details of the quota management system are transferred entirely to the managing party, who in all cases is the private sector partner. Concession fees paid by safari operators may benefit community in projects such as funeral costs coverage, construction of pit latrines, borehole construction, etc.

As already elaborated in Chap. 4, CBNRM tourism limits the relationship that community residents in peripheries of protected areas have with those environments. Operated in this context, the CBNRM programme is unlikely to result in recognition, acknowledgement nor engagement of archaeological, historical, traditional and ethnological resources of WMAs that can diversify a tourism product. The COBACHREM model, also discussed in Chap. 4, is aimed at bridging this gap.

7.5.1.1   Common Types of Private Sector-Community in Namibia (Roe et al. 2001): Diversification with Cultural Heritage

In this section, already existing tourism partnerships between private companies and local communities and how they can incorporate cultural and heritage resources as a way to diversify tourism product and enhance tourists' experience beyond wildlife and wilderness exist.

1. A company enters into an agreement with a community to develop a new enterprise on communal land.

   - *Cultural heritage input: The enterprise could involve exploration, research and interpretation of archaeological sites, historical monuments such as the one in* Chap. 5, *historical documentation of events such as those in* Chap. 3 *and so on and so forth. These aspects of a communal land are more likely to bring direct involvement of local communities in tourism, rather than local communities just leasing out land and receiving dividends from tourism activities that they do not plan and participate in or carry any sense of belonging to them in a way that can assist them have continuous interaction with the landscape.*

2. A company with an existing facility on communal land enters into an agreement to share benefit with community.

   - *Cultural heritage input: Building onto the above, the shared benefit could be elevated beyond profits to engage communities' production of cultural souvenirs depicting selected cultural aspects of community life in various artistic formats such as fridge magnets, toys and other accessories.*

3. A company enters into a 'good neighbours' agreement with a community living next to or near an existing private enterprise.

   - *Cultural heritage input: This is the most common partnership, and currently the most cultural aspect of it is companies hiring out dancing groups from*

Fig. 7.3 Activities relating to Cultural initiation ceremony for women re-enacted for tourists in Sankuyo village, gateway to Moremi Game Reserve, Okavango Delta, Botswana ©author

communities to carry out cultural performance for tourists in a secluded location. This can be expanded to include separate cultural villages in proximity to the private enterprise that are run by communities who then use their cultural heritage to extend activities to the designated wildlife management areas (WMAs) (Fig. 7.3).

4. A company leases hunting rights from a community.

   • *Cultural heritage input: The community could use their indigenous hunting skills to share with the tourists' aspects such as traditional tracking rather than replacing those with what is viewed as scientific ways of animal tracking that wipes out traditional skills. While applying their indigenous skills, the locals would at the same time be tapping onto the experience of running a hunting expedition for international tourists. In this manner tourism becomes an equitable exchange of knowledge and skills between community members and private entrepreneurs and consequently shared with international tourists through equitable interpretation discussed in* Chap. 5 *of this book.*

5. A company enters into an agreement with a community to utilise an existing community-based facility.

   • *Cultural heritage input: Exchange of both traditional and modern aspects of using the facility.*

6. A company enters into an agreement with a community to develop a new community-based facility

   - *Cultural heritage input: Equitable sharing of skills and knowledge*, *be they modern or traditional*.

7. A company enters into an agreement with a community to 'buy in' services or products.

   - *Cultural heritage input: Incorporate traditional and indigenous service components as part of a cultural exchange between locals and tourists*, *leading to the cultural heritage of ecotourism* (Keitumetse 2009).

8. A company enters into an agreement with a community to develop and market the services and products.

   - *Cultural heritage input: This aspect could tap into some of the ideas on intellectual property management discussed in* Chap. 2, *under the World Intellectual Property Organization* (*WIPO*)'*s treaties and operations such as trademarks that bear local symbols of identity and community cultural traits*.

7.5.1.2 Community Concept Within Tourism Partnerships: Notarial Deeds of Trust and Community Designation

In an effort to define benefits derived from community-private company partnerships, a common strategy is to come up with a *notarial deed of trust within which definitions and descriptions of what constitute a community are designated. A notarial deed of trust* is a legal requirement for registering a community trust under the laws of the Republic of Botswana. Once registered, a community trusts becomes a platform through which dividends are accrued from tourism activities.

The indicators used to categorise a 'community' that is to later benefit from an enterprise usually follow the confines of a wildlife management area geographical boundary which often does not correspond with social and traditional ties system of ethnic groups. The socio-cultural and socio-political ties more often transcend the set geographical boundaries. Table 7.2 contains examples of extracts of definitions from some of the notarial deeds of trust defining a community that is to benefit from a private sector-community trust tourism partnership (Table 7.3).

All in all, the level of participation of communities in the CBNRM programme shows that there is a high possibility that communities have very little understanding of the aspects of conventional resources management such as enterprise development and conservation principles of wildlife resource sustenance. An elaborate discussion of the applicability of the CBNRM programme in cultural heritage management has already been provided in Chap. 7. Here it is sufficient to state that the ideologies, the legal frameworks and the focus of the CBNRM programme on economic benefits have blurred an innovative thinking towards diversification of the nature tourism product in wildlife management areas. As argued in Chap. 1, and

Table 7.2 Some of the UNESCO listed cultural landscapes from Africa region © UNESCO World Heritage Centre

Village	Country	Notes
Sukur cultural landscape	Nigeria	Inscribed: 1999
	Category: traditional cultural landscapes	Criteria: (iii) cultural tradition (v) interaction with the environment (vi) association with belief system
		Location and values: Sukur cultural landscape is located about 120 km south of Maidaguri in north-east Nigeria
		Settlement of perhaps 2,000 people high in the mountains with no direct vehicular access. The area has been under essentially the same form of land management for at least 400 years, under the Dur dynasty of chiefs
Koutammakou	Togo	Inscribed: 2004
	Category: traditional cultural landscapes	Criteria: (v) interaction with the environment (vi) association with belief system
		Location and values: the Koutammakou cultural landscape covers the traditional area of the Batammariba people along the border with Benin in north-eastern Togo, West Africa. The mud-built 'tower houses' (or 'Takienta') and village architecture of the Batammariba people are a remarkable and unique adaptation to the particular attributes of the local environment
Asante traditional buildings	Ghana	Inscribed: 1980
	Category: ancient sub-Saharan civilisations	Criteria: (v) interaction with the environment
		Location and values: the Asante traditional buildings are situated in ten different villages to the north and east of Kumasi in south-central Ghana. They represent all that remains of the traditional shrine houses (*Abosomfie*) of the Ashanti people, each of which was traditionally regarded as the spiritual home of a particular *Obosum*, a minor deity who could mediate between a mortal being and the supreme god *Nyame*. Most of the shrine houses were destroyed in the nineteenth century during raids by the British. Are still held sacred by the local community and some have a resident priest

(continued)

Table 7.2 (continued)

Village	Country	Notes
Le Morne cultural landscape	Mauritius	Le Morne cultural landscape, a rugged mountain that juts into the Indian Ocean in the south-west of Mauritius was used as a shelter by runaway slave maroons, through the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries. Protected by the mountain's isolated, wooded and almost inaccessible cliffs, the escaped slaves formed small settlements in the caves and on the summit of Le Morne. The oral traditions associated with the maroons have made Le Morne a symbol of the slaves' fight for freedom, their suffering and their sacrifice, all of which have relevance to the countries from which the slaves came—the African mainland, Madagascar, India and Southeast Asia
		Outstanding universal value
		Criterion (iii): the mountain is an exceptional testimony to maroonage or resistance to slavery in terms of it being used as a fortress for the shelter of escaped slaves, with evidence to support that use
		Criterion (vi): the dramatic form of the mountain, the heroic nature of the resistance it sheltered and the longevity of the oral traditions associated with the maroons have made Le Morne a symbol of slaves' fight for freedom, their suffering and their sacrifice, all of which have relevance beyond its geographical location. Only the mountain is in the property and its spiritual qualities extend well into its surroundings
Old towns of Djenne	Mali	Inhabited since 250 BC, Djenné became a market centre and an important link in the trans-Saharan gold trade. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was one of the centres for the propagation of Islam. Its traditional houses, of which nearly 2,000 have survived, are built on hillocks (toguere) as protection from the seasonal floods
		Outstanding universal value
		Djenné, chief town of the Djenné Circle, located 130 km south-west of Mopti (the regional capital) and roughly 570 km north-east of Bamako (the national capital), is one of the oldest towns of sub-Saharan Africa
		The property is an ensemble that over many years has symbolised the typical African city. It is also particularly representative of Islamic architecture in sub-Saharan Africa
		Criterion (iii): bears exceptional witness to the pre-Islamic civilisations on the inland delta of the Niger. The archaeological discoveries of many dwellings on the site as well as a wealth of artefacts and metal make this a major site for the study of the evolution of dwellings, industrial and craft techniques
		Criterion (iv): an outstanding example of an architectural group of buildings illustrating a significant historic period. Influenced by Moroccan architecture (1591), and later marked by the Toucouleur Empire in 1862. The reconstruction of the Mosque (1906–1907) created a monument representing local religious architecture

Table 7.3 Showing Exhibits of extracts from a Notarial Deed of Trust document outlining constituents of a community entitled to benefit financially from natural resources in a particulr bordered environmet in central Botswana

Name of community trust	Description of beneficiaries
1. Moremi-Manonnye Trust, Moremi village, registered 27 July 1999	*Members of Moremi community of the age of 18 (eighteen) years and above* (Moesi and Co 1999: 02)
	Section 5.1 indicates that 'The Trust shall be owned by its membership who shall elect a Board of Trustees to carry out its objectives' (*ibid*: 05)
	Further, section 6.3 outlines that: 'All *residents of Moremi* shall be eligible to stand for elections to the Board of Trustees' (ibid: 06)
2. Mapanda conservation trust— Lepokole village, registered November 2001	Section 4.1.1 states that the general membership is open to '4.1.1 any person who is a member of Lepokole of or above the age of 18' pg 04
3. Botlhale jwa Phala conservation trust, Lerala village, registered 30 August 2002	'General members' shall mean those citizens of Botswana, 18 years and older, *who have been residents of Lerala for at least one continuous year* pg 03 '"the community" shall mean the residents of Lerala as well as those villages, settlements and homesteads which fall under the jurisdiction of the kgotla of Lerala'
	'6.2 all members of the community of Lerala shall be eligible to stand for elections to the Board of Trustees' pg 06

illustrated through case studies in Chaps. 4, 5 and 6, the search for sustainability in cultural heritage requires an approach that considers communities' intellectual and emotional interaction with a heritage, be it natural or cultural.

