

https://dspace.org/

Transformation challenges in the interpretation of cultural heritage collections at post- apartheid Mapungubwe

Muroyi, Roy

2024

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/45753

Muroyi, Roy . (2024). Transformation challenges in the interpretation of cultural heritage collections at post- apartheid Mapungubwe [Masters dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg]. WIReDSpace. https://hdl.handle.net/10539/45753

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Transformation challenges in the interpretation of cultural heritage collections at post-apartheid Mapungubwe



Submitted by Roy Muroyi for Master's Degree in Heritage Studies

Supervisor

Greer Valley

Wits School of Art, History of Art Department

Faculty of Humanities

University of the Witwatersrand

Johannesburg, August 2022

I, Roy Muroyi hereby certify that the thoughts and opinions expressed in this thesis are those of the author and are his own original work. This thesis has not before been submitted for any kind of academic inspection.

Signature: ___  _____

Date: _02 September 2022_____

Johannesburg, 2022

ABSTRACT

The research investigated the reasons why heritage interpretations have not changed in the post-apartheid Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre. The main argument presented through this research is that indigenous knowledge systems are neither prioritised when managing nor interpreting heritage in post-apartheid South Africa; hence the need to explore transformation challenges in interpretation at Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre. The challenges include exclusive heritage interpretations that do not consider the Vhembe, Leokwe and Nyindi indigenous communities as legitimate archives and failure to ensure that hired authorities and practitioners know African stories. The main objective of the study was to highlight evidence that the foundations of the South African heritage industry are deeply embedded in colonial practice. The study acknowledges that there have been some positive changes in heritage interpretations over the years since the country's democratisation in 1994. Nonetheless, there is still a lot of work to be done. The research revolves around ongoing discourses surrounding the global, local and transnational dynamics of heritage interpretation and their intersections with (neo) colonialism. The theoretical framework used in the study is the decolonial theory which aided the researcher in understanding the power dynamics influencing heritage interpretations at the centre. The location of power was central in this research as highlighted by the research findings which illustrated why the term archive is a contested term. In addition, the study highlighted the significance of oral tradition in interpreting tangible artefacts. The Vhembe community, Leokwe and Nyindi communities residing less than ten kilometres from the interpretation centre were used in the research as case studies. The research suggests that authorities at the Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre should pay attention to the stories and perspectives of the local people to make the site relevant to African communities. Recommendations are made to address these challenges in the thesis.

Keywords: Heritage Interpretation, Indigenous Knowledge, Decolonial theory, Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 1
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW 21
Transformation in museums and cultural heritage interpretation centres 23
A critique of the idea of transformation and the decolonial theory in South African museums 23
The history of museums and segregation in South Africa 25
The movement towards transformation 27
The "othering" of African indigenous objects in ethnographic museums 34
Linking archaeological practice to colonialism 34
Indigenous local communities at Mapungubwe 36
Eurocentric views of Mapungubwe 38
SA Government policy to transform Archaeology 42
Challenges to the transformation of Archaeology in Post-Colonial South Africa 43
Blockages to Heritage interpretation Transformation 47
Open Interpretation 47
Lack of funding 48
CHAPTER THREE: THE NEED TO DECOLONISE AND TRANSFORM 50
Problematising Eurocentric scholarship 53
Genealogy of decoloniality 54
White supremacist epistemologies 55
The colonial nature of current museums 56
Community participation in site heritage management 57
The need to decolonize; applicability to this research 60
CHAPTER FOUR: ENGAGING WITH COLLECTIONS AND THE STAKEHOLDERS 61
Data collection 62
Interviews 63
Archival research 64
Questionnaires 66
Coding 67
CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS 68
Theme 1: Relevance of local communities 68

Theme 2: Legitimacy of the local community 75
Theme 3: Land claims and repatriation 78
Theme 4: Lack of knowledge about Africans 81
Theme 5: The intersectional issues 82
Theme 6: Legitimacy of inequality 84
Theme 7: The positive side of Mapungubwe 86
Conclusion 87
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS 89
Recommendation 1: Make Mapungubwe accessible to local communities 90
Recommendation 2: Include the community in key decision-making 91
Recommendation 3: Consider the local people a legitimate archive 91
Recommendation 4: Ensure compatibility between land claims, repatriation and action 91
Recommendation 5: Ensure that hired authorities and practitioners know African stories 91
Recommendation 6: Recognising the connection between mining and heritage 92
Recommendation 7: Realising politics and inequality as a legitimate story of Mapungubwe 92
Recommendation 8: Seeing Mapungubwe as a symbol of the African renaissance 92
Summary of research limitations 93
Research gaps and propositions for future research 93
Suggestions for praxis 93
Recommendations for practitioner 94
REFERENCES 97

List of Diagrams

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW 21
Transformation in museums and cultural heritage interpretation centres 23
A critique of the idea of transformation and the decolonial theory in South African museums 23
The history of museums and segregation in South Africa 25
The movement towards transformation 27
The "othering" of African indigenous objects in ethnographic museums 34
Linking archaeological practice to colonialism 34
Indigenous local communities at Mapungubwe 36
Eurocentric views of Mapungubwe 38
SA Government policy to transform Archaeology 42
Challenges to the transformation of Archaeology in Post-Colonial South Africa 43
Blockages to Heritage interpretation Transformation 47
Open Interpretation 47
Lack of funding 48
CHAPTER : THE NEED TO DECOLONISE AND TRANSFORM 50
Problematising Eurocentric scholarship 53
Genealogy of decoloniality 54
White supremacist epistemologies 55
The colonial nature of current museums 56
Community participation in site heritage management 57
The need to decolonize; applicability to this research 60
CHAPTER FOUR: ENGAGING WITH COLLECTIONS AND THE STAKEHOLDERS 61
Data collection 62
Interviews 63
Archival research 64
Questionnaires 66
Coding 67
CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS 68
Theme 1: Relevance of local communities 68
Theme 2: Legitimacy of the local community 75
Theme 3: Land claims and repatriation 78

Theme 4: Lack of knowledge about Africans 81
Theme 5: The intersectional issues 82
Theme 6: Legitimacy of inequality 84
Theme 7: The positive side of Mapungubwe 86
Conclusion 87
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS 89
Recommendation 1: Make Mapungubwe accessible to local communities 90
Recommendation 2: Include the community in key decision-making 91
Recommendation 3: Consider the local people a legitimate archive 91
Recommendation 4: Ensure compatibility between land claims, repatriation and action 91
Recommendation 5: Ensure that hired authorities and practitioners know African stories 91
Recommendation 6: Recognising the connection between mining and heritage 92
Recommendation 7: Realising politics and inequality as a legitimate story of Mapungubwe 92
Recommendation 8: Seeing Mapungubwe as a symbol of the African renaissance 92
Summary of research limitations 93
Research gaps and propositions for future research 93
Suggestions for praxis 93
Recommendations for practitioner 94
REFERENCES 97

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author of the thesis would like to acknowledge the following:

The willingness of officials and curators at SANParks to cooperate in this research, as well as their willingness to be interviewed and share project material, provided me with unique insight for this research.

I am extremely grateful to my supervisor Greer Valley for her patience and devout willingness to assist in the writing and completion of this thesis.

I am also very thankful to my research participants for taking part in this research.

DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this work to the Glory of God the creator and the ancestors of the land we work on.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Locating the Mapungubwe interpretation centre

At the confluence of the Limpopo and Shashe Rivers is the massive Mapungubwe National Park. The South African National Parks Authority owns this park and commissioned the Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre, which honours the old Mapungubwe, a civilisation which is linked to Great Zimbabwe (Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre, 2009). Mapungubwe, one of the earliest centres of gold production, flourished between 1200 and 1300 AD in South Africa's northern border with Botswana and Zimbabwe, but after its fall, it was abandoned for about 700 years before being located again in 1933. (Ramage 2010). Southern Africa's first class-based social order was developed by the society that once called the area, which is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site, home (Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre, 2009). Geological events changed the area, resulting in a stony landscape. Using modern environmentally sensitive techniques, the complex was built by fusing the natural setting with the park's cultural legacy.

In 2009, the building won the World Architectural Building of the Year Award, competing and winning against buildings in China, Singapore, and New York. The centre was built using a stone-walling method that was adapted from Mapungubwe (Ramage 2010). The bones and artifacts that were taken from Mapungubwe in the 1930s were requested to be returned by the Venda, the Remba, the Northern Sotho, and several Shona communities on the Zimbabwean side, which led to the building of the Interpretation Centre. The bones and artefacts were to be displayed at the Interpretation Centre to educate and teach visitors about the region's rich history.

A short boardwalk ramp leads to the facility's entrance, where you will be greeted by a knowledgeable guide ready to reveal the secrets of one of southern Africa's early trading kingdoms.

Historical artifacts, images, and papers from Mapungubwe's glorious past are kept in the care of the Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre. More than seven centuries after the civilization that lived in the region had left, the Golden Rhino was discovered in a tomb in 1932.This is an artwork depiction of a rhino, small enough to fit in the palm of a hand and it is made out of wood covered in sheets of gold. It depicts the presence of a ruling elite living separately from

the rest of the civilisation at Mapungubwe hill. An easy stroll to a viewpoint where you can observe the hill that served as the model for Pretoria's 1937 Voortrekker Monument rounds up the museum visit.

According to curators at the centre, the Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre operates from Monday through Sunday, 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. (including holidays). The entrance fee is R200 per person for a museum tour and R50 per person for a museum school group tour. The centre gets visited by around fifty people a week, a smaller number compared to the statistics of most heritage interpretation centres in South Africa for example the Wits Arts Museum which gets about two hundred visitors a week (Trip Advisor, 2022)

Scholars from all over the academic spectrum have been drawn to the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site. This has been so because of various reasons that include; the nature of collections, the site houses, the land claims that have been made by multiple cultural groups. Sobel (2010) argues that reflexivity, multivocality, contextuality, and interactivity are the four fundamental elements that the scholarly critique of ethnographic museum exhibits advocates for. Unfortunately, most, if not all, of today's cultural exhibits fail to take any or all of these guiding concepts into account. As a result, the majority of ethnographic exhibits are less respectful of and representational of the culture being displayed, as well as less entertaining and enlightening for viewers. The displays at Mapungubwe resemble Eurocentric[1], museums which bear very little significance to the Vhembe, Nyindi and Leokwe communities residing closest to the site. Patricia Davison (1998) and Annie Coombes (2003) agree that politics and cultural expression co-exist. A noteworthy illustration of how politics and cultural expression coexist is the Freedom Park project, which Dubin mentions in passing as a legacy endeavour for Thabo Mbeki. While numerous proposed designs for the park have been made, the existing exhibits represent a novel attempt to integrate indigenous knowledge systems into a cultural showcase. Another topic that merits investigation is the influence of this network of designers, whose perspectives are thought to be suited to portray contemporary South Africa. Consider the following figures.

[1] The propensity to view and interpret collections through the prism of European or Anglo-American beliefs and experiences, (Gore,2004).

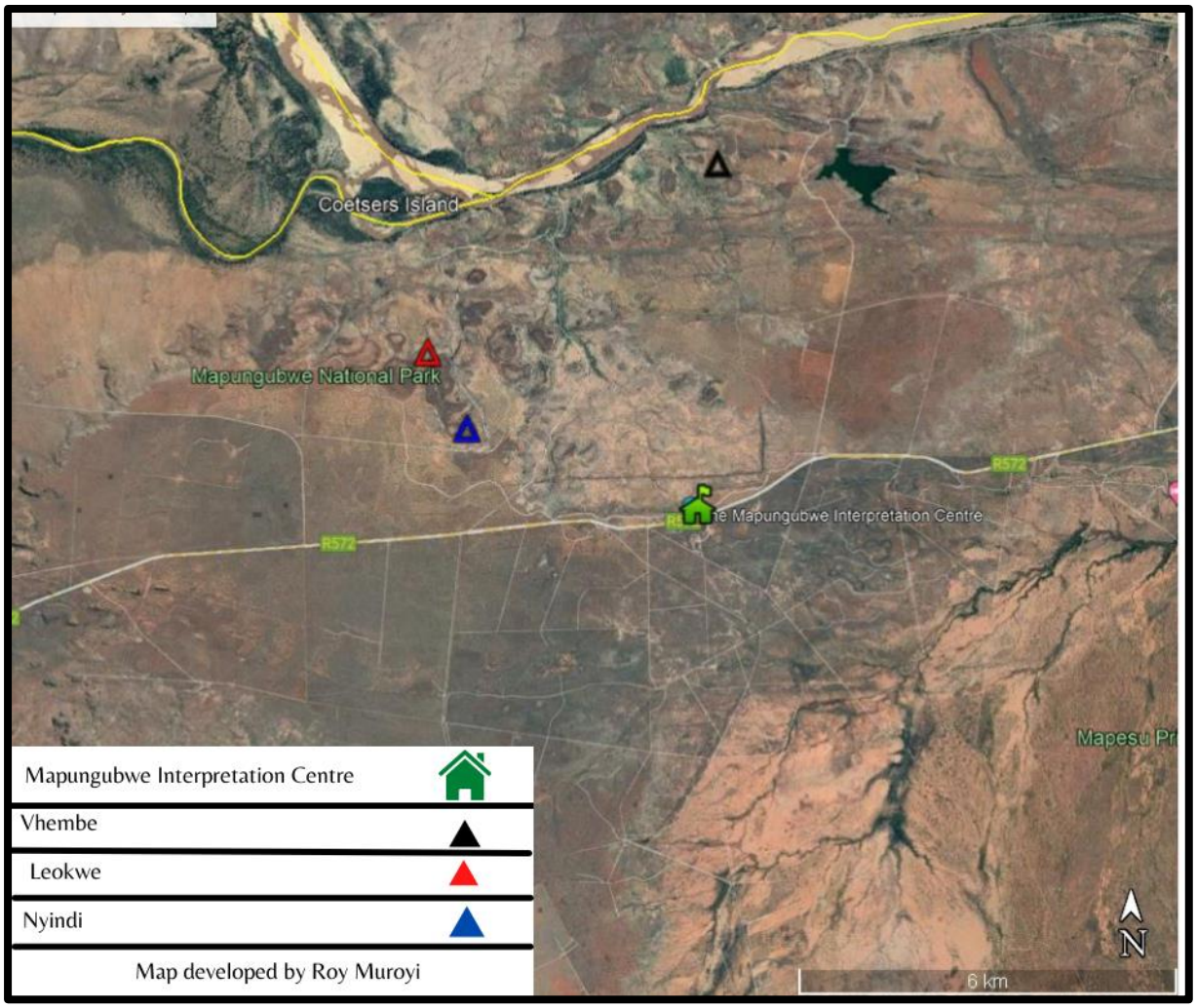


Figure 1: Map showing the location of the Mapungubwe interpretation centre concerning the local communities interviewed.