7.6 Conclusion

Southern African tourism is heavily characterised by wildlife and wilderness tourism. This has led certain tourism programmes to dictate the direction of tourism operation and practice in the region. In particular, safari tourism and its associated wildlife management areas dominate tourism characteristics in southern Africa and have been generating income for southern African countries for a long time. However, new approaches are needed to diversify resources and stakeholder participation as contestations in the lucrative industry are becoming pronounced amongst locals, international investors and community residents in periphery of nature reserves. The geographical locations where nature reserves are located are conflated with other types of resources such as cultural heritage that can be used to diversify stakeholder participation, diversify tourism product, as well as diversify the tourists' experience.

Cultural heritage represents an alternative capital that local stakeholders in particular can use to bargain for participation in the lucrative nature tourism. Cultural resources can be juxtaposed alongside the popular wildlife and wilderness resources to diversify both the tourism product and the tourists' experiences.

However, the use of cultural heritage resources in business requires an in-depth assessment of how the nature of tourism impacts on these resources or vice versa. Cohen's (1984) eight characteristics of tourism can be used in this instance. These are tourism as commercialised hospitality, tourism as democratised travel, tourism as modern leisure, tourism as modern traditional pilgrimage, tourism as expression cultural themes, tourism as an acculturative process and tourism as a form of neocolonialism.

General new strategies that involve cultural heritage and can be embarked on to diversify southern African tourism in a more sustainable way include the following:

– Exploring and unearthing cultural resources in protected nature reserves
– Considering living villages as cultural landscapes of heritage conservation to exercise sustainability in motion
– Unearthing cultural heritage of tourism gateway localities (villages and settlements in southern Africa)
– Developing management models specific to cultural and heritage resources to diversify both stakeholders and conservation strategies for tourism development

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Chapter 8
Mainstreaming African Cultural Resources: Heritage and Development

Abstract The chapters of this book have repeatedly demonstrated that management of cultural resources in Africa entails topics of environment, stakeholders, management conventions, politics of the past in the present, community-based conservation, sustainable interpretation, standard setting and heritage enterprising. As expected, such broad coverage commands multiple sectors and stakeholders in which cultural components should be integrated. Even though sectors and stakeholders are endless, a theme of sustainability on which this volume is anchored on highlights the following sectors as core: local indigenous knowledge systems, youth-elder partnerships, technical education, modern land use planning, international conservation policies, standard setting mechanisms, social equity, tourism museums, funding and health and safety issues, amongst others that will result from the evolution of cultural resources use.

Keywords Adapt vs. adopt • Sustainable communities • Local indigenous knowledge • Youth-elder • TVET • Land use planning • Social equity • Tourism museums • Funding • Health and safety

8.1 Introduction: What Is Mainstreaming?

In its simplest forms, mainstreaming is an inclusion. In management terms it is integration. In social perspectives mainstreaming is inclusion. To mainstream cultural heritage resources is to identify inventive ways through which the importance of cultural resources in policies, stakeholders, institutions, programmes, plans and individual life could be continuously demonstrated. The current status of African cultural heritage resources is such that they are not adequately integrated in socio-economic and socio-political human development agenda. Mainstreaming has to be considered as a management exercise to include the resources in social, economic, political, financial and psychological pursuits of human development.

Cowling et al. (2008) identify phases of mainstreaming as follows:

1. Assessment phase (social, biophysical, valuation, opportunities and constraints):
   In the field of cultural resources management, this phase is hosted by several avenues as follows: environmental (both historic and nature environment),

emotional well-being (sense of belonging), psychological (psycho-social), economic (e.g. heritage tourism, Chap. 7) and political (socio-political, Chap. 3).

2. Planning phase (strategy development, mainstreaming)
3. Management phase

The actual work of mainstreaming occurs at the planning stage, not at the management stage. The entire call of this book is how cultural heritage aspects can be planned into real-life situations through a variety of initiatives such as those found in Chaps. 3 (communal identity), 4 (community based), 5 (sustainable interpretation), 6 (certification), 7 (sustainable tourism) and 8 (mainstreaming), which can only become a reality where advance planning has taken place. Projects that are already operating may have to review their strategic plans to include cultural heritage resources.

8.1.1   Cultural Heritage as a Common Good

Cultural resources are common and ubiquitous goods. As such they are in the mainstream by default - i.e. they embrace and engage multiple stakeholders.

The shifts towards socio-economic priorities are gradually placing cultural resources at the centre stage of development, but the operations through which such management is to take place are not readily availed for implementation. Uses of cultural heritage also vary. At times the use is subtle, slow and indirect, as shown in Chap. 3 where evolving use of resources extends to socio-political contexts. At times the use is in the open and direct but without proper guidance, as demonstrated through Chaps. 4 and 7 on tourism endeavours.

Besides local communities' development, African governments are also looking for initiatives through which to engage their constituents in the development agenda. In this, cultural resources are some of the immediate assets considered due to their proximity to rural communities in particular. By virtue of them being embedded in society, cultural heritage resources offer opportunities to engage with grassroots populations for development. As an example, the South African government has gone further to create a heritage funding strategy that prioritises rural cultural heritage. Refer Sect. 8.2.9 of this chapter for details on this initiative.

In addition to being embedded in society, the nature of cultural heritage resources is such that they cut across diverse spheres of environmental and human life.

However, as has been emphasised throughout this book, cultural resources are either ignored or engaged intermittently in these spheres and as such fail to enjoy perpetual recognition and relevance befitting their significance.

To achieve sustainable use, practitioners need to devise proactive conservation strategies that address complex partnerships emanating from multiple stakeholders. Cultural heritage practitioners have to be at the forefront of change to guide and dictate terms of engagement rather than react when negative results surface. One way to be proactive is to identify sectors in which cultural heritage resources should be mainstreamed to aid social development.

8.1.2   Adapting Not Adopting

The Longman dictionary of contemporary English (1987) defines the two words as follows:

Adopt—to take and use as one's own
Adapt—to make or become suitable for new needs, different conditions, etc.

Chapter 4 makes reference to natural resources conservation procedures being adopted, rather than being adapted into management of cultural heritage resources. Adapting is the favourable term for African cultural heritage as well as for other regions as well.

Generally during mainstreaming exercise, multiple directions become available. Two stand out:

1. Engage cultural resources in development agenda.
2. Engage development agenda in the management of cultural resources.

As already demonstrated in preceding chapters, the field of cultural heritage resources management touches on a complex network of sectors and stakeholders at varying scales. For example, Chap. 1 introduced the sectors and stakeholders. Chapter 2 illustrated international legal frameworks and their impact on national and international stakeholders. Chapter 3 also shows a regional history impacting on local communities operating in nationalist governance system. Chapter 4 demonstrates potential impact of cultural resources on education and community innovation. All these contexts provide opportunities for mainstreaming cultural resources into the broader conservation and management agenda.

8.1.3   Conservation Contexts for Mainstreaming Cultural Heritage Resources

Conservation contexts will embrace preservation as an option and as such address cultural production for the sake of the resources' existence—presence and availability are the targeted outputs. Key terms like environment, epistemology and stakeholders feature here.

– *Environment*: Will include both historic and nature environments where resources are turned into heritage through human interaction with the environment
– *Epistemologies* (*and disciplinary focus*): Knowledge-making processes hosted within people and disciplines of study as discussed in Chap. 1. In African cultural heritage, however, the difference is that it should expand to local way of knowing and translating (equivalent to data analysis). This may come in an unconventional format that a scientifically biased cultural practitioner may not

recognise at face value. However, to avoid loopholes illuminated in Chap. 5 where Eurocentric knowledge dominated identity interpretation at the exclusion of other identities, mainstreaming local epistemologies can be done one discipline at a time.

– *Local and national stakeholders*: This will be applicable for socio-cultural production, and consumption of cultural resources is the most dominant at conservation level; therefore, local and national stakeholders are the most important. To avoid homogenous approach to mainstreaming exercise, it is advisable to break stakeholders into small groups such as village youths, elders and scientific researchers by disciplines, traditional leaders, institutions by geographical group and local vs. international tourists, to mention a few. For instance, community social identity conservation impacted upon by national traditional governance system as per Chap. 3 case study.

8.1.4   Management Contexts Where Cultural Heritage Can Be Mainstreamed

Management contexts are initiatives that are deliberately formulated for purposes of managing/controlling the use of the resources in social, political and/or economic endeavours. It is a move from conservation to management, heritage production and consumption for purposes of tourism, formal education, social rehabilitation, etc. Management vehicles include policies, plans and programmes.

Policies Chapter 2 already touches on the idea of mainstreaming cultural heritage into international conventions that are not commonly considered in sync with management of cultural heritage resources, for example, 1989 ILO Convention No. 169, UNESCO-UNEVOC International convention on Vocational Education and 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). Although mention of work with UNESCO culture sector is included in these conventions, operational approaches to achieving such intends are not outlined in a way that they can be readily integrated. This is discussed in detail in Sect. 8.2 below. The conventions are also outlined in Chap. 2.

Plans There are existing plans that could become socially sustainable if cultural heritage resources are incorporated as catalysts in them, for example, modern land use planning in African landscapes. Another example is the CBNRM programme in Chap. 4 that could benefit from a COBACHREM plan.

Programmes – National and International Stakeholders Conservation contexts are more dependent on local structures and stakeholders, whereas management is much wider and covers both national and international spheres. As already illustrated in the preceding chapters, the field of cultural heritage management in general operates in collaboration with multiple stakeholders, e.g. government policy makers, international institutions like UNESCO in Chap. 2 and protected area managers, amongst others.

The section that follows elaborates on how conservation and management contexts of cultural resources can apply in development, or in the language of this chapter, be mainstreamed.

8.2 Mainstreaming Channels in African Cultural Heritage Management

In order for them to upgrade from cultural resources to cultural heritage, a system of passing knowledge, practice and/or skill associated with cultural heritage needs to be in existence.

Although culture, cultural resources and at times cultural heritage can be found in abundance within society, at societal level it is rarely conceived as a commodity that can be managed in a formal manner characteristic of international conventions and national policies, let alone within a systematic sustainable development framework. It is up to cultural heritage experts and governments to facilitate cultural heritage to feature strongly in development agendas.

In modern resources management, there are initiatives that societies can use to translate cultural assets in their possession into development. Outcomes can be used to sustain local communities' emotional well-being and accord communities and governments with development opportunities. Examples of initiatives that can be embarked on within the context of modern management are:

- Local indigenous knowledge
- Youth-elder partnerships: Intergenerational sharing of the resource
- Vocational technical education alongside academic core—UNESCO-UNEVOC
- Employment opportunities for local communities
- International conventions outside UNESCO circle
- Legal aspects
- Standard setting for resources management (EIA, SEA, LAC, CC, etc.)
- Land use planning in urban and rural areas
- Social equity (e.g. gender, people with disabilities)
- Tourism museums
- Fundraising
- Training
- Health and safety issues in cultural heritage management

8.2.1 Local Indigenous Knowledge as a Component of Cultural Heritage

Indigenous knowledge is a component of cultural heritage in that it is cultural knowledge and skills that society has deliberately selected, preserved and inherited through generations. In its heritage format, it can be confidently referred to as

traditional and local. In the present it represents one of the social assets that can be tapped into for social as well as economic innovation and creativity for development. Refer to Chap. 2 section 2.5.2.5 on South African government indigenous knowledge policy (Green et al. 2007). In conservation and development discourses, indigenous knowledge is commonly discussed in the context of biodiversity or natural resources conservation (cf. Hens 2006; Wynberg et al. 2009). However, the knowledge sources and processes from which cultural indigenous knowledge is nurtured represent a stand-alone avenue for social, psychological, political or even economic development.

By its nature indigenous knowledge is rare knowledge that is given value by a codified system of social patenting sustained by secretive sharing across highly selected people in a community. It is its constant application and use that can only sustain it. Once bearers are removed from the context to live a different experience, it can be difficult for them to recall some aspects of indigenous knowledge unless it was purposely inventoried in the style of UNESCO 2003 Convention on safeguarding intangible heritage through creation of inventories. It is because of this that it should be derived in several forms and preserved if not conserved. Indigenous knowledge associated with the natural environment rarely survives outside that particular environment. However, indigenous knowledge associated with social applications like rituals may survive for much longer outside its environmental derivatives. Local cultural practitioners often substitute environmental material with modern material in a situation where communities have relocated to new environments. However, with time, generations change and get mixed up with others where such knowledge is none-existent and as such knowledge and its practices gradually fades away. This means that in instances where indigenous knowledge is applied within its biophysical environmental setting, a sense of continuity and responsibility to conserve such particular knowledge is continuously instilled in each and every individual as they actively take part in its dissemination process.

When applied outside its setting in its intangible formats (knowledge without practice), indigenous knowledge gives only an abstract, more often emotional connection to a cultural practice or to environment. As such a sense of responsibility to such cultural practice and/or environment is compromised as individuals slowly learnt to do without the biophysical environment that used to nurture a certain cultural practice. The dynamic nature of cultures sets in through these processes.

These two scenarios have a strong bearing on sustainable development tenets of needs and limitations as articulated in Chaps. 1 and 9. It goes without saying that where an environmental derivative serves both the practical and the emotional needs of an individual's cultural practice, he/she is more likely to apply more restrictions on the destruction of an environment, enhancing conservation measures. However, where the value of a landscape is abstract and narrated (as in the case of younger generations), the obligation to apply limits on destructive tendencies to environments survives in a compromised format.

Management approaches that separate people with environments to create heritages with borders have to be avoided because they alter the scale of obligation to preserve both the landscape and the resources in it. An example is provided by sites in UNESCO's danger list in Africa (Table 7.2, Chap. 7) which show that most of the

cited danger comes from people to nature reserves. My hypothesis is that people possess the knowledge but do not have practical interaction with the landscape; therefore they possess a minimal obligation to protect the resources in it wholeheartedly.

Local indigenous knowledge can aid in the management of cultural resources and cultural landscapes. For instance:

(a) *Archaeological sites discovery using indigenous knowledge*: Historical archaeological sites—Indigenous knowledge can be used by archaeologists to identify sites of cultural significance to societies in the present. Historical archaeologists in particular can benefit from these. This is already taking place in some remote areas of southern Africa (Sinclair 2004; Keitumetse et al. 2011). More can be done.

  Historical archaeology relies on documented texts to identify sites as well as analyse findings from those sites. Historical archaeology in Africa has been critiqued for anchoring its relevance on European and colonial doctrines instead of using local historiographies as baseline sources (Schmidt and Waltz 200). This critique is made relevant by the focus on already documented texts as discussed in Chap. 5 on interpretation. However, archaeologists are recognising that people are moving texts with knowledge of the landscapes they inhabit.

(b) *Landscape and monument management*: At times African rural communities preserve sites by keeping them secret from other stakeholders such as civil servants and researchers. Management officials however do the opposite. A reconciliation of the two approaches is necessary. New strategies to African cultural management have to appreciate indigenous conceptions of landscape management prior to open access strategy of modern management. By keeping existence of archaeological sites secret, locals engage in preservation. However, unlike researchers, they preserve the mystery rather than anticipated material culture contents of landscapes and sites. These divergent preservation methods can clash when the two stakeholders meet. To reduce conflict, researchers in particular have the obligation to include local communities in all processes of such research such as survey and excavation and find sorting and analysis to educate locals on scientific engagements with the material. It goes without saying that by the time researchers, in particular archaeologists, leave a site or landscape, they would have gathered enough from locals about the site and area, while the opposite cannot be said. Exchange and sharing of knowledge is crucial for sustainable management.

8.2.2 Youth-Elder Partnerships: Skills Transfer

The passing on of cultural heritage knowledge and skills from one generation to the other is a common topic amongst cultural practitioners. Practical processes to implement this good idea are however in short supply. Developing a youth-elder partnership programme is one way to mainstream smooth transition of cultural

knowledge and skills throughout generations. The initiative recognises that African youths today spend their entire youth life in formal education.

On the other hand, many African elders with substantial cultural knowledge and skills spend time alone and with no vocation. Developing a programme that partners youths with elders on selected cultural skills will enhance a merge of ideas between the two generations. The programme can be run as a vacation programme, or it can be integrated into a formal curriculum of a conventional school to diversify educational curriculum activities per student per week/month. Studies on youths' perception of heritage and identity are needed in this regard to establish the point from which they can be taught by elders who already possess knowledge. Preliminary approach studies are however needed. One example is from Namibia by Fairweather (2006) who conducted a study amongst post-colonial Namibia youths to establish how they negotiate the lines between heritage identity and cultural tourism performance when engaging with international tourist. The study illuminated on how youths perceive cultural heritage in Namibia's post-colonial setting.

8.2.2.1 Vocational Education Alongside Academic Core

A school could choose one cultural programme that is cross-cutting in most conventional school subjects and integrate it within a formal school curriculum. Community elders become lesson instructors in such lessons.

In most African schools, a most common mistake made by curriculum developers is the perception that informal education or vocational training is the reserve of students who already failed theoretical subjects like maths, physics, literature, etc. However, even high-flying students require diverse practical activities to hone their creative and innovative skills and apply theories they already learnt.

By infusing cultural skills into formal curriculum through a merge with vocational education, practitioners will encourage innovation that is informed by cultural heritage and consequently give students opportunities to innovate within their cultural localities where new discoveries are needed to curb lack of employment.

The initiative of bringing cultural skills based vocational education into formal youth schools will enable youths to transition from theory curriculum straight into vocation-based curriculum without a break of momentum to learn. Bringing vocational educations skills training to formal schools will also ensure that any dropout from the conventional academic school programme can be automatically transferred to the vocational department of a formal without delay.

Furthermore, hosting vocational cultural training departments in conventional curriculum schools will also facilitate an exchange of ideas between students of theoretical curriculum and those of practical curriculum within reach of each other in one space (Fig. 8.1).

The youth-elder partnership programme can also be implemented outside a school set-up and within an informal context as a civic activity by community organisations (CBOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Chapter 4 discussions surrounding community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM) model touch on initiatives such as this one.