Figure 2: An exterior picture of the Peter Rich Architects -built Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre





Figure 3: An illustration of the exhibit in the Mapungubwe interpretation facility. The interior features display that depicts western contemporary museums (Author, 2021)

The authorship of Mapungubwe is still up for debate today because no one has been able to formally establish its ownership. The cultural heritage collections linked to this site are explained via a Eurocentric perspective as a result of these authorship disputes. Following is a quick analysis of two ceramic pot sheds that are on display and described at the interpretation centre as illustrations of these interpretations.



Figure 4: Ceramic beaker bowls displayed and interpreted at the Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre.

The interpretation of the above ceramic beakers is problematic in that the naming of these ceramic beakers does not show any connection with the local languages. While the ceramics are all linked to K2 and Mapungubwe hill, the use of only English names *(ceramic beakers), suggests* that there is no African name for the beakers.

Ceramic bakers derive their social use and significance in society from which they derive their usage, meaning, and shape. They actively engage in social interactions and provide those they communicate with a "purpose," whether symbolic or practical. Vessels allow for the continuation of the social and cultural traditions of their builders within their particular social setting (Buss, 2018, p.14). The interpretation given above makes no mention of the social customs and cultural celebrations that these bowls were employed for (see Buss, 2018).

No credit is given to the creators of these ceramic beakers in any of the interpretations of these beakers. Pottery style, according to Flower (2015) and Huffman (2007), is still crucial for identifying pre-colonial groupings, or "culture units," as well as for assuming social group relatedness, interactions, and historical linkages. They continue by saying that archaeologists have long been interested in the connection between pottery and group identity and that Southern African archaeologists have invested a lot of time and effort in this area. However, the interpretation given to the collections at Mapungubwe strives to represent all Africans as being the same, ignoring the emotions expressed above by Flower and Huffman. The bowls' spiritual significance is not taken into account. Bowls made of ceramic serve as active participants in a dialogue between the living and their ancestors (Buss 2018, p.14). Ceramics can be used for more than just household tasks; they can also facilitate spiritual contact. These vessels are identified biographically (Buss 2018, p.15).

Eurocentric[2] explanations of the beakers' composition and design largely disregard the methods used by the blacksmiths who crafted these bowls. The role of these ceramics in promoting group identification is not mentioned. The interpretation of the beakers does not take into account the African environment and natural resources that made it easier to make such bowls. Inferring social group relatedness, connections, and historical ties, as well as distinguishing pre-colonial groups, or "culture units," are still made possible by ceramics and pottery, according to Huffman (2007).

[2] Eurocentric thinking credits science is the authentic producer of Knowledge (see Gore, 2004)

To come to grips with the nature of policies introduced by the government of South Africa after 1994 to transform Archaeology, it is imperative to understand the nature of the discipline . Significant scholarly work has been done mostly by scholars from the white community to expose the problems that characterised the discipline pre-1994. The highlight of the critiques is that when archaeology as a discipline began in South Africa, it was controlled by apartheid politics underlined by Afrikaner nationalism and racism (Tiley-Nel, 2018; Delius and Marks 2012; Hall 2005; Ndlovu 2009a; Shepherd 1998, 2002a, 2003a; Schlanger 2002; Schrire 1995).

Even though the colonial regime introduced the following legislation*; Bushman relics Act of 1911, the Natural and Historical Monuments of 1923, the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act (1934), and lastly, the National Monuments Act (1969)* to protect archaeological or cultural resources, no offenders were prosecuted although the trade-in archaeological resources generally decreased (Deacon, 2020). Additionally, when these laws were enacted, there was no consultation with local communities that knew the value of their cultural heritage (Deacon, 2020).

The enactment of National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) of 1999 was a significant step in developing the discipline of Archaeology in the new South Africa in the sense that it broadened the list of culturally important places that are worth preservation. Furthermore, by expanding the list of cultural heritage places, the Act also expanded the scope of work for students and academics in Archaeology. Similarly, by mandating Archaeological Impact Assessments (AIAs) before any development, the Act not only protects cultural resources but also creates opportunities for employment in the Archaeology profession. As a result, a significant number of Archaeology consultancy firms have been formed since 2000. In summation, it is apparent that the NHRA of 1999 has transformed archaeology, a discipline that scholars had described as having lost relevance (Meskell, 2007).

The transformation of Archaeology has additionally been aided by the government's provision of more funding to advance the field which contrasts with the limited funds allocated to the field during the colonial period. The most important development is the disbursement of funds through the National Research Foundation (NRF) (Delmas and De La Pena, 2019). The department has, through the Centre of Excellence in Palaeosciences (CoE) funded several projects in Palaeontology, Palaeoanthropology and Stone Age Archaeology. In addition, the CoE has created a platform for funding students and young researchers in the majority of South African Palaeosciences institutions such as museums (Delmas and De La Pena, 2019).

By providing funding for Archaeology and its cognate disciplines, the government has ensured more research into human origins, and the results have been used to advance the theory that South Africa is the cradle of humankind. Delmas and De La Pena (2019), argue that due to this government initiative, archaeology and palaeontology have begun to attract considerable space in the public and political arena. Greskho (2018) posited that these disciplines have also attracted global attention, for example through the discovery of *Homo Naledi* that was announced by National Geographic. However, Delmas and De La Pena (2019) have argued that even though there have been governmental efforts to transform archaeology and its related disciplines, it is largely the international community that has expressed more interest rather than the local community where the archaeology is done.

Another way used to transform the discipline was to introduce Archaeology and its cognate disciplines like History into the primary and secondary school curriculum (King, 2012). The push for the inclusion of the discipline in the school curriculum began with scholars such as Esterhuysen (2000). This push was a result of the history of South Africa where oppressed local majorities were marginalised or deemed of less significance in taught history in the colonial period (Stone and Mackenzie, 1990). After 1948 when the National Party came into power, an education policy known as Christian National Education (CNE) was introduced.

Later, the National Education Policy was introduced (1967), and together, these two ensured that Africans were fed with the false narrative that the course of events at the time (colonialism) was the will of God (Christie, 1985; King, 2012). Even though the introduction of historical studies after 1994 was tentative and gradual (history was infused with social science and geography), it represented the earliest efforts to depart from colonial education. At the same time, the new democratic government introduced the Outcome-Based Evaluation (OBE) which stressed the empowerment of previously suppressed communities (Geyser, 2000) and pushed for rewriting African history from the bottom up (King, 2012) – meaning the history of Africans by Africans. This initiative faced several challenges, but its call was bolstered by the call to include Archaeology in the curriculum (see Esterhuysen, 2000). According to Esterhuysen (2000), Archaeology was meant to teach learners literacy in maths and science as a means to negotiate heritage and identity.

Other calls for the inclusion of Archaeology and its cognate disciplines into the school curriculum were made subsequently. In 2001, Minister Asmal announced the decision to include archaeology into the school curriculum on the basis that Archaeology and History can

be used to bring South Africa's past to the light. A panel comprising Historians and Archaeologists met in 2000 to draft the content that can be included in the school curriculum (DoE 2000, 2001). In compiling the content, the panel was guided by the idea that these subjects would impart memory about the traumatic past and create consciousness. Critics of this initiative argued that teaching South Africans about the past mirrored the very apartheid that the oppressed people fought to topple (Chisholm, 2005).

The panel corrected this by devising an approach that focused on the process as opposed to the content. This approach meant that rote learning would be stopped and that rather than memorizing events, students would study how they occurred (DoE,2000). To this end, a series of textbooks such as the "Turning Points in History " series for grades 10 to 12 were authored. This series presented modern South Africa as a product of a long period of technological and social achievements and political battles for emancipation in which poor citizens were the actors. Elsewhere, the universities of Witwatersrand, and Cape Town hosted initiatives complementary to the Ministry of Education to further Archaeology as a discipline (Louw, 2000; Shephered, 2002). Although the above-mentioned government initiatives faced problems, historical studies have been significantly advanced, and have transformed the way Archaeology was conducted in colonial times.

The introduction of Archaeology and its cognate disciplines into the school curriculum worked to transform the field in various ways. Firstly, very few African Individuals made it to university where important subjects were taught. In addition, the Volkekunde was reserved for students from the White community because it served the interests of the colonial regime at the time. The introduction of inclusive History and Archaeology to the school curriculum meant that previously disenfranchised African communities had access to their history.

Although it will take time to develop and execute all of the new frameworks that are required, the foundation of SAHRA has been a significant step forward in the efforts to democratize and open up the heritage sector. Its immediate goals are to make heritage assets auditing and registration easier across the country. SAHRA should serve as a valuable new structure in all of this. Another noteworthy development in the new structures is that on August 1, 2002, DACST was split into two departments: the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and the Department of Science and Technology (DST), albeit both remain under the same ministry. This is a noteworthy development, as science and technology may have been considered a priority during the first restructuring and creation of a single DACST, with more time and

money being allocated to improving programs in these two crucial disciplines. Now that the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) had been set up, legal provisions were also established. South Africa is (at least on paper) now fairly well positioned in terms of policy, legislation, and structures to facilitate integrated heritage management with the possible exception that more clearly defined ways of dealing with intangible cultural and living heritage are needed (Corsane, 2004 p.12).

Comparative reference to other national sites

Perhaps one of the cultural heritage sites worth mentioning as a site that was built for transformational reasons is Freedom Park. Despite the excellent intentions expressed in the mission statement of the Freedom Park, official website, and promotional materials, the park is perceived as a black heritage site. As a result, the South African population has shown apathy, lack of interest, and participation, which is reflected in visitor numbers. During the FIFA World Cup in South Africa in June 2010, just 3 000 individuals visited Freedom Park, compared to around 17 000 people who visited the Voortrekker Monument. Although the placement of Freedom Park was done to restore balance in the reconstruction of the past, Labuschagne (2010) believes that its installation did not reflect historical awareness, sound planning, architectural vision, or sensitivity to the heterogeneity of South Africa's population. As a result, despite its astronomical price tag, the park has failed to deliver on its promises to establish bridges across South Africa's varied tribes and cultures and to unite the country. Though a lot of money was used to construct this site, it can be argued a failure to transform the heritage interpretation just like in the case of the Mapungubwe Interpretation centre.

Site Authorship

There is relatively little oral history available to learn about the social and historical relationships of the people who lived in the areas surrounding Mapungubwe before the colonial conquest (Ralushai, 2003). There is need for archaeologists to research more and provide such history to future researchers.

Hunter-gatherers used diverse landscape positions in the Early Stone Age (river terraces), Middle Stone Age (talus slopes, that is slopes covered with loose rock), and Later Stone Age (caves) by hunter-gatherers, and Khoi herders used different landscape locations within the previous 2000 years (Hall & Smith, 2000). Early Bantu-speaking farmers kept cattle and farmed crops on lower-lying land with richer soils, but hilltops were preferred by the elite and

were thought to be crucial for rain-making (Huffman et al., 2004; Huffman, 2005). In the twentieth century, white farmers tended to cultivate in the areas along the river for irrigation, or the areas away from the river with cattle and/or game-based operations on the vast semi-arid range.

Over the last century, the military, mining in the neighbouring areas and conservation land use have all added to the mix. The fact that no cultural group can factually claim authorship[3] of the site makes the site vulnerable to misinterpretation. The necessity to build a justification for the late arrival of Bantu-speaking people in Southern Africa which is a now-discredited hypothesis used to justify the oppression of Africans drove the creation of knowledge about Mapungubwe at first. Mapungubwe became a focal point for a new type of myth-building in the post-apartheid era. The myth of liberation and a beautiful past, but with a neoliberal bent, in my opinion.

However, what is known archaeologically is that Mapungubwe was home to a powerful tribe that thrived on trading with Eastern nations. It was built by Iron Age African communities that settled in the area around 900 and 1300 AD. Prospectors and treasure hunters flocked to the Limpopo River valley after gold was discovered in stone ruins north of the river in the 1890s. Mapungubwe's ruins were discovered in 1932. Following excavations, a court was discovered at the bottom of the hill, hidden in a natural amphitheatre, and an exclusive graveyard at the top, with a superb perspective of the region (Fouché, 1937).