Fig. 8.1 Youth-elder partnerships. The author with her grandparents at a cattle-post learning about the past during a holiday break (©Katso Keitumetse)

8.2.3   Technical Vocational Education Schools and Cultural Heritage Skills Mainstreaming

As already highlighted in the preceding section, technical and vocational education and training (TVET) is a platform that provides practical exchange of cultural knowledge and cultural skills associated with cultural heritage resources.

Not all youths attend formal schools. Vocational schools are a well known establishment in African countries. However, the schools rarely focus on trades that use cultural knowledge and skills as a core curriculum. It is time that African governments consider this approach as one way of mainstreaming cultural skills in schools. A combination of guidelines from the national governments policy based on sustainable development and adoption of the mechanisms espoused in the 1989 UNESCO Convention on Technical and Vocational Education (http://www.unesco. org/education/nfsunesco/pdf/TECVOC) can be used to guide formulation of an all rounded vocational program that using cultural and heritage resources.

Southern African countries are experiencing youth unemployment due to the global economic crisis as well as rising population. Integrating cultural heritage resources as part and parcel of a skills development initiative can result in job creation even at a smaller social unit of nuclear families. The most benefit is cultural beneficiation which will lead to innovation amongst youths in particular.

Chapter 4 outlines preliminary curriculum development processes that are based on competency rather theory. Formal education perceives competency in terms of theoretical understanding and examination on theoretical concepts. This makes it

Fig. 8.2 Traditional methods of hide processing are some of trades that can be offered in African conventional schools as electives, rather than being banished solely to vocational schools where students are sent after failing theoretical subjects

easier to set timelines for students to write examinations and complete courses. Technical education on the other hand approaches competency from mastery of all processes relating to a particular skill. For instance, in terms of Fig. 8.2, a student has completed a course only when they can master all procedures of traditional hide processing. This can take time; therefore, it is best for students to start at an early stage. The length of time a vocational programme can take makes theory school educators uncomfortable. However, running the two in parallel is more beneficial than isolating them because as already mentioned, even those students who attain good marks in theory need technical skills to heighten their innovative capacities.

In summary, cultural heritage resources by nature exist in informal settings, not in systematic processes. It is only fair that in terms of education, they are placed within an informal education system. However, experience has shown that in Africa, technical schools carry a connotation of belonging to students who failed theoretical curriculum. In this book I suggest that the informal education systems of vocational training run alongside the formal academic curricula as a way to encourage infusion of ideas that can lead to profitable innovation by African youths.

8.2.4   Land Use Planning, Physical Planning and Cultural Landscapes Heritage

Land use planning comes with phrases such as town and country planning, land use zones, development plans, development order, preservation orders, design standards and regulations and land administration. Cultural resources come with ubiquity and multiple occurrences in landscapes and such can clash with some of modern land use planning concepts such as zonation.

In majority of African villages, local governments and/or district councils are responsible for land use planning.

Due to European colonial rule in southern Africa, modern land use planning mainly follows a Eurocentric model dominated by symmetrical features that have long characterised European landscapes and architectural designs. The Eurocentric approach to land use planning has been spilling over to African landscapes, since colonial times. With time, such land use planning has gradually dropped African cultural elements associated with African landscapes (Cf. Hammami 2012). Consequently, communities' cultural identities attached to landscapes have been erased and lost due to lack of documentation.

The Eurocentric models are commonly implemented through national policies such as land use acts passed in parliament and development control codes more often benchmarked on European standards. The negative consequences of these approaches are that they gradually erase most communities' traditional and cultural relationship with a landscape.

Another threat to traditional landscape identities is the conversion of landscapes from being identity hotpots to being functional tools. In most instances economic functions such as tourism take precedence over communal heritage hosted by a particular landscape. The change from cultural to economic relevance however shortchanges the development of sustainable identities that bind people towards sustainable communities as these aspects are erased over time (cf. Keitumetse and Pampiri 2016).

8.2.4.1   What Then Should Be Mainstreamed?

African governments' departments responsible for land use planning have to recognise African traditional characteristics and patterns of land use as modern uses of land. The uses can be cultural landscape patterns as visitor attractions or simply as diversifying features that contribute to psycho-social and emotional attachment to the landscape by those who identify with it from time immemorial—i.e. sustainable communities' concept. Cultural and communal characteristics of landscapes in African areas therefore need to be integrated into planning land use planning and interpretation.

Planning permissions in particular are a common requirement in towns and cities of developed countries. African countries have also joined this process and some

apply these rules in rural areas. Planning acts and development codes are formulated as policies that guide land use planning. Yet this process is more Eurocentric than African. Foreign concepts of planning are more often symmetrical, whereas African village plans are well documented in literature as the opposite, in particular, mostly circular or horseshoe shaped.

Changes to African traditional landscape identities in the name of modern land planning can be likened to deletion of a cultural identity worked over centuries into a landscape. As has been the assertion of this book throughout, majority of African identities are intangible and invisible and can only be unearthed and appreciated once those that host them have been identified and interrogated. This practice deserves to be embraced as part and parcel of land use planning in African countries.

In summary, land use and land use planning impact on cultural resources as well as human populations' sense of identity and belonging. Chapters 7 and 9 provide examples of a seemingly rural village that is confronted with land use pressure imposed by nature tourism as the village serves as a gateway location. In these circumstances, gateway communities (Frauman and Banks 2011)'s cultural traits are compromised. The challenges that face such gateway landscapes are numerous, but the chief amongst them is the loss of intangible cultural heritage associated with a cultural landscape. Land authorities have to learn to mainstream cultural values landscapes earmarked for development as a general use planning approach.

8.2.5   Pre-existing International Management Strategies

Chapter 2 already touches on the idea of mainstreaming cultural heritage into international conventions that are not commonly considered part of cultural heritage resources management, For example, although the 1989 ILO Convention No. 169 makes a significant reference to indigenous communities' cultures, a significant and deliberate coordination of this convention with UNESCO operational procedures to balance cultural resources management is not clearly spelt out. Conversely, the 1989 ILO Convention No. 169 and UNESCO Conventions (1972, 2003) are not strategically linked to the broader cultural resources management mandate as espoused in UNESCO policies. African cultural heritage management need to formulate targeted strategies that will merge these important conventions and coordinate benefits.

Another convention in which cultural resources are passively mentioned and will require active mainstreaming approaches is the 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). This convention is thin on operations that will integrate cultural heritage resources to close the nature-culture gap currently experienced in protected nature reserves of Africa in particular.

A good example where cultural resources have been mainstreamed into natural resources policy is provided by the Ramsar Bureau's 'cultural heritage of wetlands' programme of 1992 infused into operations of the 1971 Convention on Wetlands. However, a move from formulation of a chapter to providing wording relating to cultural resources within the convention will go a long way. This case study is elaborated in detail in Chap. 2.

In addition to international legal frameworks, there are micro-level initiatives that can be regarded as mini-world-wide environmental management policies. These have been in existence for as long as resources conservation has been ongoing but are silent cultural resources. This remains a challenge to be confronted by heritage practitioners in order to move the field into sustainability. Examples are as follows:

Carrying capacity and limits of acceptable change
The setting up of carrying capacity limits is one of the oldest methods of implementing conservation measures in a site. Once the limits that a particular area can or cannot take before it deteriorates are known, it becomes easier for practitioners to monitor and avoid resource depletion. Cultures and cultural heritage resources can also be assessed against these principles to gauge and monitor how much a local culture, a site and a landscape can sustain cultural authenticity when faced with certain uses by various stakeholders.

Over the years there has been a move from carrying capacity concept to limits of acceptable change (LAC) concept of nature conservation (Stankey et al. 1984). LAC is premised on the understanding that limits should be known, established and set in advance to avoid reacting to conserve when capacities have been exceeded. The focus on limits also follows strongly on sustainable development framework's setting of limits on consumption. The call for the field of cultural heritage resources management to establish clear production and consumption indicators (Keitumetse 2005b, 2011) as well as develop standards (Chap. 6) to enable such milestone to be achieved.

EIA (Environmental Impact Assessment), AIA (Archaeological Impact Assessment) and SEA (Strategic Environmental Assessment)
Devuyst et al. (2000) distinguish between project-based Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and policy-oriented Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA). Both tools are applied in natural resources conservation. Although the EIA process in most cases incorporates Archaeological Impact Assessment (AIA) process, this is not the case in majority of southern African countries. Also, following earlier pointers in this book that archaeology is just but one component of cultural heritage, it is necessary to institutionalise broader cultural aspects in the EIA processes. In particular to Africa where intangible cultural components dominate, there is a need to formulate strategies that enable practitioners to incorporate components of this nature. Initiatives such as COBACHREM can help incorporate local internal assessment relating to everyday interaction with the environment result of which can be incorporated into the broader EIA process conducted by external assessors. It is worth noting that in terms of impact assessment and cultural heritage in southern Africa, South Africa and Botswana's national policies have made EIA mandatory (Keitumetse 2005a, b, 2011; Ndlovu 2011). Either a broader cultural heritage (in context of South Africa) or specific archaeological heritage (in context of Botswana) is considered as part of an EIA process.

8.2.6 Standard Setting Mechanisms: Certifications

Chapter 5 outlines certification as an example of a standard setting mechanism in resources conservation. Conservation standards for cultural resources can be juxtaposed alongside natural resources methods to strengthen environmental protection.

8.2.7 Social Equity in Cultural Heritage Management: Gender and Disability

Social equity is one of the common topics in modern management. Equity is achieved when all necessary aspects of social life in particular are represented fairly in an initiative. Common descriptors of social equity include subtopics such as gender, people with disabilities, citizenship and religion amongst others.