The mainstream archaeological views that seek to accredit Europeans for the discovery of Mapungubwe in 1933, through the Cape Argus, which stated that knowledge production at the site started about 1933 after Jerry van Graan, who was then a history student at the University of Pretoria, allegedly discovered the site. In 1932, Van Graan went hunting on a nearby piece of land while on holiday at home.

It was a scorching day, and the young man was thirsty, so he went in search of water. He was provided water in an intriguing pottery jug at a nearby African farm. Van Graan offered to buy the bowl after being impressed by its odd attributes. The owner refused to part with it but did reveal that it had come from a nearby "holy hill" (Fouché, 1937 p.1–10). With his curiosity sparked, Van Graan returned with his father, E.S.J. van Graan, and three other local men to

[3] The Mapungubwe community is made up of ethnic groups with historical connections to the area. Examples of these groups are the Northern Sotho, several Venda groupings, Remba, and Shona peoples (see Norton et al. 2000).

investigate the mysterious container. The Van Graan party commandeered an African person identified simply as "Mowena" in the record to point out Mapungubwe, the "holy hill," while trespassing on the estate Greefswald. The man— ‘literally shaking with dread' (Fouché 1937P. 1) eventually pointed in the direction of where they should hunt for the passage that offered access to the summit, it appears, first by cajoling, then by threatening and bribing. A big rock fig provided some hold in the small crevice that provided a challenging climb. The young Van Graan was the first to climb.

Despite his fears of falling into the abyss below and bats flying into his face, he realized that a ladder had been purposefully carved into the rock. Soon, the company arrived atop Mapungubwe, where they discovered a plethora of golden objects beads, bangles as well as tens of thousands of pottery and glass beads, pots, and potsherds. They discovered more and more as they dug deeper and disturbed the surface. They eventually realized the scope of what they had discovered, and a discussion on what should be done ensued.

It is further stated in the Cape Argus that in April 1933, a team of archaeologists led by Fouché arrived at Mapungubwe for the first time. Local Africans soon joined them, assisting with the manual labour. The young Van Graan theory of discovering Mapungubwe is however dismissed by several scholars. For example, the book Mapungubwe: Ancient Civilization on the Limpopo (2005) by Thomas N. Huffman digs deeper into the history of the Mapungubwe Kingdom, tracking the many periods and their connections to Great Zimbabwe, as well as the Icon, Khami, and Venda peoples of South Africa. Huffman provides an in-depth look at Mapungubwe's archaeological history, outlining the complex and highly adept civilization that flourished between AD 900 and 1300. He also explores the economic routes and relationships between Zimbabwe and Botswana, two of the country's neighbours. Huffman explains why the apartheid administration chose to keep information about this place hidden since it did not fit into the National Party's objectives at the time.

Chirikure et al (2010 state that besides the fact that the first white archaeologist to dig at the site carried Eurocentric views, their expertise at that time was poor, and the underlying dynamics of the site escaped them. According to Chirikure et al (2010, p. 34- 35), the local community members at Mapungubwe participated in the data collection as labourers and objects of the study rather than partners in interpreting the site.

Since 1933, Mapungubwe has widely been used for archaeological research Local populations were solely involved as labourers and were scarcely seen as heritage consumers between this

time and 2000. Those populations, like the site's archaeology, worked there as labourers (Chirikure et al 2010, p.34-35). There is a need for locals to be included more in important decision-making instead of being incorporated in programs and events once decisions have already been made and working as labourers.

It was of great help for archaeologists to consult with the African communities that they found already residing on the site, but due to poor expertise and racial profiling, they interpreted the site in exotic terms. Chirikure et al (2010) note that participatory management is considered a method for host communities to benefit from any tourism-related economic gains. Thus, participation embraces the concepts of democracy and fairness in the administration of heritage locations for the long-disenfranchised sectors of the community yet this has not been realized at Mapungubwe. Authorities at the Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre should pay attention to the stories and perspectives of the local people to make the site relevant to African communities.

The region entered an era of written records with the advent of Europeans. Determining whether societies existed in the area before the arrival of the Europeans is a challenging endeavour, however, due to the exclusionary nature of the approaches used at the time (see Dubow, 1995). Due to the bigotry that prevailed in academia at the time, outsider groups like the North African Humites or Semites were claimed to be the site's creators (The Star 1935). Actual archaeological evidence in the Mapungubwe region does not support these statements (Huffman,2000). However, it is important to understand that before 1994, South Africa's black communities had been displayed in museums for years as intriguing anthropological artefacts. As a result, the ownership of representation is a hotly contested topic as communities fight to regain control over their cultural identities (Dubin 2006).

The cry for the decolonisation of museums and other heritage interpretation centres is increasingly growing (Mamdani, 2016 p.68; Mbembe, 2016 p.29; Rall, 2018 p.15). The Rhodes Must-Fall movement, which was meant to remove the sculpture of Cecil John Rhodes, " symbolic of colonial ideas and knowledge," kicked off the drive to decolonize universities in South Africa in 2015 (Rall 2018 p.15). Gurney (2018) makes it clear that the Rhodes Must Fall movement was all about correcting the colonial past as it strongly revolved around students wanting to correct an unjust knowledge system. It sought to challenge white supremacy and promote African history. The former President of the Republic of South Africa, Nelson Mandela lamented that South African museums and monuments throughout the country’s

colonial and apartheid periods represented the experiences and political goals of a minority white race (Makgoba 1997 p.182). Since Mandela's speech, the South African museum sector has made significant strides toward transformation, including implementing affirmative action hiring practices at all levels. The have been represented with exhibitions such as the *District Six Museum* and the *Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum*. A visible commitment has been shown to exhibitions like *The Neglected Tradition*: *Towards a New History* (Johannesburg Art Gallery, 2003) which featured 100 mostly black artists who had never been shown before, and *TRANCE sending Time and Space*: Sacred Symbols of the San (SANG, 2000), which was a follow-up to Miscast 1996. More recently, museums in South Africa, as well as elsewhere, have endeavoured to reinvent themselves using digital technology (Iziko Museums of South Africa 2014). There is a need to question whether these projects contribute towards the decolonisation of the museum space (Golding and Modest 2018).

In South Africa, the transformation of the socio-political, economic, and cultural sectors can be defined as a moral struggle against racial divisions (Johnson-Hill 1998 p.2), the end of the conflict between dominant and subservient groups (Mbeki 1998 p. 43), and the reconstruction of society and alienation of marginalized groups (Johnson-Hill 1998 p.2). Furthermore, it represents a shift away from the elitist rule (Togni 1996 p.109) and the end of the apartheid system in South Africa.

The research problem statement

The researcher points out critical shortcomings that define current heritage interpretation studies. First off, there hasn't been enough of a shift or reinterpretation in the museum sector overall. Next, this study aims to comprehend the various existing interpretations given to cultural heritage collections under the centre[4]'s care.

The historical nature of colonialism and its knowledge production mechanisms that cut black people off from their legacy have made the decolonization of the heritage management space hard. Due to the marginalization of the local people in the (re)construction of African narratives in the majority of South African cultural sites, many intangible aspects of African history are lost. The myths and (dis)beliefs of local groups are among these intangible components, which are frequently disregarded as problematic epistemologies.

[4] Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre

After decades of racial segregation that maintained unequal distribution of the country's wealth and public services, South Africa held its first democratic elections in 1994. It became vital for the country to be rebuilt and new definitions for being South African to be discovered. It is at this moment that the idea of transformation started to be enshrined in government policies and legislation, for example, the enactment of the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999) An Act that provided a list of cultural heritage definitions such as sites of slavery and graves of victims of political tragedies. Additionally, the Act introduced a range of measures to assess the effect of development on places of archaeological significance before development can take place. In addition, this Act also controls the exportation and importation of nationally significant archaeological resources. The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act enshrined the formation of the Monuments Commission, which focused more on colonial heritage. This Act provides a clear background of how the government committed to recognising African heritage.

Due to the diversity of culture and language, nation-building and rainbowism nation were key themes of the new South Africa's democratic dispensation. Inclusion, the reconstruction of public institutions, and the addition of black history and heritage to form new nations with a focus on black nationalists and liberation movements were central to the new nation-building concepts. The need for transformation in heritage interpretation spaces has therefore become necessary in feeding into the broader national transformation agenda.

In democratic South Africa, museums promised to correct historical inequities and provide representations of formerly marginalized populations; this has not yet been achieved. For example, the problem of gender is something that these new museums and exhibitions have continued to overlook. Dlamuka claims that:

The reality of male domination, which museum employees, regardless of gender, contribute to by judging and deciding how and what to display. The task of gathering and interpreting women's history is predicated on the understanding that history is a conversation about the past. The past has vanished, and historians are the only ones who can bring it back in the form of books, rather than actual memoirs. The difficulty, then, is to demonstrate women's right to share in the past in a way that reinforces their current situation. (Dlamuka, 2003 p. 94-95).

Research is therefore required to determine whether power structures have changed in post-apartheid South Africa in historically contentious cultural sites like Mapungubwe.

Importance of the Study

The research further seeks to analyse the role of the local communities in the interpretation of collections at the centre. The Mapungubwe World Heritage Site has drawn a wide range of academics from different fields across the disciplinary gap. The aforementioned forced migrations are to blame for this situation. The government's efforts to make up for historical injustices by reuniting those with their ancestral homes who were uprooted by the apartheid system have sparked conflict in Mapungubwe.

The study also inquires the causes of these interpretations' persistence in post-apartheid South Africa (if there are any). At the conclusion of the study, suggestions are given to address these problems. The study focuses on current discussions on (neo) colonialism's intersections with local, national, and international dynamics of heritage interpretation. The study draws on both critical diversity literacy theory and decolonial theory theoretically. These theories were used to the analysis of the collections at Mapungubwe in an effort to pinpoint power and its purpose. The two ideas helped the research better grasp the power dynamics at work when colonial interpretations—if any—are left unchallenged at the centre. In this study, the location of power is crucial.

The major hypothesis of this study is that indigenous knowledge systems are not prioritized or mainstreamed when managing and interpreting heritage in South Africa after apartheid[5], necessitating the study of transformational issues in interpretation. The background of South Africa's historical apartheid system informs this. The research's methodology adopts a comparative perspective. The study contrasts information gleaned from conversations with the local indigenous populations near the Mapungubwe site with scribed interpretations[6] of a small number of items from one collection under the centre's custody. Snow bow[7] sampling was utilized to base the interviews since it assures that pertinent information is gathered.

Understanding the networks of power in the interpretation of the collections required a close examination of the interpretations (written on the collections galleries), their framing, and their presentation. This is due to the possibility of political undertones in the way collections are

[5] A form of segregation and oppression that the white European minority imposed on the black African majority (Blackmore 2019).
[6] Is a technique for sharing information or educating people that aims to connect them to sites and objects of natural and cultural heritage, such as parks, museums, zoos, and other places? (Tilden,1977)
[7] My informants were chosen through referrals (Noy, 2008)

presented or portrayed at cultural heritage interpretation centres. According to Shamsidar Ahmad et al. (2014), cultural heritage interpretation centres and exhibitions are forms of public communication that have the power to raise or lower visitors' levels of awareness. Awareness cannot be isolated from epistemologies and power since it includes the transmission of knowledge.

Overview of methodology

This study relied on scribed information (on the items at Mapungubwe) and unstructured interviews. The information presented in the galleries of the Mapungubwe cultural heritage interpretive centre was used in the research. For the interviews, I chose one item from the Mapungubwe traditional heritage interpretive centre. The research participants were asked to interpret this object, so I took images of it and showed them to them. I then made a comparison between the information written on the centre's collections and the interpretation provided by the interviewees. I was unable to take the participants to the centre due to financial restrictions. I did this by taking pictures of the chosen item from the centre's collection and showing them to the participants in semi-structured interviews.

Main Research Question

Through the analysis of the collections at the Mapungubwe interpretation centre, what are the major transformational challenges noted by the community?

Sub-Research questions

The following questions and sub-questions seek to be answered by this research:

1. What role does the local community play in the interpretation of collections at the Mapungubwe interpretation centre?
2. From the interviews are the local community considered a legitimate archive when collections are interpreted in the centre?
3. Are there any differences between the interpretations scribed to collections in the interpretation centre and the interpretations given by the local community?

CHAPTER BREAK DOWN

Chapter One: Introduction

In this chapter, I will offer a compelling case for the problem under inquiry, the study's objective and importance of the study and the research questions to be investigated. The theoretical or conceptual framework upon which this dissertation is founded will also be introduced.

Chapter Two: The need to decolonize and transform

This section will provide a synopsis of decolonial theory. I will go over the theory and how it relates to my study. This section will also include a summary of past studies that are most relevant to the topic of museum transformation. This section will provide a narrative demonstrating the logical links between major aspects of the theory, constructs, and/or transformation.

Chapter Three: Previous research

This chapter serves as the framework for my investigation, as well as a starting point for discussing results and interpretations. It summarizes what is known and identifies what is unknown regarding this study's topic. I will go into great detail on earlier work done by other researchers on the subject under consideration. I will only review literature that is relevant to or directly related to my research.

Chapter Four: Engaging with collections and stakeholders

The research design will be outlined in-depth in Chapter four (4). This section will leave readers with a clear grasp of how the study will be carried out, and future researchers will know exactly what procedures to follow if they want to repeat this study. The participants in this study will be identified, together with any relevant demographic information and how participants were chosen. The plan for recruiting people and issuing invites will also be detailed here. The process of acquiring data through interviews and galleries or displays will be explained in detail as well as the advantages and disadvantages of these processes. Ethical considerations and protocols will also be discussed here.