8.2.7.1 Gender

Sustainable development (SD) is a broad policy framework that provides guidelines towards the equitable use of biophysical resources as well as emphasises equal access by all. The literature on sustainable development identifies two broad categories of SD known as weaker and stronger sustainability. The former is popularly attributed to sustaining development, while the latter is commonly attributed to sustaining the environment (ref.cf. Williams and Millington 2004). The weaker sustainability has a subcategory known as environmental justice or what is termed 'just sustainability' (ref. Agyeman and Evans 2004), and it is here where issues of gender and environment commonly surface. The concept of anthrocentrism -or human centredness as opposed to environment centredness (Plumwood 1996), though often criticised as an arrogant approach to environmental management, automatically assert that people practice gendered cultural activities on environmental landscapes, making the subject of gender and heritage an important topic in the twenty-first century cultural heritage management approaches. Archaeological research has also brought examples of gendered cultural activities that have been neglected for a long time within the discipline (Conkey and Gero 1997; Sorensen 2013). Gender studies on natural environment interpretations have also been conducted, for instance, in the Serengeti, Tanzania (cf. Shetler 2007).

All in all, the subject of gender, heritage and sustainability in African heritage management can be better addressed by looking beyond the biophysical resources that already favour one gender, towards inclusion of intangible enablers of access and participation by both genders. Analysing the role of both men and women at the planning stages of research and/or project can balance female- and male-oriented interpretations.

8.2.7.2   Disability

Disability affects both production and consumption of cultural resources by stakeholders in different ways. At the basic level, disability can manifest as a deterrent to access and participation by those involved. It can be problems with sharing cultures, inability to access cultural heritage resources or general failure to participate fully. Some stakeholders may have challenges that deter them from sharing and accessing information relating to their cultural heritage. However, developing focused management strategies can alleviate the problem. For instance, in terms of the deaf, development of sign language featuring cultural material should be prioritised.

– The ageing of those community members that are cultural custodians by virtue of the fact that they possess knowledge on tangible and intangible heritage is one of the liabilities faced by African cultural heritage conservation and management practitioners. Impairment of sight and hearing due to ageing is one of the disability factors affecting elders who possess cultural knowledge and skills. In my work in southern Africa, I have come across elders identified as bearers of cultural knowledge but cannot execute these competences because of their health status. Because of dependency on humans as record storages of cultural knowledge, as opposed to high literacy areas where written records are kept instead, cultural practitioners need to be proactive to identify, inventory, and tag elders to harness cultural knowledge and skills before natural processes take their toll. The approach is equivalent to salvage archaeology practice where sites are excavated before they are damaged by natural forces such as floods and/or modern pressures such as development.

8.2.8   Heritage Tourism Museums in Africa

Museums are associated with preservation and storage of cultural material. Museums offer African cultural heritage opportunities for lively interactions between both local and international stakeholders.

Chapter 7 Table 7.1 demonstrates the amount of revenue accumulated from safari tourism activities taking place in southern Africa region. African countries receive a large number of tourists from developing countries who already expect a museum as a place for cultural heritage consumption. However, southern African countries engaged in safari tourism lack upscale tourism museums in the likes of America's Smithsonian Institution's conglomerate of museums in Washington, DC.

The most common type of a museum in southern African countries is a national museum often showcasing excerpts of a country's national history and more often located only in a country's capital city. In most of these countries, these museums were an initiative of settler communities of European descent given that most

southern African countries were colonised by European countries. For instance, a country like Zambia has the following pre-independence (1964) museums:

– Livingstone Museum in Livingstone city (related to case study in Chap. 5). The museum was established in 1934.
– The copper-belt museum established in 1962, before independence, to reflect on copper mining which was a European-led enterprise at the time.

In 1980 the country sets up the Lusaka National Museum in the capital city, Lusaka as a post independence establishment.

However, within the envisaged sustainable communities' framework, a museum has to emanate from communal negotiation, identification and interpretation of a place and its people across temporal paradigms that also include the present. An example of a good community museum can be found with the Museum of American Indian communities in Washington DC, USA (http://nmai.si.edu/).

It is worth noting that South Africa is an exception with two national museums:

– Ditsong National Museum of Cultural History in Pretoria
– Ditsong National Museum of Military History in Johannesburg
– National Museum in Bloemfontein

The country also has other museums that though not labelled 'national' are of international significance mainly due to the country's well-known apartheid history. These include the following:

– Robben Island Museum in Cape Town
– South African museum in Cape Town
– Ditsong Museum of Natural History in Pretoria

In addition to the national museums listed above, there are more and more museums in South Africa that serve international tourists. For instance, the museum of the Sterkfontein caves, the cradle of humankind site.

However, more could be done for southern African countries. For instance, safari tourism is profitable in the region and as such most southern African countries could benefit from developing nature-culture heritage museum centres as a way of mainstreaming heritage and diversifying the tourism offering to enhance the tourists' experience as well as reconnect social culture with the natural environment.

8.2.9 *Funding*

Conservation and management of resources is an expensive endeavour for any country to undertake.

Funding opportunities for cultural heritage in particular is a dicey issue.

8.2.9.1   Southern African: South African National Heritage Council Public Funding Policy, South Africa

South Africa's National Heritage Councils (2015) provides an ideal funding model that if emulated by other southern countries can elevate most African countries' cultural conservation strategies. In this particular model, funding is directed specifically to cultural heritage resources, hosted by the department of arts and culture (http://www.nhc.org.za/funding/).

Within the model, priority for funding is placed on rural-based projects, a deliberate attempt to tap cultural knowledge and skills where it is most abundant. A deliberate focus on rural areas also diversifies geographical focus on funding, as well as diversifies resources development away from already crowded urban and city areas to the less utilised rural areas where most of southern Africa's economically struggling communities are located. Applying this model in conjunction with earlier discussed TVET, WIPO (UNESCO 1989; WIPO 2006) applications provide opportunities to develop innovative skills that can be used for economic empowerment of rural African communities. The 2015–2016 priority funding themes for the South African Heritage fund included the following:

Heritage research and publication
Liberation heritage
Education/training in heritage
Indigenous groups' initiatives in the country

As the list indicates, support is accorded to non-profit organisations comprising CBOs, NGOs, trusts, etc. In southern African cultural heritage, the funding model could be used to support programmes discussed in Chaps. 4 and 3 as well.

8.2.9.2   International (UNESCO)

There are various international level funding opportunities that are specifically targeted at advancing African cultural heritage. However, these are drop in an ocean when one considers the vast size of the African continent. A lot needs to be done particularly by heritage practitioners in demonstrating the relevance of the field so as to entice those with financial resources to consider funding cultural resources conservation initiative as a form of social and at times economic development.

Some examples of existing funding mechanisms at international level include the following amongst others:

- The African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) in particular was set up to support the activities of the 1972 World Heritage Convention in Africa. The step was also the realisation that most sites in danger were listed from Africa. See Table 2.2 in Chap. 2 for sites in danger in southern Africa.

- International assistance fund from UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) section for various projects relating to implementation of the 2003 Convention on ICH.
- The World Bank has engaged in cultural heritage projects since the presidency of James Wolfenson. However, no direct funding opportunities for Africa in particular have been singled out. Practitioners need to lobby international institutions such as this one to emulate UNESCO's efforts in funding cultural heritage as a global development strategy.

8.2.9.3   Independent International Funding Bodies: International

African cultural heritage conservators need to do a lot to attract independent international funding. Developing regional multidisciplinary and multisectoral research proposals for submission to such bodies is one way to market African cultural conservation as a regional initiative. For instance, countries like Botswana, Namibia and Zambia could share a research proposal that looks to research, document and inventory cultural heritage of protected areas in their countries. Each country can take one such landscape and apply the objectives of the research such that when final, the applied research would bring out results that can be shared across the region to benefit both socio-cultural and socio-economic initiatives.

Select examples of independent international funding bodies include the following:

– The Wenner-Gren foundation: This foundation sponsors several African researchers for a variety of cultural heritage activities through conferences, research grants and programme development. The funding organisation is also known to encourage African-based researchers who are short of funding opportunities in their geographical locations, to lead research projects in their localities. The author is a former recipient of a research grant from this foundation conducting historical archaeology research in Botswana titled Historical Archaeology of Marginal Landscapes of East-Central Botswana: Between Kgalagadi desert and Limpopo Dry valleys. Weblink for full details of project can be found at: http://www.wennergren.org/grantees/keitumetse-susan-osireditse.
– US Ambassadors' fund for cultural preservation: These are sporadic per year and are focused on supporting government institutions such as national museums to work on already existing sites and preserve an aspect of a site such as buildings, rock paintings, etc. The fund does not cater for researcher.

African governments and African corporations have to be mobilised by practitioners to work on developing such funding model for the continent to benefit from its cultural heritage resources.

8.2.10   Health and Safety in Cultural Heritage Management

Health and safety in resources management follows the trades that are undertaken. The following are areas where it needs to be applied:

1. This book's emphasis on a merged management of nature-culture nexus calls for a look into health and safety issues that may arise from partnership such as this one. Protected areas management programmes have long established initiatives that address safety in parks and game reserves. These however are wildlife based and will require modified approach that takes into account access for cultural heritage resources. Sites and monuments in parks may already be wildlife populated spaces.
2. Health and safety is also important during fieldwork, whereby the use of alternative data sets should come with new measures that cover health and safety issues. For instance, ethnological methods will require a different approach compared to historical research in an archive.

8.3   Conclusion: Possible Tensions and Opportunities While Mainstreaming

The purpose of mainstreaming in African cultural resources conservation will be to integrate cultural resources into social well-being and social development plans, policies and programmes. The relevance of cultural resources can then be elevated amongst various stakeholders. The question is can cultural heritage resources thrive in contexts like that? The answer is yes; cultural heritage resources have always been lurking around these initiatives in an informal manner. Mainstreaming cultural resources within sectors outlined above is one way of placing African cultural management field in a vantage point it deserves. Priority has to be placed on mainstreaming cultural heritage resources within a sustainable development (SD) framework so that SD becomes a guiding approach. This involves addressing specific details of cultural production and consumption. Therein lies a challenge for upcoming scholars in the field.