Chapter Five: Data analysis

In this section, I will go over the strategies and tools that the researchers utilized to evaluate and summarize the data. I will also discuss the kind of data I would have acquired in the field and how it answers my research questions.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The consequences of the study findings will be examined in this concluding chapter. This will contain both practical ramifications and implications for future studies. The findings will be integrated into the second chapter's decolonial paradigm. The chapter will conclude with a strong conclusion that summarizes the significance of the study's findings. I will make recommendations on what needs to be done to promote transformation at the Mapungubwe Interpretation centre.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This section lists the body of research in the area of study. This literature evaluation makes an effort to include textual materials that could respond to the above-stated research topics. It examines the Mapungubwe site, issues with site ownership, and potential issues with how collections are interpreted in the interpretation centre. The literature also examines South Africa's Museum past and how it influences interpretation now. Further connecting the history of South Africa's cultural heritage interpretation centres to issues of power and racism, it explores ideologies that have influenced the neo-liberalization of historic sites.

Politics has a significant impact on how knowledge is created and conveyed (Prah, 1999). Political perspectives have significantly influenced the growth of archaeology. There are currently many emerging understandings of how politics affects cultural heritage. The issue of transformation, however, has not been adequately addressed. In the post-apartheid era, the political history of heritage interpretation in South Africa has gotten a lot of attention (Shepherd, 1998). Nick Shepherd, in particular, has criticised how the important people were involved in the establishment of archaeological practice in South Africa. Apart from the difficulties that resulted from South Africa's apartheid history, the early research agendas' aims and the politics of production and dissemination of archaeological information were also Eurocentric in nature. Even after the apartheid, indigenous African communities have not been given a chance to take part in the interpretation of heritage. They have surfaced mostly as labourers rather than knowledge producers.

Decolonization, in theory, strives to demolish Eurocentric viewpoints and reframe public exhibitions in ways that are more meaningful to communities and diverse audiences (Arinze, 1998). However, Tuck and Yang (2012) contend that decolonization is not a metaphor for other things we wish to do to enhance our societies and schools; it is the return of Indigenous land and life. Decolonization has become a metaphor as a result of the easy acceptance of decolonizing rhetoric by educational advocacy and scholarship, as indicated by the growing number of calls to decolonize our schools, apply decolonising methodologies and decolonize student thinking. Despite this post-democratic urge for reinvention and reinterpretation, most South African universities' epistemologies and knowledge systems have not significantly changed (Heleta, 2016).

The land and territory of Mapungubwe

This study argues that Mapungubwe's local community cultural practices and understandings must be reflected in immediate action rather than just verbal guarantees. Colonial and apartheid land policies pushed local communities away from their roots, just like in many other regions of Africa. As a result, the forcible eviction of Indigenous peoples who lived adjacent to the site in the 1930s and 1940s is one of the most urgent issues in any discussion about community engagement at Mapungubwe (Chirikure et al 2010, p.34). According to Norton et al. 2000, the history of forcible evictions has made it very challenging to identify the true proprietors of the site. On the Zimbabwean side, there are a number of ethnic groups, including the Venda, the Remba, the Sotho in the North, and different Shona groups. These groups have various viewpoints and compete with one another for better benefits. Traditional archaeological reconstructions claim that Mapungubwe is the last vestige of a former Shona state (Huffman, 2007; Manyanga, 2003). Even though Mapungubwe is in South Africa, these Shona people today reside in what is now Zimbabwe. Understanding that territorial boundaries resulted from European conquest is crucial.[8]

The bones and artifacts that were taken from Mapungubwe in the 1930s and placed in the custody of the Universities of Pretoria and Witwatersrand were requested to be returned by the nearby indigenous people [9].The Mapungubwe interpretation centre has to be erected as a result of this. However, rather than relying on oral testimony, the interpretation of the collections at the centre was based on scholarly knowledge (Schoeman and Pikirai 2011, p.394). If decolonization is to be achieved at Mapungubwe, it is imperative to return the indigenous people back their land. Many indigenous peoples have historically been the targets of land grabbing, forcible relocation, and forcible settlement in circumstances where their customary practices, land tenure systems, and utilization of ecosystems and biodiversity were not yet familiar with discriminatory laws and regulations. Land, territory, and natural resources have special cultural and spiritual significance for indigenous people. These factors are necessary for many societies to continue to exist; but, due to land grabbing, these factors are losing value among local people. Land grabbing, according to Matondi et al. (2011), is defined as the

[8] Communities in Africa that had existed for a long time were divided by lines that are now recognized as country borders, (Abungu 2006).
[9] South African History online (n.d) Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre .Retrieved June 3, 2021 from website; https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/mapungubwe-interpretation-centre

mistreatment, negotiations, and acquisition or leasing of land resources to obtain energy and food security via export to investors, countries, and other markets.

Transformation in museums and cultural heritage interpretation centres

Transformation is a challenging idea to grasp and put into practice., Transformation according to (Simpson & Weiner, 1989), “is a change in form, shape, or appearance - a metamorphosis” (p.400). In the context of cultural heritage; transformation can be interpreted in terms of who has the right to work in cultural institutions, and who has the right to represent and be represented. These are employment legacies of apartheid that persists even to date. Transformation, according to Makhurane and Rassool (2002), “is a community-centred strategy in which people from the community function as museum specialists”. The community-centre method is a reaction to and an attempt to undo earlier White academic representations and regain the right to self-representation in museums” (p.246).

This type of transformation refers to a shift from white dominance to a multicultural South Africa, and it encompasses concepts such as reconciliation, restructuring, development, and nation-building. It is a shift from a divided and unequal society to a democratic society. In this study, I adopt Sewell's (2005) notion of refuting the way transformation is portrayed as a single event. Sewell (2005) asserts that when regular routines and social life is questioned, such as when societies are changing, new options are imaginable, can be elaborated, and applied to new power situations and social settings. Transformation has been viewed by South African society, as a clearly defined event that has profoundly changed society. However, transformation is far more complicated, moving over numerous temporal epistemological and discursive realms such as the Black Consciousness Movement, colonialism, apartheid, and the African Renaissance, all of which are produced through emotionally experienced ‘singularized' experiences. Past and present, time and actors, all collide in spatial and temporal discourses that define the stakes of the present. As a result, transformation is equated with institutionalized change.

A critique of the idea of transformation and the decolonial theory in South African museums

Transformation has been viewed as a one-time occurrence, a paradigm shift, and something novel and unusual. Ideas, dates (such as 1994), and socio-political systems have all been discussed as societal events. The concept of an event is a social construct that breaks the

continuity of time. The transformation processes become more obvious when time is divided into events; yet, transformation cannot be considered an event; it must be placed in a larger temporal framework. The problem with addressing transformations, according to Sewell (2005) is that no social theory has been produced to deal with the difficulties of social change; hence the subject has been tackled in terms of structures. Because social scientists have employed structures to address society as a whole, the assumption is that structures are stable. Structures, on the other hand, are dynamic, and using structures concerning change tends to entail unpleasant epistemological shifts, but it remains the best approach to explain the concept of transformation processes at the moment.

There is a very wide debate around how the museum institution is perceived by the general public and the African indigenous communities in post-apartheid South Africa. Scholars such as Ndoro (2000) and Hall (2005) argue that laws that guaranteed access to the colonizers while barring local communities from participation institution during the apartheid period did not change right away, these foreign values were simply embraced by post-colonial heritage practitioners to the detriment of local interests and ambitions. In light of this, Abungu (2006) and Pwiti (1996) have claimed that post-independence heritage managers need to create fresh approaches to incorporating indigenous cultural perspectives on heritage in order to develop a more useful heritage management practice.

Transformation process of the museum has not been able to foster group identities from partnerships with the local communities. Abrahams-Willis (1998) challenges South African museums to represent their multicultural audiences. The author asserts that “heritage and identity are very emotional and sensitive issues” (Abrahams-Willis, 1998 p. 290) for indigenous peoples in Southern Africa, and argues for museums and indigenous communities to form partnerships to rethink how they are (re)presented. She claims that museums have a responsibility to bring South African society together and foster community. Despite Abrahams-Willis' (1998) assertion that "national South African identity supersedes group identities," addressing the politics of depicting Khoikhoi and San people will better position museums to serve as democratizing institutions (p.290).

The provision of policies that seeks to cater for intangible heritage preservation is a welcome development in post-apartheid South Africa. This can be seen as a huge transformational step in decolonizing the museum space. Bredekamp (2006) notes that policies concerning the provision of intangible heritage as defined by United Nations Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in South African heritage institutions such as national monuments and museums have been restructured following the new agenda to encourage South African heritage institutions to acknowledge and exhibit indigenous knowledge and intangible heritage in ways that transcend Eurocentric systems of classification. Bredekamp discusses how intangible heritage is incorporated into exhibitions and public programming at the Iziko museums. These however still need to be checked and audited to make sure the policies are not only on paper but are also being implemented.

Coombes (2006) delves into the difficulties that South African museums encountered in tackling the apartheid legacies in material and public culture under Mandela's strong emphasis on reconciliation during his presidency. Adopting the Reconstruction and Development Program was an easy way for South African museums to gain support and financing from the new democratic government led by the African National Congress. According to Coombes, the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria forged a clear link between its activities and the RDP early on as a means of obtaining RDP funds. The idea of reconciliation itself is a bit difficult to achieve in the museum institution when seeking to achieve total transformation. Writing on reconciliation Allan Boesak and Curtiss DeYoung (2012) argue that when people want the oppressed to just forgive, they utilize reconciliation. This allows individuals who profit from racial injustice to make no confessions, changes, payments, or concessions. To them, reconciliation is atoning for past wrongdoings. This they refer to as "deceitful reconciliation" (p.90). In a nutshell, this pseudo reconciliation aims to make room for injustice and oppression. It never mentions injustices, inequities, or assaults on the humanity and dignity of people who are victims of injustice. Instead, they argue that there is a need for reconciliation that addresses the root causes of injustice and lays a new foundation for community.

The history of museums and segregation in South Africa

The creation of museums in South Africa was strongly tied to British colonial authority and the activity of the scientific and museum communities in the country. But, before we get to the point of an official museum, let's take a look at why transformation is critical in South Africa. The critique of Eurocentric museums is a political construct, given that eurocentrism has many faces and manifestations.

Dutch settlers began plundering South Africa's natural resources as early as the seventeenth century. The majority of these were animal artefacts (hunting trophies) on exhibit at Cape

Town's Castle. By 1727, the first collection of non-zoological items, amassed by the German Joachim, had been completed (MacKenzie, 2009 p.89-90).

The Dessinian Collection was presented at the Cape Town library by Nickolaus von Dessin (1704-61), and a separate exhibition hall was established to display the collection. Andrew Smith, a Scotsman, arrived at the Cape in 1821 and was dispatched to Grahamstown to aid the medical staff with the injuries sustained by those involved in the Frontier Wars. He began collecting ethnographic and natural history specimens while stationed there. Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape, restored the museum in 1855, and it was reconstituted by the Government Gazette two years later. This was the start of a more formalized museum with a Board of Trustees, but there were still insufficient museum professionals at the time, so the SAM grew slowly, with a strong focus on the collection and descriptive presentation and little work done to examine and contextualize the holdings (Davison, 2005) In 1949, the Department of the Interior handed over the national museums to the Department of Education, Arts, and Science. During the transformation process, funding was a critical issue. Museums appeared static due to a lack of funding during apartheid, but new funding opportunities have become part of the democratization of museums and a catalyst for the materialization of Transformation (Davison, 2005).

Anthropological exhibits were also set up in such a way that they reinforced racial stereotypes that were prevalent in South Africa and the United Kingdom. To make matters worse, Margaret Shaw, South African Museums(SAM)'s first ethnologist, collaborated closely with state ethnographer N.J Van Warmelo, who gathered data for the state to promote Apartheid policy (Davison, 1990 p.157). The museum arose from the SAM, which was a broad museum featuring the natural history and cultural history holdings during most of its history. The collection of artefacts that formed the foundation for the South African Cultural History Museum (SACHM) dates back to the SAM's beginnings and was mostly ignored by those who worked at the museum. The SAM realized in 1936 that it needed to establish a separate structure to house the burgeoning cultural history collection (Davison, 1999).

The foregoing is a high-level overview of the SACHM's formation. The socio-political atmosphere in South Africa at the time makes it better for us to understand why a museum dedicated solely to European culture was proposed. During Apartheid, there may have been no consistent state policy on how museums should operate, and it may have been a public steering process. It's possible that the hidden organization's guiding beliefs inspired the

establishment of a museum dedicated only to white culture. A number of key conferences, seminars, and commissions took place between the mid-1980s and the early 1990s, which contributed to the later change processes in the museum and cultural sector. Each of these initiatives, which were started by distinct stakeholder groups, resulted in policy development processes with specific agendas. As a result, while each outcome posed new difficulties for museums and heritage, they did not necessarily pull in the same direction, resulting in vigorous debate and critical engagement, which was healthy and fostered a high level of thought (Corsane, 2004 p 7).