In addition to sustainable development, the other sector to prioritise when mainstreaming cultural heritage are national development policies of every country.

The chapters of this book have continuously demonstrated that management of cultural resources in Africa operates around topics of environment, stakeholders, legal conventions (national and international) and politics of the past in the present, community issues, sustainable interpretation, standard setting and heritage enterprising. As expected, such a broad coverage commands multiple sectors in which cultural components could be mainstreamed.

All in all the most basic mainstreaming exercise in African cultural heritage conservation remains that which is emphasised in Chap. 1—training of professionals to approach natural and historic environments as one entity. This will lead to simultaneous incorporation of both natural and cultural resources in every phase of every development project undertaken in southern African landscapes. Since protected areas are already well regarded at both national and international contexts, such an approach will ensure speedy advocacy for African cultural heritage resources. This may involve, for example, training ecologists to work with archaeologists and anthropologists at all stages of a project, not only when there is a negative reaction from stakeholders.

There are challenges. For example, aspects of the field of cultural heritage management are scattered across independent disciplines. Practitioners and scholars may become comfortable in their areas of expertise. The most general training for cultural heritage conservation will occur when lateral and horizontal aspects of management are incorporated. Each and every site has particular attributes to it that can be difficult to fathom in advance of project implementation. The topics in this book present a diverse menu of conservation and management issues that can guide a practitioner to assess whether relevant management concerns are addressed.

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Chapter 9
Conclusions: Sustainable Development and African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management

Abstract When hidden in the dark corners of global scholarship and used sporadically at national and community levels, African cultural heritage resources become illusive, non-traceable and at most irrelevant, a situation that makes them vulnerable. This book brought out aspects of cultural heritage resources that give them a vantage point in conservation theory and practice. To achieve this, discussions of the diverse topics are anchored within a theme of sustainability. The book shows that sustainability in cultural heritage resources management is an aggregate of assessment of all the chapters in the book as follows: environment and historic environment, national and international legal framework, politics of the past, community-based conservation, cultural heritage interpretation, standard setting in cultural heritage (certification), cultural heritage tourism development and mainstreaming of human development aspects.

Keywords Sustainable development, Agenda 21 • African cultural heritage • Environmental conservation • International conventions • Politics of the past • Community heritage • Heritage interpretation • Heritage certification • Heritage tourism • Mainstreaming

9.1   Introduction

> The environment does not exist as a sphere separate from human actions, ambitions, and needs and attempts to defend it in isolation from human concerns have given the very word 'environment' a connotation of naivety in some…circles.
>   (Gro Harlem Brundtland 1987: xi)

The focus of this book has been to identify and collate a group of topics that, though seemingly divergent, are glued together by a common theme of sustainable conservation and management. Multiple uses of cultural resources by multiple stakeholders in the form of local communities, governments, economic investors, individuals, etc. demand a coordinated field of study that is traceable and enables isolation of innovative developments, on the one hand, and monitoring of impacts on the other hand.

The current situation is as observed by Uzzel (2009) that is similar to touching parts of an elephant without ever contemplating to understand how the animal looks with all the parts attached. To come up with a comprehensive skeletal make-up of the elephant (cultural heritage field), diverse scholarship from scattered thematic subtitles (theory) is necessary, but equally important is a coordinating platform (practice) that bonds theory and practice. The contents of this book provide this compass within African cultural heritage management.

9.2 Seeking a Vantage Point for Cultural Heritage: Divergent Themes and Coordinated Theory

The same characteristics that give the field of cultural heritage management strength by virtue of multidisciplinary and/or cross-disciplinary appear to be frustrating efforts towards charting a conservation and management direction for the field. A scattered nature of the field across the disciplinary space gives it an appearance of a lack of reference point in global scholarship. In modern resources use, it is evident that components of cultural heritage resources are at times pulled in only when it becomes convenient to use them in discourses of academia, socio-cultural interactions, socio-economic endeavours and international management, amongst others. At times the resources' presence fails to translate into consistent visibility and continuous acknowledgement in social development. When hidden in the dark corners of global scholarship and used sporadically at national level, cultural resources exist in a manner that resembles virtual existence. These characteristics make the resources obscure and vulnerable to abuse because their application will only be illusive, non-traceable and at most irrelevant.

For some time now, southern African resources management applications have treated cultural resources as appendages only mentioned passively and when convenient in popular resources management models such as ecotourism, Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) strategies. This treatment, common not only in Africa but the rest of the world, is perpetuated by the afore-outlined observation of a scattered nature of cultural heritage components that have no factor that bonds them all. By providing scattered topics (in reflection of the field) glued by theoretical discourse, this book seeks to encourage/motivate more initiatives in this nature to cancel out the 'happy go lucky' existence and use of cultural heritage resources in African development.

All in all the book develops for the first time, a compiled scholarly menus of theory from practice constituting of topics that before may have been viewed as disconnected from the field of cultural heritage management, particularly in an African contexts. The aim is to provide a point of departure and direction for upcoming scholars to start perceiving cultural heritage management as a broad field that is associated with topics such as certification, mainstreaming, conservation and development discussed in Chaps. 4, 6 and 8.

The reader may be wondering: what glues the nine chapters together? Scholarly philosophy of sustainable conservation is a dominant feature that goes without saying in some chapters and is loud and clear in others. Therefore, from a title-based perspective, the chapters may seem disconnected, but from a philosophical and/or theoretical perspective, the discourses are connected. The chapter coordination is as follows:

The book commences by illustrating to the reader that cultural heritage exists in different categories of physical environments (Chap. 1) shaped by national and international management ideologies (Chap. 2). Simultaneously these same environments are populated by local people, whose constantly evolving socio-political decisions determine the use of the environments (Chap. 3). This characteristic of people being at the core of production and consumption activities of cultural heritage demand that cultural heritage practitioners develop focused management practices that address community-based engagements, hence Chap. 4's management tool. The frameworks from Chap. 1 (the resources), Chap. 2 (international management framework), Chap. 3 (people) and Chap. 4 (grassroots management frameworks) require a balancing framework to curb philosophical clashes that could negatively affect existence of the resources, hence Chap. 5 on sustainable interpretation. In turn the management framework is to be standardised to provide a constant management direction and practice, a task allotted to contents of Chap. 6 on standard setting and certification. Armed with the theoretical frameworks as well as standardised and consistent management tools, heritage managers can then engage the resource in socio-economic endeavours such as tourism with confidence (Chap. 7). Similarly, 'out of the box' engagement of cultural and heritage resources can now be entertained, through modern-day human development initiatives such as youth development, formal education and skills development, amongst others (Chap. 8). Thus, Chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 represent a group of topics that though seemingly divergent are coordinated by a scholarship theory of sustainable conservation and management.

9.3   Sustainability and Cultural Heritage Management in Africa

The explicit application of sustainable development in Africa, as well as global cultural heritage management, is minimal if not non-existent. At research level, attempts to link the two exist (cf. Keitumetse 2005), and case studies continue to trickle to reinforce the importance of the merger (Keitumetse 2009, 2011, 2007; Roders and Oers 2011; Barthel-Bouchier 2012; Labadi and Gould 2015). However, as the chapters in this book illustrate, a lot still needs to be done.

The broader idea of sustainable development contains two key concepts:

(a) The concept of *needs*
(b) And the idea of *limitations* (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: 44)

While the former represents various demands placed on the resources, the latter represents the ways in which these demands can be addressed without compromising the existence of the resource. For African states, this programme is operationalised using Agenda 21 principles. Agenda 21 is an implementation strategy for environmental conservation that was adopted at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The programme underscored the important role that states play in the implementation of the Agenda 21 at the national level. It recommended that states consider preparing national reports and communicating the information therein to the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) including activities they undertake to implement Agenda 21.

Agenda 21 recognises that to accelerate sustainable development in developing countries, priority should be placed on 'changing consumption patterns' (Robinson 1993: 37) which relate to both needs and limitations with regard to resources. The programme resulting from the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Agenda 21) highlights two broad objectives that have to be met when aiming to change consumption patterns. These are (Robinson 1993: 38):

(a) To promote patterns of consumption and production that reduce environmental stress and will meet the basic needs of humanity
(b) To develop a better understanding of the role of consumption and how to bring about more sustainable consumption patterns

Production in cultural heritage conservation can take place through a range of scenarios (Keitumetse 2005, 2011):

(a) Archaeological excavations, historical documents, placement of values and meanings on the physical heritage, etc. (Lipe 1984). Some scholars have posited that research and research relevance are basic to the construction, recognition and valorisation of heritage, i.e. it is through research that cultural material that can later become heritage are brought into being (Carver 1996; Darvill 1995). Therefore, as Chap. 5 elaborates, disciplinary discourses are to a certain extent responsible for what moves from being culture to cultural heritage.
b) In addition production can take place in the form of application of concepts such as world heritage promotes certain cultural components as more 'outstanding heritage' than others. Chapter 2's assertion of international conventions as frameworks of identity derives from this observation.
c) On the other hand, cultural heritage consumption can manifest as a result of different uses of cultural resources, and these include use in national ideologies, communal identities assertion as in Chap. 3 and even use for individuals' pleasure. Local communities usually attach values and meanings to their heritage. These represent a form of both production and consumption at a more basic level.

For sustainable cultural conservation to take place, identification of more production and consumption patterns has to take place, and limitations set on those. The chapters of this book identified and discussed limitations necessary to

achieve sustainable use of cultural heritage resources in the context of African cultures.

9.4 Disconnecting Factors

Several factors have and continue to widen the gap between the field of cultural heritage and the sustainable development framework. Amongst these are development priorities that do not consider cultural heritage, the lack of mainstreaming push by those working on cultural heritage, the scattered nature of subdisciplines that feed knowledge sources of the cultural heritage field and the perception of SD as a framework foreign to cultural heritage resources. An elaborate discussion of these factors follows below:

(a) Developing countries are keen to lure foreign investors to their countries, and this often makes it difficult for them to adopt a firm stand when applying environmental tools such as Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) through which impact of industrial projects on the broader environment is identified prior to development. Archaeological Impact Assessment (AIA) continues to be treated as an appendage of the EIA process.

  Most private companies in developing countries are concerned with the cost of conducting an EIA and AIA processes than the cost that lack of the process will render to the environment. In Botswana, AIA is more often cited as a the tedious additional process, not as an potential opportunity to unlock resources potential to add value and enhance whatever anticipated economic development at the time. Mainstreaming cultural heritage resources into the psychological, legislative, political, communal, economic, standard setting contexts of social development could lessen the negative perception surrounding AIAs going forward.

(b) As mentioned in earlier chapters of this book, another factor that disconnects SD and the field of cultural heritage resources management is the lack of interest by those working directly with cultural heritage to connect the two together. This again may be due to the scattered nature of the subdisciplines that feed and sustain the field of cultural heritage, whereby everyone is busy within their discipline of interest to fight for an emerging field out there. It is important to note however that the sustainable development framework on the other hand is a compacted package that should be easier to adopt because most African governments have already incorporated it within their national development programmes through Local Agenda 21 guidelines mentioned earlier.

(c) An additional factor that separates sustainable development (SD) and African cultural heritage management is a focus on a conservative archaeological practice—what I refer in Chap. 1 as a sole tag to archaeological discipline. While European, American and Australian archaeologies have with time driven the intellectual, not practical, discourse of archaeology towards what is now known

as public archaeology (cf. McDavid 1997; Smith and Waterton 2009; Little and Shackel 2007), African archaeological practices that influence approaches to cultural heritage management lagged behind and have failed to shed a conservative Eurocentric archaeological point of departure that is limiting scholarship diversification.

(d) Furthermore, the origin of the concept of SD from within the environmental sciences may have contributed to a slow trickle of the concept of SD to other disciplines such as archaeology/history/anthropology that represent sources of knowledge for the cultural heritage field. In addition to the perception of SD being a foreign concept, on the other hand, archaeologists/historians/anthropologists are likely to have neglected the SD framework as they also perceived it as something outside of their operational realm.

Whatever the delay, it is safe to conclude that the modern field of African cultural heritage management is in need sustainable development as a management framework, and efforts to adopt its principles have to be heightened.

The Brundtland Commission report on sustainable development aimed to eliminate "...a tendency to deal with one industry or sector in isolation, failing to recognise the importance of inter-sectoral linkages" (WCED 1987: 63). In the face of modern development pressures where African cultural resources are pulled into multiple development directions, cultural heritage experts have a responsibility to take the initiative of mainstreaming the field into the sustainable development framework using almost all of the chapters. This book provides examples of the link between SD and cultural heritage resources use through both philosophical discussions (theory) and case studies (practice).

The missing link between southern African cultural resources management and the sustainable development framework is perpetuated by a conservation standpoint that subsumes both the natural and cultural resources in one broad category of 'heritage' (Keitumetse 2005, 2011, 2013) but fails to account for cultural resources conservation indicators. Whereas this may be relevant in terms of surface recognition of the resources, it is not sufficient when it comes to conservation operations. Key concepts leading debates on sustainability are:

1. Renewability
2. Production and consumption

The section that follows discusses them in the context of cultural resources.

9.5   Renewability and Cultural Heritage Resources Conservation

Emphasis on sustainability in archaeological resources management is important in that the resource is non-renewable. Holtorf (2001) has argued that constant production of archaeological resources through discovery, excavation and placement of

new meanings on the various pasts in European contexts is an indication that the resource is renewable.

In contrast, I have argued before (Keitumetse 2005, 2011) that by virtue of the fact that culture is diverse, not homogenous, it cannot be referred to as renewable (replaceable). *Renewability* can only be applicable if the product carries almost the same value whenever and wherever production takes place, i.e. homogenous through time and across space. Cultural heritage does not fit this criterion. For cultural resources, every product carries a modified value and is more likely to serve different purposes in different societies and generations. For example, Chap. 3 provides a case study of communities applying knowledge on settlement histories in different temporal paradigms to fight for socio-political positioning. The physical space, representing the tangible heritage, remains constant in this regard. In this case, physical space (village) represents the intangible heritage, and the settlement history knowledge represents the intangible heritage that is not renewed but recycled, assuming new social values across temporal spheres. In contrast, most natural resources such as wildlife carry an almost homogenous value across space. An elephant in Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, etc. will always be an elephant for gaze and awe, rendering the resources almost homogenous across space. The same cannot be said about the same cultural object in another culture and country. Further examples of renewable value of natural resources are that air, water and soil serve almost the same purpose in all parts of the human world. For cultural heritage, the dynamism of cultural resources contributed by changes in sociological needs ensure a constant change that makes each cultural product unique wherever it is produced and consumed. Such complexities strengthen the need for proactive and dynamic management strategies that can be achieved used the sustainable development framework.

9.6 Knowledge Production and Pathways to Sustainability

Both intangible and tangible components of cultural heritage affect sustainability of the resources and the environment. However, in most cases sustainability is usually associated with management of physical and tangible resources. Rarely is it discussed in terms of intangible cultural heritage, let alone cultural knowledge production and consumption. Chapter 1 highlights on disciplines that feed cultural heritage, and Chap. 5 on interpretation of cultural heritage illustrates that both epistemological concepts and methodology influence the basis of heritage knowledge production that determine cultural values that are attached to sites, monuments and landscapes. Multiple stakeholder interests on a site will yield multiple knowledges and consequently multiple identities.

The chapters in this book have illustrated that the ways in which cultural heritage is used in the present are inherently dynamic in a way that the methods of stand-alone disciplines like archaeology, history, anthropology, etc. are not. A continuous

and issue-specific process evaluation of cultural meanings is to be consistently implemented.

As observed by other scholars, community heritage in particular is oftentimes excluded as a result of focus on 'objectivism' which is '…structured in terms of western epistemology and grounded in the colonial encounter' (Sinclair 2004: 171). Chapters 3 and 5 provide evidence on this. In Chap. 5 a default focus on written historical documents by missionary Livingstone and European travellers as well as European historians is erroneously considered the only source of historical knowledge about the place. However, a look at other options reveals a much more diverse knowledge and stakeholders that lay claim to the site.

A more subtle but profound example of the influence of knowledge production and transmission on heritage appropriation and/or misappropriation comes from Chap. 3. Here, traditional governance authority acquired through misappropriation of historical knowledge is challenged by two ethnic groups who have dug deeper into their anthological and ethnological knowledge relating to their origins before colonial encounters to counteract a governance claim over them in order to assert the independence of their ethnic governance. In this case study, the knowledge used to counteract governance superiority is not pre-written as history but emanates from communities through ethnographic research as a political weapon in the present.

Alternative histories as articulated by Schmidt and Patterson (1995) are always very important. The case study highlights that in the wake of globalisation that threatens local cultural values, sustainability in terms of aiming for sustainable communities using African cultural heritage management approaches has to be spearheaded by asking questions such as: Whose expert knowledge carried authority? (Rowlands 1994) What new circumstances challenge this knowledge? How representative of local contexts is this knowledge? What are potential dynamics that may challenge it in the future? How sustainable is the 'cultural' knowledge?

It is concluded that perception of archaeological heritage as cultural heritage has remained superficial at the local level because archaeological heritage has long been associated with science. In Africa, archaeology, unlike history, has been argued to serve the interests of 'university and museum personnel, some students, and fewer governments' bureaucrats…' (Drewal 1996: 15). In order that those components of heritage that communities associate or identify with can be significantly expressed, it is necessary for heritage practitioners to focus on socialising and human righting the material. An underlying premise of archaeological heritage interpretation in particular may have to be that 'Like other aspects of knowledge, the past is mediated by a social context that provides an ideology for interpretation…' (Gero 1990: 96). In modern times such mediation overrides excavation methodologies in greater measures, calling for a 'beyond the excavation pit' approach alluded to in Chap. 1. In the present there are multiple cultural meanings attached to a heritage, and these equally deserve placement in the selection, interpretation and representation about a particular object, site, monument, landscape and/or people. The basic understanding is that cultural heritage is about people's past in the present and its management has to be informed by the cultural meanings and values that are easily comprehended by descendants of those being researched. In this way the descendants are

connected to the predecessors who in turn oblige the former to protect the physical heritage of the latter. This is one pathway towards sustainability.

9.7   Chapters of the Book: Conclusion Highlights

Several findings and conclusions arose from discussions in individual chapters of the book as follows:

9.7.1   Chapter 1: Historic Environment as Environment in Africa: Culture-Nature Divide and Environmental Sustainability

This chapter introduced the general objectives, concepts and storyline of the book in their broad context. Issues that shape African cultural heritage management in its local, national, international and philosophical interactions were isolated. In particular, development of scholarship, disciplinary influences and shifting paradigms of sustainable conservation and management came to the forefront. The most threatening factor to sustainability in the field of cultural resources management is identified as the existing culture-nature dichotomy. With time this dichotomy has extended beyond the biophysical environment realm to intellectual and/or disciplinary discourse platforms (Riesch 2010), affecting personnel (biophysical scientists vs. social scientists) as well. To correct such anomalies, the historic environment and the environment as perceived in nature conservation have to be managed as one entity—e.g. ecotourism of cultural heritage (Cf. Keitumetse 2009).