The movement towards transformation

The 1976 student uprising in Soweto, which sparked a nationwide revolt in South Africa, signalled the beginning of the end of apartheid (MacDonald 2006: 68). By this time, the BCM had become a key intellectual player in the conflict and had influenced the conclusion of the museum transformation. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)[10], according to Nuttall et al (1998: 93-94), provided a channel for Africans to confront their inferiority complex in the face of White dominance. BCM aimed to instil pride in black culture, experience, talents, and values, all of which were used as keywords in the Transformation film. Subversive groups like the ANC established a resistance culture in response to BCM from then certain transformational roots can be traced back to the mid-1980s, and are linked to both the South African Museums Association (SAMA discussions)'s and debates within the museum profession, as well as activities, started in exile by certain organs within the then banned African National Congress (ANC), and built upon in South Africa once the ANC was unbanned. Within the country, museum professionals initiated a critical engagement process of their own. Several papers presented during the 1987 SAMA conference in Pietermaritzburg sparked violent debate and confrontation, with some attendees even walking out of sessions (Corsane, 2004 p7).

Following the political events of February 1990, which created the groundwork for a new democratic South Africa, several significant shifts in the museum world occurred, resulting in a dynamic, albeit lengthy, policy development process. In the cultural domain, the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), which had been established in exile in 1985, began to

[10]The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was a grassroots anti-Apartheid activist movement that emerged in South Africa in the mid-1960s out of the political vacuum created by the jailing and banning of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress leadership after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960.

expand on past efforts by addressing practical challenges of reconstruction and policy formulation. The African National Congress (ANC) established the Commission on Museums, Monuments, and Heraldry (CMMH) inside the DAC in 1991 (Corsane, 2004 p.8).

Although it will take time to develop and execute all of the new frameworks that are required, the foundation of SAHRA has been a significant step forward in the efforts to democratize and open up the heritage sector.

In her PhD thesis Material culture, context, and meaning (1991), museologist and archaeologist Patricia Davison talks about the need for transformation in South African museums. Mxolisi Chrisostomas Dlamuka is a museologist who takes an African perspective on museum transformation, in his two articles, “the changing representation of history museums: A case study of the Voortrekker Museum” (2000). Identities, Memories, Histories, and Representation: Museums in twentieth-century KwaZulu-Natal and “Patterns and transitions in cultural heritage in Kwazulu-Natal: Selected case studies 1977-1999”.

Julie L McGee, who released “Restructuring South African Museums: Reality and Rhetoric inside Cape Town” (2006), and Katherine Goodnow, who wrote “Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney”, are two other researchers working on Transformation (2006). McGee makes his case from an art historical standpoint, focusing on the interpretation of artefacts and art, while Goodnow makes her case from an administrative standpoint.

Leslie Witz, Ciraj Rassool, and Gary Minkley (2000) explore Transformation from a post-colonial and African Renaissance viewpoint. The African Renaissance centres around who is an African and where the African is going in the global community. African Renaissance involves how Africans can unite to come up with practical solutions to African problems for the benefit of Africans. This theory has however faced a lot of debate among African academia, with some African academics arguing that it is based on experiences that are unique to Europe, making it useless to Africa. This paper examines the meaning of the phrase "African Renaissance" and evaluates its applicability in the context of globalization.

The Concept of Transformation in post-apartheid South Africa

According to Esterhuyse (2003), the term 'transformation' has become a symbol of South Africa in transition, representing the profound shifts in the country's traditional power and privilege

relations that have occurred since 1994. Esterhuyse (2003), further contends that the vision of a transformed South Africa inspires policymaking, strategic thinking, project planning, and a range of other roles and activities, whether in politics, education, social life, health care and business.Transformation is a worldwide phenomenon that affects many aspects of life. Transformation is the strategic response to the condition in which an organization cannot continue functioning as before, as Levy and Merry (1986) wrote about organizations. It requires a dramatic reshuffling in every dimension of its existence to continue to exist.

The term ‘transformation’ has become politically enticing in South Africa for a number of reasons. This situation according to Esterhuyse (2003) exemplifies what philosophers like Friedrich Nietzsche and Ludwig Wittgenstein have described as the dangerous and even tyrannical dimension of language: metaphors – language's 'tools' – becoming stale gatekeepers to the world of created meanings, while also trapping users in dogmatic and one-sided interpretations. As a result, conceptual clarity is required, as is fighting the tendency to "misrepresent to ourselves how we use words" (Kenny, 1989, p.3).

By now, it should be evident that transformation is a difficult process that should not be undertaken carelessly or without considerable consideration and planning. It invariably has a destabilizing influence in its early stages, causing uncertainty, opposition, and conflict (Esterhuyse, 2003 p. 7).

The restricting role played by an organization's orthodox culture, and the fact that culture in its stabilized and seemingly solid form works as a haven or unassailable castle have been frequently emphasized as one of the key reasons for this state of affairs (Esterhuyse 2003 p. 7). In the case of the Mapungubwe interpretation centre, the idea of transformation is also restricted by the mindset that the local community cannot be a legitimate archive.

The marginalization of blacks in apartheid South Africa

In apartheid South Africa, the black majority had little or no say in how their history was portrayed. It is distressing to remember the dehumanizing image of black people in particular. All but a few of our museums reflected a type of legacy that emphasized mostly white and colonial history. The marginalized, according to Desai (2000), criticize dominant modes of representation because they establish and reinforce stereotypes. They also represent the attitudes of those in positions of authority toward them, as well as how they perceive their history and cultural heritage. In her study on the representation of black people in Brazil, Dos

Santos (2018) stated that museum narratives either ignore or amplify the race issue and that they function through denial and stereotypes. This point is particularly important in South African debates since the concept of Race has been used to define individuals and for apartheid's divide-and-rule tactic, which continues to be a problem in the country today.

We have the chance to make sure that our institutions reflect history in a way that honours the cultural heritages of all of our citizens. The government has performed admirably. The heritage industry as a whole, including our museums, is evolving. Community involvement, efficient use of scarce resources, and accessibility serve as our guiding principles as we try to right the wrong. Mandela noted as he came to a close that our museums and monuments reinforce our dedication to human rights, mutual respect, and democracy and assist to prevent these from being violated again when they welcome visitors and engage with the changes that occur all around them (Mandela, 1997 p.3).

Most of academic institutions, museums or institutes of higher learning, were generally established during the colonial and imperial periods. This had an impact on collecting and displaying rules, as well as the Western narratives imparted (Arinze, 1998 p.31). The evidence to support the claim that Africans created a significant portion of Africa's recent 2000 years of human history comes in a variety of shapes and sizes. Thousands of stone-walled buildings, tombs, mud huts, and other examples of material culture can be found all over the continent (Pistorius, 1999; Huffman, 2007). Even while native African populations have always played an important role in the fields of archaeology and heritage management, their presence is frequently underappreciated (Rassool et al. 2000). As a result, I believe that local communities are still cut off from contributing in any way to the institution of the museum. Inequalities brought about by apartheid legislation have also not been adequately addressed by government policy.

Many museums, in reality, have stayed essentially unmodified, promoting Western stereotypes that are incompatible with modern African states and hence irrelevant to contemporary society's requirements (Abungu, 2006 p.1; Arinze, 1998 p.31). However, as part of the decolonization process, museums must not only;

> “Balance the unbalanced cultural heritage”, but also “actively preserve a country's collective history...” (Mdanda, 2016 p.25).

Connecting the history of museum institutions in South Africa to race and power

The history of archaeology in colonized areas, according to Moro Abidia (2006), fostered an idealized view of archaeological work. The political ramifications of archaeology are typically ignored by historians, who frequently defend the plunder of material culture from colonized areas. Both Moro Abidia (2006, p. 7) and Kehow (1989) make the case that colonialism and the history of archaeology are inextricably linked. The history of archaeology has typically been constrained to "consensus whiggish histories" (Kehoe 1989, p.105), a straightforward account of amazing discoveries "without taking much account of the ideas and institutions surrounding them," (Schnapp 2002, p.134), or to the hagiographic veneration of pioneers and brave heroes (Schlanger 2002, p. 128).

As one of the discourses by which colonialist groups construct the realm of the past by imposing distinctive knowledge, practices, and values on colonized communities, the history of archaeology written up until the last decades of the twentieth century can be described as a particular form of "colonial discourse." Additionally, this defense has supported other colonialist actions (Moro Abidia 2006 p8). Moro Abidia (2006) claims that historians have looked into a few political applications of archaeology. For example, they have examined how nationalism has influenced archaeological study, how certain socioeconomic classes have supported scientific agendas, and the influence of science's sociological system on the interpretation of archaeological findings.

In this regard, among the many publications devoted to the socio-politics of the past, the relationship between archaeology and colonialism has emerged as one of the major subjects. (e.g., Meskell 1998; Kehoe 1989), Moro Abidia steals the archaeology's own theory from the Trigger (1980, 1984), who created the very first works on this issue, to the academics who looked at how ancient history contributed to the colonial period (e.g., Sheppard 1990; Rowlands 1998; Jeffreys 2003). It is crucial to comprehend how archaeology was employed in colonized areas to promote a particular historical narrative and how archaeological discourse defended justified imperialist hegemony (Moro Abidia 2006 p.9)

In his Master's thesis, "Identities, memories, histories and representation," published in 2003, Mxolisi Dlamuka, the current Chief Executive Officer of Heritage Western Cape, claims that museums contributed significantly to the propagation of false information concerning white people's land ownership. This was not a difficult assignment because it is difficult to locate

archival records from South African societies prior to the arrival of the Europeans. In these communities, history and heritage were passed down orally to different generations. In the 1980s, oral history gained prominence in histories, which used it to tell the stories of the underprivileged. The government controlled what was depicted in museums and how they were run during the colonial and apartheid eras.

Museums were divided as a result of white supremacist influences that discouraged other groups; this also applied in Durban as exhibitions in their museums sought to elevate white seniority and heroism (Dlamuka, 2003). Museums are historically a result of colonialism, which placed a high importance on colonial and western knowledge (Rall, 2018, p. 11). The idea that earlier exhibiting practices meant to flaunt power and money produced museums is now a part of the classic view of how they came to be. The Birth of the Museum: History, Politics, Theory by Tony Bennett (1995) and Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge by Eileen Hooper-Greenhill are two helpful and complimentary publications that explore this topic in great detail (1992). African museums are goods that serve our modern societies. According to Pistorious (2009), the majority of imperialist nations continue to have influence on how heritage issues are handled in most African nations. As a result, institutionalization and monumentalization of heritage issues in most African nations have a European flavour.

In Africa, we have seen much precedent of European influence on heritage management (Shepherd, 1998). Dlamuka (2003) and Ngcobo (2018) both trace the history of museums in South Africa back to the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries when the South African Museum (SAM) was established in Cape Town. The power to document history in this period was within the very same colonial masters that had oppressed the African people. This was a period where colonialists had political control and marked their territories through segregation laws, and this resulted in politics playing a big role in shaping South Africa's identity. Due to the racial separation and political control of the colonialists, there was a lack of African representation in the formation of their history (Dlamuka, 2003; Ngcobo, 2018). Histories of past colonial events are manipulated and sewn into the present by most western white powerful nations to continue their endeavours in most African countries through the use of museums and heritage sites (Pwiti, 2007).

Science was accepted by Eurocentric ideologies as a legitimate method of doing study and presenting conclusions about South African racial groups. This led to the creation of South

African museums which were central to the sustenance of apartheid in cahoots with natural sciences.

According to Madiba (2003, 2003), it is difficult to isolate heritage issues from colonial structural remnants in Africa. Hall (1996) affirms this idea by asserting that Africa is still experiencing significant colonial influences on heritage concerns due to the employment of Western and European-influenced policies. They adhere to the same principles that were formerly expressed in the apartheid city. Therefore, these international and national regulations support the white and European standards in the management of cultural heritage and museums. In international treaties and affiliations with organizations like UNESCO, ICOM, ICOMOS, and ICCROM, among others, this dynamic normalizes exploitative contacts between the West and African countries by legitimizing western epistemologies (Lavine and Karp, 1991). As Fowler (1999) contends, while governments, parliaments, and communities are frequently involved in the management of cultural assets, at the international level, the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO is the bureaucratic body that chooses assigns universality to norms.

The 2nd International Conference of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments established the Venice Charter, also known as the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, in 1964. This charter was used to administer a variety of properties throughout Africa, including both conventional and non-monumental buildings. The Bura Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, for example, was one of numerous such international agreements that were impacted by this charter (Hall, 1996). Due to the fact that these charters and conventions were created in Western and European nations, they established guidelines and standards that were seen as being legally enforceable for state parties.

Apart from this, the state also exerts a great amount of control on heritage narratives. Legitimized as "official Heritage", these narratives are hegemonic, which according to Gramsci is, "the way through which government and state institutions mutually work together to win public consent for their authority through multi-processes which mask their position of dominance" (Gramsci, 1996). Most Southern African countries have state-centric ownership of heritage resources which leads to the political branding of heritage. This branding positions broader ideological understandings of history as common sense, neutral and natural (Steyn, 2015; Crawford, 1997).

The "othering" of African indigenous objects in ethnographic museums

Said's Orientalism (1978), according to experts in French colonial history, anthropology, and museum studies like Robert Aldrich, is "crucial" and "revolutionary" in enabling a more critical analysis of "imperial encounters" through cultural heritage interpretation centres and gallery exhibits (Aldrich 2020, p. 8). Along with others, he cites and contextualizes the writings of Frantz Fanon (2008 [1952]) and Albert Memmi (1990 [1957]) regarding the conflicts for decolonization in the 1950s. The first written records of African history were created around 500 years after European settlers first arrived there. When colonization became more severe in the last 200 years, a wide range of experts who claimed to be systematically or scientifically documenting African history travelled the continent to record the African way of life, including the archaeology of the region. One of the nations impacted by this academic endeavour, which had overtones of Eurocentrism and Colonialism and ultimately skewed the history of locations like Mapungubwe, was contemporary South Africa.

When Jerry van Graan, a history student at the University of Pretoria, "discovered" the location, the handling of Mapungubwe and the artifacts at the site began (Cape Argus, 1933). According to rumours, Jerry van Graan went hunting on the farm Greefswald, where Mapungubwe is situated. He went to Moweni's (Moweni's) homestead during this journey and asked for water, which was given to him in a unique bowl. Moweni eventually directed van Graan and his group to his son, who then escorted them to the burial site of the "ancient ones," or Mapungubwe, following repeated efforts at resistance (Cape Argus, 1933). Jerry van Graan earned the title of "Discoverer of Mapungubwe" as a result of a series of circumstances. This marked the start of the location's biased treatment. It is evident from the written accounts that the Black people who lived in the region were aware of Mapungubwe and understood what the location represented. In a fashion that suggested the location had been lost or did not belong to the natives, Van Graan was given credit for discovering Mapungubwe.

Linking archaeological practice to colonialism

The history of archaeology in colonized areas, according to Moro Abidia (2006), fostered an idealized view of archaeological work. The political implications of archaeology were usually disregarded by historians, who regularly used this to defend the theft of colonial societies' material culture. Colonialism and the history of archaeology, according to Moro Abidia (2006, p. 7) and Kehow (1989), are inexorably intertwined. History in the field of archaeology has typically consisted of "consensus whiggish histories" (Kehoe 1989, p.105), a straightforward

account of amazing discoveries "without taking any account of the ideas and institutions surrounding them," (Schnapp 2002, p.134), or "hagiographic veneration of forefathers and daring heroes" (Schlanger 2002, p. 128).

An example of a "colonial discourse," or one of the discourses through which colonialist groups construct the domain of the past by imposing distinctive knowledge, practices, and values on colonized communities, is the history of archaeology written up until the last decades of the twentieth century. This justification has also been used to support additional colonial abuses (Moro Abidia 2006). Moro Abidia (2006) claims that historians have long studied a few political applications of archaeology. They looked at how nationalism influenced archaeological study, how particular social classes supported scientific agendas, and how the sociological framework of science affected the interpretation of archaeological findings. In this regard, among the many publications devoted to the socio-politics of the past, the relationship between archaeology and colonialism has emerged as one of the major subjects. Meskell et al. (2015); Kehoe (1989); Moro Abidia examines the development of archaeology from Trigger (1980), the author of the earliest publications on the topic, to the academics who investigated how ancient history influenced the colonial era (e.g., Sheppard 1990).

It is crucial to comprehend how archaeology was employed in colonized areas to promote a particular historical narrative and how archaeological discourse defended justified imperialist hegemony (Moro Abidia 2006, p.9). The current Heritage Western Cape Chief Executive Officer, Mxolisi Dlamuka, makes the case in his Master's thesis, Identities, memories, histories and representation (2003), that galleries were crucial in disseminating false information regarding white people's land ownership. This was not difficult because it is difficult to locate historical records from South African societies prior to the arrival of the Europeans. In these communities, history and heritage were passed down orally to different generations.

The racial ideologies of segregation and apartheid had a profound impact on South African museums, which evolved into hubs of political discourse and symbols of white supremacy (Gore, 2004). The representation of heritage was under the control of people in authority when museums began to display historical artifacts. In contrast, museum collections were merely displays of the "achievements" and way of life of well-known historical figures (see Ngcobo, 2018; Simpson, 2001). These museum exhibits likewise view persecution as something that has passed and that everyone has overcome. This study demonstrates how this belief that contemporary disparities are merely the result of history serves to reinforce the authority of the

dominant group (Steyn, 2015). There is a research gap that explains these processes, especially in South Africa.

Heritage concerns and colonial structural remnants in Africa can barely be separated, according to Pumla Madiba's 2003 study. Madiba adds that, with a few modifications in some nations, the policies currently in use for the management of heritage property are the same as those that were in use throughout colonial times. Due to the strong political ties between heritage issues in Africa, critics claim that the management of heritage in the majority of English-speaking African nations is bi-dimensional, meaning that it is either overseen by governmental departments or by semi-autonomous institutions with parastatal status (Manetsi, 2007, p.46). This relationship shows how state heritage policies and their participation in neo-colonialism connect.

Indigenous local communities at Mapungubwe

A wide range of academics from various fields have been drawn to the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site. The authorship of the website continues to be a contentious topic among academics, who have put out a number of theories. After Jerry van Graan, a history student at the University of Pretoria, supposedly discovered the site, knowledge creation at the location started around 1933. (Cape Argus, 1933). Archaeological excavation and physical anthropology, the procedures utilized for data collection, were primarily conducted without the involvement of local inhabitants. During this period, the study of History and Archaeology was permeated by Afrikaner nationalism (which was in reality imbued with racism) to the extent that even material culture analysis was manipulated to produce the narrative of Black Africans as incapable of producing the social complexity exhibited by the spatial distribution and material culture at Mapungubwe (Tiley-Nel, 2018).

It is difficult to ascertain which societies inhabited in the area before the entrance of the Europeans because of the exclusionary nature of the approaches used at the time. The advent of Europeans in the area signalled a change into an era of written records (Dubow, 1995). Racism in academia at the time led to claims that alien groups, like the North African Hamites or Semites, were the site's creators (The Star, 1935). Actually, there is no archaeological proof to support these statements in the Mapungubwe region. Although we don't know their exact identities, we do know that there were African groups there when European communities first arrived (Hirst, 2014). For example, the so-called discovery of Mapungubwe in 1933 (Cape

Argus, 1933), was made possible through the introduction of the hilltop settlement[11] to Jerry van Graan by Tshiwana Sematla or Mowena (Mokoena), an indigenous occupant of the Mapungubwe area (Cape Argus, 1933; Hirst, 2014). Mokoena's father resisted taking the researchers to Mapungubwe Hill for the fear of the likelihood of terrible repercussions such as death or blindness (Cape Argus, 1933; Hirst, 2014). In retrospect, the connection of these communities to the authors of Mapungubwe cannot be taken at face value because the pottery excavated at the site was an early expression of the historic Shona pottery (Huffman, 1978). The names above could not have been of Shona people because they are more characteristic of names from other tribes such as the Sotho Tswana (Breutz, 1953 chronicles the oral traditions of the Tswana in the Rustenburg area in which the name *koena* was common). Additionally, some scholars argue that there is no oral tradition from the current ethnic groups relating to Mapungubwe (Loubser, 1989). Following this information, it is clear that the identification of the communities that lived around Mapungubwe in pre-history is problematic.

In addition to the above, some scholars observed that there is currently no "…on-going relationship between people and place…", and even oral records about the emergence and demise of the site between 900 – 1300 AD at Mapungubwe (Carruthers, 2006,p 1). The absence of an ongoing relationship between contemporary communities and the site makes it difficult to establish connections with communities that lived in the area in pre-colonial times. Today, the communities around Mapungubwe are mostly of the Venda community. However, the *Tavhatshena* pottery associated with Venda-speaking communities only emerged around AD1450 suggesting that the Venda identity emerged after the collapse of Mapungubwe (Loubser, 1989; Huffman 1982).

Additionally, the pottery excavated at Mapungubwe dated AD 1150 and AD 1250 (Hall and Vogel 1980; Eloff and Meyer 1981), thus predating the known Venda pottery (Tavhatshena). While archaeologists like Thomas Huffman (2002, 2007, 2008) follow the cultural history sequence which ascribes material culture to particular identities, this approach is somewhat impossible for places like Mapungubwe because the symbolism linked to the place is common among several communities (Carruthers, 2006).

[11] There are the ruins of a city, town, or hamlet on top of Mapungubwe hill. This city-state appears to have had influence over a 30,000 km2 region. About 9,000 people are thought to have sworn loyalty to a single ruler, (Hirst, 2014).

The land claims in post-Apartheid South Africa around the Mapungubwe area provide opportunities for speculating about the identities of communities that lived in the area in prehistoric times. The Batwanamba of Tshivhula (Sebola) and many other Venda communities purport to have been the descendants of the original Mapungubwe people. More significantly, these communities claim to be direct descendants of the once-mighty Mapungubwe dynasty, and that the graves at Mapungubwe belonged to their late ancestors (Sebola, 2017). The land claims are largely based on the myth that the ruler at Mapungubwe built his capital on the hilltop and exercised power across the surrounding area. The claimants support their claims further by describing the site to suggest familiarity with the place. For instance, they described that the king built several demarcated ways to arrive at his court and that he was a spiritual leader (Sebola, 2017).

On closer inspection, these claims crumble on the basis that the communities that occupied Mapungubwe allegedly spoke a version of Shona similar to the one at Great Zimbabwe (Huffman, 2007). Additionally, after the collapse of Mapungubwe, the occupants could have migrated to Soutpansberg (Setumu, 2002). However, Setumu further stated that the current occupants of the Soutpansberg are not necessarily related to the authors of Mapungubwe. The communities in the Soutpansberg such as Tshivhula (Sebola) or the Sephuma, and some Vendas have their roots in present-day Zimbabwe.

While on one hand, the land claims appear to offer opportunities to speculate about the prehistoric occupants of the Mapungubwe area, on the other, the claims appear not to be legitimate because they are not corroborated by archaeological or linguistic evidence. Furthermore, the claims are undermined by the multiplicity of unrelated groups claiming ownership of the place. This said, linking these communities to the prehistoric Mapungubwe occupants becomes a challenge (Sebola, 2017). The claims appear motivated by greed rather than a historical connection to the area because the claims target only the economically profitable areas around Mapungubwe (Sebola, 2017).

Eurocentric views of Mapungubwe

The evidence to support the claim that Africans created a significant portion of Africa's recent 2000 years of human history comes in a variety of shapes and sizes. Thousands of stone-walled buildings, graves, mud huts, middens, and other examples of material culture may be found all over the continent (Pistorius, 1992; Huffman, 2007). Because of their diversity and size,

African cultures lacked the literacy needed to completely understand how Africans interacted with these types of physical evidence. The first written records of African history were created around 500 years after European settlers first arrived there. A wide range of experts who claimed to systematically or scientifically document African history have traveled the continent in the past 200 years, during which time colonialism has been more pervasive, to record the African way of life, including its archaeology. This scholastic endeavor, which was regrettably extensively infused with Europeanized/Colonial undertones, had an impact on modern-day South Africa and ultimately skewed the history of locations like Mapungubwe.

The first studies at Mapungubwe were led by the University of Pretoria in the 1930s. During this period, the university strongly supported the Afrikaner sentiment of racial superiority or dominance (Tiley-Nel, 2018). This colonial sentiment did not significantly affect the work of Leo Fouche, a historian. However, Fouche's Eurocentric overtones are apparent in his volume titled *Mapungubwe: ancient Bantu civilization on the Limpopo: reports on excavations at Mapungubwe (Northern Transvaal) from February 1933 to June 1935,* Volume 1, published in 1937. In this volume, Fouche (1937) believed that Mapungubwe was authored by *Bantu-speaking* people. This view was based on the similarities between the settlement remains and the cultural artefacts at Mapungubwe and those possessed by indigenous communities. In particular, Fouche argued that Mapungubwe was of Sotho or Shona origin (Fouche, 1937). Although Fouche distinctly argued that Mapungubwe was of Sotho or Shona origin (at least of Black origin), his Eurocentric overtones are apparent in that his entire volume lacked "early historical insight", accompanied by the fact that it followed the 'cultural' approach which was heavily permeated by *diffusionist* thinking and tribal differences (Dubow, 1995).

Leo Fouche's interpretation of the architecture and the spatial features at Mapungubwe further reveals that his work was permeated with Eurocentric overtones. In the initial fieldwork and excavations in 1933, Fouche observed three pathways leading to the summit of the settlement. Some of the pathways had climbing hollows carved into the cliff walls. Additionally, Fouche also discovered freestanding walls in the western and eastern ascents, which persuaded him to conclude that they served a defensive purpose (Figure 1). While seemingly harmless, such interpretations were common among western scholars in Africa in the 20th century. The underlying assumption was that Africans were constantly at war, and therefore they needed defensive forts. In much later archaeological periods, some Eurocentric scholars described periods where Africans built settlements on vantage points as the *refuge period* (see Mazarire, 2005). European powers used such interpretations as pretexts for the colonisation of Africa

(Khapoya, 2012). Importantly, the entire goal of knowledge production at Mapungubwe was necessitated by the need to advance the "empty land" narrative, and the Bantu-speaking people in Southern Africa only arrived recently in the region (Kashe-Katiya, 2013).

Even though Leo Fouche was not an archaeologist, his Eurocentric work at Mapungubwe was widely accepted by the Archaeological Committee as an introduction to Mapungubwe and was peer-reviewed at the local and international levels (The Star Newspaper, 1937).



Figure 5: Free-standing stonewall observed by Fouche which supposedly conferred defence (Fouché 1937: Plate VIII, 3).

It is important to note that even the Eurocentric scholars among themselves had significant differences in opinion. Physical Anthropologist, Alexander Galloway from the University of the Witwatersrand contested Leo Fouche's Shona/ Sotho origin of Mapungubwe. Galloway argued that the architects of Mapungubwe were neither black Africans nor Bantu because they found the "Boskopoid" human remains which they attributed to the Khoisan (Galloway, 1937). These racialized interpretations of material culture at Mapungubwe were institutionalised and influenced archaeological research at the site.