Future research that addresses key issues raised in the chapter can come in the form of inventorying cultural heritage of protected areas and place it alongside wildlife and wilderness conservation strategies. Research efforts in this direction are visible from research in Mozambique (Sinclair 2004), Tanzania (Shetler 2007) Botswana (Keitumetse 2009; Keitumetse et al. 2011; Keitumetse and Pampiri 2016) and South Africa (Cock and Fig 2000; Meskell 2011).

9.7.2   Chapter 2: International Legislative Tools and African Cultural Management

International interventions such as world heritage listing of sites and inventorying of intangible cultural heritage are fully adopted by African governments, and thus to some extent, they influence cultural heritage identity frameworks in Africa and elsewhere and therefore constitute some of the key areas of analysis in talking about conservation and management of cultural resources in southern Africa. This chapter

has outlined and discussed several of these and came up with categories through which international conventions can be analysed when applied in cultural heritage resources management. The categories are UNESCO conventions, people-based conventions, cultural knowledge-based conventions and other resources conventions.

International conventions mean different things to different stakeholders that use and interact with cultural heritage resources. For local people, these international tools may represent protective measures against socio-political challenges. For national governments they could be seen as windows of opportunity through which to gain international participation and international funding. Generally, African states ratify international conventions to enter into an international political cooperation pact with other member states through the secretariat institution such as UNESCO, WIPO, ILO, etc. The ideals of ratified conventions are in turn incorporated into a country's national development plans and subsequently implemented through a country's civil and civic structures that in turn spread these ideals amongst various participants such as academia, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), etc.

Within topics discussed in this chapter, future research could look into how international conventions from varying institutions besides UNESCO could be brought on board sustainable management of cultural heritage resources. Also, the impact of international heritage conventions on local assets and personnel management is a topic that is yet to be interrogated.

9.7.3   Chapter 3: Politics and the Past

The politics of the past is a topic that is common across cultural heritage management publications, but oftentimes it is addressed from a broad perspective of nationalism (cf. Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 2002). Chapter 3 diversifies the topic to a micro aspect being community traditional governance to show how heritage derivatives could be easily distorted at a subtle and sometimes hidden social structure without notice by heritage practitioners who more often follow established platforms of socio-political and socio-cultural governance. The case study encourages heritage practitioners to go an extra mile and scrutinise social structures in detail prior to implementation so as to aim for sustainable interpretations discussed in Chap. 5. Future research involving landscapes with multiple identities has to spend time documenting social structures as a preliminary preparation for cultural heritage research because ultimately all research borders on social identities.

9.7.4   Chapter 4: Cultural Conservation Models, COBACHREM

Long existing modes of conservation and management of from natural resources are in abundance. Due to a lack of distinct management strategies for cultural resources, the existing natural resources approaches are commonly adopted into the management

of cultural heritage resources. However, as I have highlighted in other publications, using incompatible strategies on cultural heritage resources deters innovation on culture-specific management frameworks, as well as leads to the destruction of cultural resources. Hence, this chapter provides an innovative model of Community-Based Cultural Heritage Resources Management (COBACHREM) that outlines a process through which communal cultural knowledge and skills can be harnessed for social development. In the broader sustainable development context, the COBACHREM model is meant to provide a guide towards guides sustainable use of cultural resources following guidelines from the *precautionary principle* of sustainable development that require proactive initiatives towards conservation and management.

9.7.5   Chapter 5: Sustainable Interpretation of Heritage

Uses of cultural heritage are multiple and involve a complex web of stakeholders. As such contestations for the resources are bound to surface. Interpretation, which is the process of sieving and scaling cultural significance of a place, site, monument and/or artefacts, can be used in this instance to manage contestations. Most landscapes in southern Africa are conflated with multiple identities emanating from dichotomies such as nature-nurture discussed in Chap. 1; tangible-intangible discussed in Chaps. 1 and 2; African-European discussed in Chap. 5; coloniser-colonised discussed in Chap. 3; and black-white, male-female and royal-commoner, amongst others. The subject of interpretation is important in finding ways to balance such identities. Sustainable interpretation (ICOMOS 2008) is premised on the basis that all stakeholders and their cultural identities attached to a site, monument, landscape and/or object are recognised, acknowledged and incorporated as part of the heritage narrative. In this chapter the 'Livingstone Memorial' site is used as a case study conflated with multiple cultural meanings that require equitable distribution of meaning to take place. Whereas the name of the site denotes a singular identity brand, the chapter discussion illustrates that other identity frameworks exist and can only be brought out where a conscious search for equitable interpretation and identity distribution of meaning is enabled. In southern Africa David Livingstone sites are located in Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Madagascar, RSA, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

9.7.6   Chapter 6: Standardisation

Certification sets indicators, processes and procedures through which conservation of a resource is to be operationalised. However, standard setting is a rare topic within the field of cultural heritage resources management. In this chapter certification is introduced as one of the new management strategies that modern cultural and

heritage resources management field should bring on board. One of the common standard setting mechanisms is eco-certification process that follows several steps of: selection, evaluation, criteria development, final criteria selection, development of eco-label award and finally implementation of periodic certification. In adopting standard setting mechanism for cultural heritage, practitioners will need to address all the outlined steps to come up with a specific programme. In this chapter, an example of a grading and eco-certification programme from Botswana tourism has been used as a benchmarking process. Tourism is the most dominant use of natural resources in southern African landscapes. As such current robust grading and certification programmes are modelled around tourism use. Standard setting however has its own challenges that have to be acknowledged and addressed. Sasidharan et al. (2002) point to one of the challenges surrounding eco-labelling programmes being that they originate from developed countries which the authors argue may serve the agenda of developed countries at the expense of the developing world. Chapter 2 discussions on international conventions and practices such as world heritage listing process address this concern for cultural heritage management which can be accounted for in the development of a certification process for cultural heritage resources management. Cultural heritage management field already has preliminary management process that can be roped into development of a certification process. These include the world heritage listing process that implement 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972), the development of intangible cultural heritage inventories applied in implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention (Keitumetse 2006), the sustainable interpretation from ICOMOS described in Chap. 5 and the Archaeological Impact Assessment, amongst others. An ideal situation will be to close the nature-culture gap so that certification of cultural and natural resources becomes a cumulative exercise and effort.

9.7.7   Chapter 7: Economic Pressures: Cultural Heritage Tourism Development in Southern Africa

Economic pressures on cultural resources use in southern Africa mainly come in the form of tourism. There are various forms of tourism, the most developed in southern Africa being safari tourism taking place in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Madagascar, South Africa and Botswana, amongst other. In southern Africa, there are pre-established conservation activities that influence the direction of cultural heritage tourism development. Chief amongst these is the famous safari tourism that takes place in most of southern Africa in protected areas.

This presents both opportunity and challenge for the development of cultural heritage tourism in the region. It is an opportunity in that, in the ideal world, an operational platform upon which cultural heritage tourism can be developed exists, and all that cultural heritage practitioners need to do is juxtapose cultural heritage resources on this platform to diversify the tourism product and tourists' experience.

On the other side, safari tourism is a challenge in that it is so developed that it threatens to cancel out or cause negligence of other resources, particularly in landscapes where cultural heritage exists in abundance and is yet to be explored. Through this chapter, the book has brought out these paradoxes and discussed how they can be reconciled to utilise both natural and cultural resources in equal measures to support environmental conservation ideals. Topics discussed include diversifying safari tourism using cultural and heritage resources, assessing the sociology of tourism and its relationship with cultural heritage resources and looking into potential new ways that cultural resources can bring into the development of sustainable tourism in southern Africa.

One way in which cultural heritage tourism can be infused into the broader tourism in southern Africa is to enhance research on the subject. Some of the suggested researches are tourists' and locals' willingness to pay for cultural heritage (cf. Laplante et al. 2005; Kgamanyane 2007; Kim et al. 2007). Economic values of cultural heritage in sites also have to be established to contribute to social development. Examples of similar studies include those by Ruijgrok (2006) in the Netherlands and Bedate et al. (2004) in Spain.

9.7.8   Chapter 8: Mainstreaming Cultural Heritage into Development Frameworks

This chapter introduces initiatives that could benefit from using cultural heritage and vice versa. Oftentimes the discussions surrounding cultural resources conservation in Africa are narrowed towards protection of biophysical cultural resources. How resources address evolving social needs is often overlooked. Initiatives that ensure protection but also enable social development as required by a sustainable resources use approach are discussed in this chapter. Suggested innovative engagement includes youth-elder partnerships, gender and cultural heritage (Conkey and Gero 1997; Sørensen 2004, 2013; UNESCO n.d.), development of funding streams and rural enterprise using cultural heritage, amongst others.

9.7.9   Chapter 9: Conclusion

All in all, the chapters in this book illustrated that African cultural heritage management can be approached as a coordinated process involving a diversity of modern themes and topics that are often not associated with cultural heritage resources management in Africa. The chapters have illustrated that to attain sustainable management of cultural resources in Africa, there is a need for a philosophical re-look beyond the so-called relevant disciplines, to a much broader socio-cultural and socio-political discourse reflected through topics in the book.

Similarly, new initiatives that could make African cultural heritage management more pronounced in different media such as academia, economy, amongst communities and within government structures are yet to be fully explored. Ubiquity of cultural resources should not be a tale of the resources 'familiarity breeding contempt' but rather as strength that leads to resources' engagement in broader social development initiatives. African cultural heritage has to assume a vantage point in contemporary human development, but to do so it has to be illuminated through a common theme of sustainable development that coordinates modern and global management initiatives exhibited in Chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of this book.

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