Alexander Galloway's arguments were in turn contested by G.P. Rightmire who reassessed the human remains and concluded that the population at Mapungubwe comprised the Negroids that were similar to the Black populations occupying the region (Meyer, 2011). It is important to note that the analysis of human remains through the lens of "Physical Anthropology" itself was racist as it generated and sustained the racial paradigm in South Africa (Dubow, 1995).

Excavations at Mapungubwe continued with Gardner who was considered an amateur archaeologist, and who subsequently drafted a manuscript for publication. Van Riet Lowe who was to be the editor of this volume pulled out of the project and it is suspected that the professional archaeologist pulled out because of the widespread racism at the time (Tiley-Nel, 2018). Coertze became the editor of this volume, and unfortunately, he advanced Volkekunde (generalised as the racist study of black people), and the 'cultural' approach which advanced Europeanised views and the tribal origin of Mapungubwe (van der Waal, 2013).

In fact, in advancing the racist agenda, Coertze intentionally disregarded the archaeological evidence presented by Gardner (Tiley-Nel, 2018). It is argued that Coertze's biased views controlled not only Gardner's findings but also the scholarly work in the post-World War II period (van der Waal, 2013). In the post-war period, Gardner's biased views became more apparent through his conclusions in the Second volume. Gardner concluded that Mapungubwe belonged to a Bronze Age Culture and that the architects must have been of North African Hamitic origins (Tiley-Nel, 2018).

It is important to note the so-called Hamitic origin was also attributed to stone-walled sites in the North-West province by other Eurocentric scholars (TNAD, 1905). The same was the case in Zimbabwe where Theodore Bent attributed the authorship of Great Zimbabwe to the people of Semitic ancestry (Bent, 1896), and Black Africans could not produce monumental architecture. The lack of monumental architecture at Mapungubwe persuaded scholars like Gardner to speculate that Mapungubwe was an extension of Great Zimbabwe's influence. In line with these biased views, it was concluded that Mapungubwe cannot have been authored by Black Africans. However, RadioCarbon Dates (CE1220–1290) later dismissed these views as inaccurate because Mapungubwe predates Great Zimbabwe (Chirikure *et al*, 2014), and therefore, the Great Zimbabwe style cannot have influenced the Mapungubwe Culture.

An earlier occupation of Mapungubwe over Great Zimbabwe was compellingly argued by Huffman (1982). He concluded, following a cognitive structuralist approach coupled with archaeological data and radiocarbon dates that the similarities between Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe meant that Mapungubwe (CE1220 – 1290) was the origin of Great Zimbabwe. In addition, Huffman argues that after the fall of Mapungubwe, Great Zimbabwe rulers took over the lucrative Indian Ocean trade routes and expanded significantly.

Based on the above arguments, it is clear that much of the scholarly work at Mapungubwe was biased because it sought to discredit Black Africans as authors of the site. Scholars in this

period were more concerned with advancing a theory of Black Africans as incapable of producing complex states, and that Black Africans' way of life was centred on tribe's incapable of living beyond family lineages.

SA Government policy to transform Archaeology

To come to grips with the nature of policies introduced by the government of South Africa after 1994 to transform Archaeology, it is imperative to understand how the discipline was before this date. Significant scholarly work has been done mostly by scholars from the White community to expose the problems that characterised the discipline pre-1994. The highlight of the critiques is that when archaeology as a discipline began in South Africa, it was controlled by apartheid politics underlined by Afrikaner nationalism and racism (Tiley-Nel, 2018; Delius and Marks 2012; Hall 2005; Ndlovu 2009a; Shepherd 1998, 2002a, 2003a; Schlanger 2002; Schrire 1995).

Owing to the stranglehold of Afrikaner nationalism on the discipline, Trigger (1994) has argued that archaeology in South Africa is the most colonialist archaeology in the world. Among other things (see other sections), Stone Age tools discovered in South Africa in what was the Cape colony were transported to Western European universities and museums for examination where interpretations were mostly Eurocentric in nature (Deacon, 2020). It was common in this period for scholars to ignore many places of archaeological or cultural significance to Africans, while it was also common for archaeological resources to be plundered. Janette Deacon (2020) posited that by 1911, South Africa was lawless in terms of protecting its pre-colonial archaeological heritage.

To depart from this dark past, the post-apartheid government of South Africa enacted the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999). The Act provides a list of cultural heritage definitions such as sites of slavery and graves of victims of political tragedies. Additionally, the Act introduced a range of measures to assess the effect of development on places of archaeological significance before development can take place. The Act also controls the exportation of nationally significant archaeological resources, as well as the importation of such resources into South Africa. The *Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act* enshrined the formation of the Monuments Commission, which focused more on colonial heritage.

Challenges to the transformation of Archaeology in Post-Colonial South Africa

The discipline of archaeology was imported into a colonial setting. The production of archaeological knowledge and its circulation was done within this lens. This shaped the development of the discipline over time (Delmas and La Pena, 2019). In fact, Delmas and La Pena (2019) argue that when the discipline emerged in the 19th century, archaeology and colonialism have been viewed as having similar essence. In South Africa, the discipline of Archaeology began in the Apartheid era where it was marred by several challenges such as Afrikaner Nationalism which at times even disregarded scientific evidence to advance particular narratives that fit the politics of the time (see above sections). The discipline was under threat, and at some point, the Archaeology unit was dissolved at the University of Pretoria (Tiley-Nel, 2018). While the discipline eventually prevailed over these and other problems in the colonial era, it still faces challenges in post-colonial South Africa.

One of the main challenges to the transformation of Archaeology in South Africa lies in the fact that current archaeologists continue to make interpretations in foreign languages – such as Anglo-American terms (Pikirayi, 2015). Additionally, even though Archaeology has been introduced into the school curriculum, and anyone can study the discipline at University, the archaeology syllabus, and the research agenda in Africa sticks to the British and North-American model (Pikirayi, 2015). As a result, the academic curriculum remains weak in regard to decolonising Archaeology. The curriculum is to a large extent unable to interrogate the theoretical and philosophical positions which emerged together with archaeology in the 20th century (Pikirayi, 2015). The problem with such universalization of Archaeology is that it fails the discipline. Because archaeology in Africa follows this trend, it has moved away from local contexts (Mizoguchi, 2015), which has produced barriers to the practice of archaeology in the African continent in which scholars adopt approaches and epistemologies from western academia, and ignore those in Africa (Pikirayi, 2015). Ultimately, this practice leaves archaeology in a pool of uneven and numerous theoretical landscapes that do not fit well in the local context (Pikirayi, 2015). These problems are exacerbated by a growing trend in Africa where political instability is on the rise. These problems require a unified continental approach to achieve transformation (2015).

Concerning the use of foreign terms discussed above, Pikirayi (2015) adds that the development of the discipline in Africa must consider producing knowledge in vernacular

languages for academia and the public. This follows the longstanding use of languages foreign to Africa. However, translations should not be restricted to the use of vernacular languages only, but also the reproduction of texts in formats that can be accessed and retrieved easily by all people (Pikirayi, 2015). The apparent disregard for culture and local community participation in South Africa has persuaded Lyn Meskell (2007) to comment that South African archaeology has lost relevance. According to Pikirayi (2015), the disregard for local communities and their knowledge is based on the view that such a methodology is unscientific.

It is an established fact that politics have a direct effect on knowledge production (Prah, 1999), and this was evident in colonial South Africa as discussed above. In post-colonial South Africa, the transformation of the discipline is still problematic (Ndlovu, 2009). Firstly, as was the case in the colonial period, the discipline is predominantly white. Even though the current White personalities dominating the discipline may not be responsible for the production of racism that permeates the discipline, the failure to robustly curb the problem renders everyone complicit in sustaining racism in the discipline (Ndlovu, 2009). Ndlovu proposes that there is an urgent need to shift from mere verbal promises to fix this problem and act decisively to form an "and inclusive plan" that incorporates those that are affected by the existing set-up (Ndlovu, 2009: 91). This is especially the moment to put this practice because of the recent shift from the Southern African Association of Archaeologists to the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists(ASAPA). The new name implies the inclusion of all professional archaeologists regardless of their race. By 2009 of the 53 archaeologists accredited by ASAPA to conduct Cultural Resources Management (CRM), only two were African, and between these two, only one had the status of Principal Investigator. Importantly, the two archaeologists were not South Africans (Ndlovu, 2009).

The racial paradigm apparent in South African Archaeology persuaded some scholars to posit that South African archaeology was/is the "most colonialist archaeology in Africa" (Trigger, 1990). In his analysis of this position, Ndlovu (1999) argues that even though Trigger made this comment before democracy in South Africa, the problem still thrives decades later in the new South Africa. Following empirical evidence, these assertions are correct if one takes focuses on the racial demographics of academics at universities offering Archaeology in South Africa. The same can be said of museums and galleries across the country, where curators and managers are most of the white race. It is important to note that the transformation must reflect all the races in South Africa, and not just strive for a balance between Blacks and Whites.

Some scholars observe that the transformation of the discipline is challenged by the way practitioners perceive the discipline. Scholars generally view the discipline as a mere science for studying the past, with no significance for the present (Pikirayi, 2015). This is particularly the case with Stone Age archaeologists who only focus on that phase in human history without mentioning *the political*. This is unlike their counterparts in the Iron Age who have to confront the political debates of today (Tomaskova, 2003; Pikirayi, 2015).

Shepherd (2002) argues that even though African communities have been involved in Archaeology, the role that they play has not been properly recognised. This is a longstanding problem which can be traced back to the 1930s when research at Mapungubwe started. As discussed in the earlier sections, Archaeology or historical studies at the time were largely exclusionary in order to advance the narrative of foreign authorship of Mapungubwe. Today the problem persists and it has generated the impression that the discipline is for white communities (Ndlovu, 2009). Africans have long been relegated to labourers for the labour-intensive discipline. There is a general sentiment that African communities have a low interest in archaeology that whites seek to protect which in some ways might be accurate. However, as Ndoro (2005) argues, archaeological sites have survived until now because of traditional beliefs. This said Ndlovu has called for more training of professional African archaeologists to produce a sense of value in the discipline among local communities. Ultimately, there is a need to work together with communities to create new impressions for the transformation of the discipline in order to scrap the 'us vs them' mentality (Ndlovu, 2009). This is especially important when local communities view archaeology as plundering and destruction of cultural property and desecration of ancestral places imbued with meaning. As a result of the Eurocentric nature of the discipline to date, local communities are increasingly doubtful of archaeology which they view as having western values and whose relevance is not clear (Pikirayi, 2015).

In addition to the above, the challenge to the transformation of Archaeology in South Africa manifests in the way it attracts international scholars who find interest in human origins and the evolution of social complexity. This scholarly enterprise makes it difficult for the discipline to move forward because, as noted above, local communities are excluded and archaeology takes place in their communities (Meskell, 2011).

Another challenge stifling the transformation of Archaeology in South Africa lies in the fact that African archaeologists do not actively participate in the production of knowledge that

transforms the discipline[12] (Ndlovu, 2009). Many African archaeologists still adopt knowledge from white archaeologists and generally seem like "heritage administrators". For the development of the discipline in South Africa, there is a need to shift from this mentality and seek involvement in the generation of knowledge that takes the discipline further and suit the current realities in the new South Africa (Ndlovu, 2009). The dominance of white academics in South African universities is another stumbling block to the development of the discipline in post-colonial South Africa. There is a lack of support and mentorship to African students at Archaeology offering universities yet in order to transform the discipline, there is a need to offer as much support as necessary in order to mentor African students to produce future archaeology professionals (Ndlovu, 2009). As it stands, argues Ndlovu, African students lack regular field trips to grasp the basics of Archaeology. Additionally, the people responsible for denying fieldwork opportunities to Black students are white academics who should be mentoring African students to be future professionals (Ndlovu, 2009). The same problems were highlighted by Pikirayi (2015) who argued that the current problems in the field of Archaeology in South Africa (white dominance, slow pace of change) represent the continuation of the pre-Apartheid scenario which risks the entire field's irrelevance by 2030 (Pikirayi, 2015). In fact, the transformation of the discipline is challenged by the fact that Archaeologists have not used it to tackle social problems like racism and issues of equality in South Africa. In South Africa, Archaeologists have resisted adopting the agenda for transformation (Pikirayi, 2015).

The impact of the above is apparent in the demographic disparities in regard to local scientific journal publications and in the representation on journal editorial boards like that of the South African Archaeological Bulletin (Ndlovu, 2009). It is apparent through such problems that the transformation of Archaeology as a discipline in democratic South Africa remains problematic. This is exacerbated by the fact that there is a general lack of internship opportunities in the field yet internships should provide African students with the necessary experience in universities, museums and journals (Ndlovu, 2009).

It is important to note that the decolonisation initiative is a way of transforming Archaeology as a discipline in post-colonial South Africa. As such, Delmas and La Pena (2019) have emphasised the need to decolonise the discipline to allow for transformation. However, in doing so, the two scholars strangely implied that the #FeesMustFall protests were a stumbling

[12] Pikirayi (2015) somewhat compliment this position by arguing that Archaeology in Africa is no longer just about knowledge production, but also about the negotiation of such knowledge with the local and indigenous communities.

block to the meetings that can be held to discuss how to decolonise the discipline (Delmas and La Pena, 2019: 1). While meetings can indeed be disrupted by student protests, this cannot be used as the pretext for the failure to transform the discipline of Archaeology. More importantly, the calls for decolonisation of the discipline have been made as far back as 1990 before protests began (Trigger, 1990).

Blockages to Heritage interpretation Transformation

This section examines how the heritage interpretation transformation is blocked in museums and heritage sites. This has had a direct impact on the construction of indigenous histories. It does so through an outline of how statutes such as the Declaration of Universal Museums which universalized local histories and artefacts impact the museum space. Meskell (2010) asks what the mantle of "universal human rights" brings to heritage. The Declaration of "Universal Museums' ' (2002) states that museum collections cannot be solely valued, viewed or associated with one ethnic group, locality or country but heritage collections are a universal property with somewhat a universal value to everyone worldwide. This statute provides a neo-liberal account of both history and heritage because it constructs peoples' heritage as a "product " opens for all to acquire (Marskell and Weiss, 2006, p. 94). This is a model common in neo-liberalism's free-market ideology.

Open Interpretation

Sandell (2007) suggests that this universalization of historical artefacts ignores the physical and epistemological historical oppression of African communities by white imperialists. In that regard, the idea of the “Universal Museum " as embodied in this statute is also problematic, in that it opens room for an "open interpretation" of local African collections. Also, universalising archaeology, imposed barriers on the practice of archaeology in Africa, with researchers readily adopting approaches and epistemologies from European and American academic institutions, at the expense of those based in Africa (Pikirai 2015, p. 533). By denying one ethnic group full rights to association with an object, and personal interpretation of objects, the declaration opens up room for different interpretations that can be manipulated in favour of more vocal groups. This becomes a major hindrance to transformation. These further distances marginalized or minority communities from their cultural objects. This does not only apply to African ethnic groups but also to settler societies such as the United States of America and Australia, in which indigenous peoples have been denied a right to govern their archaeological heritage. While, in

the African and Asian context, this was also the case during the colonial period (Ndoro, 1997, p. 132) there is a gap in the literature that addresses how the neo-liberalisation of museums impacts South African museums' content post-colonially.

Lack of funding

According to Meskell, et al (2015, p 423) ‘In 1965, the idea of the World Heritage Trust was first proposed during the White House Conference in the US and the term ‘world heritage’ was coined”. This was followed by the adoption of the Convention Concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO 1972) (Meskell et al, 2015). This convention set up international and collective protection of heritage with prominent universal value (Labadi, 2013). This Convention currently has 191 signatories whose obligation is to protect the past for future generations, for a shared sense of belonging and solidarity (Choay, 2001). The International Council on Monument and Sites (ICOMOS) is among other advisory bodies which have experts to monitor and evaluate the state of heritage sites (Meskell et al, 2015). ICOMOS has been criticized by State Parties for factual errors and Eurocentric bias (Meskell et al, 2015). Also, because ICOMOS relies heavily on UNESCO's contributions it faces a funding crisis.

Their lack of funding is a major problem, making State parties that are signatories to the Convention the most powerful decision-makers in World Heritage (Askew, 2010). The concept of Transformation has replaced the word revolution, a word that stands for a more violent change than reconciliation associated with Transformation. Through the Convention local and indigenous communities involved are curtailed by powerful nation-states (Meskell et al, 2015). "Regardless of the academic debate on global heritage regimes, the statistical incentive to engage in the field of World Heritage continues to expand and it is therefore important to investigate the structural political structures and capillary power networks underlying its processes on the ground” (Meskell et al, 2015, p. 427). This is why questions surrounding the implications of the World Heritage listing on Aboriginal Australians, for example, have been the subject of a three-year study (see Soderland and Lilley, 2015). A shift in economic, social, political, and cultural resources, as well as the formation of improved power structures, characterizes change. In South Africa, the term has been given a positive connotation because it implies a transition from apartheid-era inequality to democracy. The word revolution has been supplanted by the notion of transformation, which denotes a more violent shift than the reconciliation associated with Transformation.

Such studies have not considered South Africa. Legally, Witz (2011) asserts that most of the legislation that is used by African museums was adopted from the ones formulated by their former colonizers yet they don't always concur with the systems and beliefs of the locals. “Alongside ethics, the law has become customary and integral in archaeological field practice and scholarship as well as in cultural heritage management” (Soderland and Lilley, 2015, p 7). Soderland and Lilley (2015) further assert that almost every country has a law governing archaeological activity and cultural heritage management, and in the process, ownership rights over the past. To cite Soderland and Lilley at length:

> A growing list of countries is facing ongoing disputes over the legitimate ownership of archaeological resources and cultural property that was once but are no longer in their possession or jurisdiction or are claimed as part of their heritage by indigenous peoples (p. 7).

More recently, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall have looked into the strange rise in financing for archaeology during the 1970s and 1980s, a time when one might expect the discipline to be suppressed by the government due to the possibility for archaeological records to contradict apartheid ideology.

CHAPTER THREE: THE NEED TO DECOLONISE AND TRANSFORM

Introduction

This section lays out the decolonial theoretical paradigm that was employed throughout the study. It begins by giving a definition of decolonial theories, outlining their genealogy as alternatives to dominant Eurocentric epistemologies. It then concludes by applying the decolonial theoretical framework to the field of heritage and Interpretation studies. The decolonial theory is used in this study to try and debunk how the local commies living within the vicinity of the Mapungubwe site can be part of the knowledge production at the interpretation centre. The book *Safari Nation* by Jacob Dlamini provides a thorough account of how the colonial regime consistently criminalized African behaviour in Mapungubwe, branding behaviours like hunting and charcoal burning as crimes and portraying Africans as "natural ecosystems." Africans were allegedly naturalized by the park in an effort to "rob them of political agency and undermine their claims of political equality," according to Dlamini. It therefore was difficult to define the community at Mapungubwe given its history of forcible evictions. In light of these facts, archaeologists have stated that the Mapungubwe community is made up of ethnic groups with historical ties to the greater Mapungubwe region such as the northern Sotho, other Venda groups, Remba, and People of Shona. These societies have different viewpoints and engage in conflict over rights and ownership of the greater Mapungubwe landscape. These are the groups regarded as the local communities at Mapungubwe. As a result, Mapungubwe offers another illustration of the limited history of heritage management, as local populations that were never seriously engaged throughout the apartheid era. (Chirikure et al, 2010, p35). Chrikure et al, (2010) also empathises that it is incorrect to think of community involvement as a single, uniform activity. This is due to the fact that every location has a very unique local context, which indicates that every location has unique needs. The extent of community involvement should vary depending on the circumstances. For example, the community involvement level at Mapungubwe and at Freedom Park are different, who is also considered the local community is different from site to site.

Theoretical discussions in Africa since the early 1990s have focused on the role of archaeological theory. Questions have included whether the theory was relevant to archaeology in Africa and, if so, what direction it would take (see Shaw,1989; Musonda, 1990) In evaluating current theoretical and practical approaches to archaeology in Africa and in attempting to

predict the future direction of the discipline, it is important to acknowledge the numerous interpretive frameworks that archaeologists use to understand the archaeological record of the continent and, by extension, the broad-based disciplinary identities that archaeology has adopted and evolved (Pikirai 2015 p. 531). One of the criticisms levelled at new archaeology is that it attempts to universalise. New approaches in contemporary archaeology question this universalism by seeking comparative generalisations that explore the diversity of local contexts (Pikirai 2015 p .532). This therefore cannot be specific to the African context.

My theoretical framework seeks to answer the research questions proposed above. Thus, the framework is strongly inspired by the need to interrogate power. In so doing, decolonial theory was employed to unmask the power relations embodied in the politics of heritage interpretation. The theoretical viewpoints used throughout the investigation are laid forth in this part. According to Pikirayi (2015), theoretical debates in Africa have centred on what function archaeological theory plays in communities since the early 1990s. The issue, according to Pikirayi, is whether the theory can be applied to African archaeology and, if so, what course it should pursue. He goes on to say that while common sense is not enough to explain an archaeological practice, theory can assist us to characterise it. The question standing is, “theory should we use?” (p. 533). These are critical problems because theorizing about a discipline, science, or social practice entails taking a privileged position that other local communities cannot afford in response to the same discipline. Pikirayi emphasizes the importance of considering the various interpretative frameworks used by archaeologists to understand the continent's archaeological record and, by extension, “the specific disciplinary identities adopted and developed by archaeology when evaluating current theoretical and practical approaches to archaeology in Africa and attempting to predict the discipline's future course” (p.531). It is also critical to include alternate, 'non-archaeological' theories in this process. Pikirai concurs with this critic of modern Archaeology and highlights that

> One of the criticisms levelled against modern archaeology is that it strives for universality. New techniques in archaeology today question this universalism by looking for comparative generalisations that look at the complexities of local contexts (p.532).

As a result, this cannot be limited to the African environment. Transformation, according to the authors cited in my literature review is a fundamental rupture with colonial and apartheid values, systems, and ideologies which have not completely been erased. They represent a

political attempt to break with the past and be different through social and cultural-political discourse. The fundamental reformation of society at large, which works on several levels, is required for museum transformation. Because the greater social context has not yet repositioned itself in its new framework, it will take time for museums to discover new forms. The process of transformation is still ongoing. It is a cultural transformation, but culture remains a weapon, as it was during apartheid, and it remains an important political platform for the government and other actors to modify social life.

What is Decolonization?

The Decolonization process is a peculiar issue as it has been adopted for intersectoral critical inquiries on a number of research areas such as Race theories, Education, Gender and Sexuality Studies. The decolonisation process can also open up possibilities for museum reinterpretation. Museums face a paradox in terms of restructuring, decolonisation, or transformation, as they have evolved into forums for debate, contestation, and conflict (Abungu,2001). It is often impossible to update museum exhibitions due to a lack of resources and financing, but it is important to reflect not just on what is presented inside museums, but also on how it is communicated to audiences. When the political climate shifted in 1994, the collection aims changed as well, but the material collected stayed the same. The African National Congress (ANC) ‘s ,1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) highlighted that historical and cultural collections must accurately reflect South Africa's cultural legacy, with particular attention paid to the heritage of oppressed people. Merleau-Ponty (2004) depicts the passage of time and relations between Africans and Whites, rather than African heritage. When thinking about time, material culture can be collected and repositioned to reveal the past as a dimension of consciousness. Collections symbolise an ever-changing relationship that is dependent on interpersonal relationships. As a result, the collection is a time-relations archive, which is a significant document for visualising inter-racial connections in and of itself. Understanding collections as a relationship between two groups rather than a representation of one group may aid in the collection's ability to overcome Transformation's challenges.

The collections serve as a record of socio-political events and relationships that can be used to combat racial prejudices. The transformation had to cope with colonial and apartheid-era collection legacies, as well as the portrayal of artefacts that were not created by the people who used them originally. Collections have become a burden for museums, according to Heumann Gurain (2004) and Ames (2004), because little is known about the origins of artefacts and

exhibiting them correctly is challenging. The Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) of 1995 and the White Papers (1996) emphasized *amasiko*[13] as a way to solve this problem and give communities back authority over their history. Traditions, rituals, and practices were identified as vital to the rehabilitation and prosperity of the country (ACTAG 1995).

The first step in proposing the museum's "decolonization" is to define what the term "decolonization" entails, decolonizing entails fighting the replication of colonial taxonomies while also affirming radical plurality (Bhambra, 2014). Understanding the situation museums are in, critically and openly, and identifying those moments that already signal a different form of practice that overcomes or resists colonial conditioning are two forces pulling in opposite directions. Although the term "decolonisation" may look forced in describing these two movements because it implies a return to a pure state "before" colonialism, it appears to be a better fit than the commonly used "post-colonial." When it comes to museum practice and the power imbalance that was previously established through colonisation, the contemporary moment is not ‘post'; it is still very much a part of how European societies are organized. Offering a solution to this problem, on the other hand, will never signify a return, but rather the start of a new chapter. What the ‘de’ then signifies is that it is only by addressing the past and how it still lingers on today, that it is possible to move onwards (Abungu 2001).

Problematising Eurocentric scholarship

Historical and archaeological discourses, according to Fontein (2016), are Eurocentric because they are built on imported concepts of the past and time that were utilized by settler-colonial societies. Archaeology has colonial roots, and it is with this colonial weight that this study is concerned. Through Eurocentric interpretations of archaeological collections, these colonial antecedents can still be seen in African museums today. Pikirai (2015) points out, “In recent years, critics of the Archaeological practice have established new agendas that are politically aware of, sensitive to, and driven by the interests of dying communities” (p. 535). However, as Wintle (2013) highlights, the presentation of African material cultures by Europeans or other cultures, in general, has long been linked to the establishment of empires. Museums have had complicated ties to imperial ambitions since before 1945 (Wintle, 2013). Gamberi (2019)

[13] Amasiko was a critique of previous collecting operations, in which items were seen as static, under-documented, and numb (ACTAG 1995).

concurs and states that museums are “an intellectual institution that originated in the West and is guided by a command logic (also known as Arkheion)” according to Wikipedia (p. 201).

In the same way that they defined and legitimized the elite's ideals, they sprang from the desire to govern the native (Ames, 2004). The elite in most cases often used to refer to white, wealthy and male. As a result, the intellectual chasm that exists here is due to the fact that “relations between exhibition spaces and decolonization politics in the mid-twentieth century are not yet fully conceptualized” (Wintle 2013, p. 185).

Nonetheless, this study uses decolonial theory as a framework for thinking about colonial power connections in South African museums' knowledge systems. This study accepts the notion that the rise of colonialism and imperialism coincided with the emergence of museums and art galleries (Smith 2005). The decolonial turn in this research, does not refer to a particular theoretical school. Instead, as Maldonado-Torres points out:

> It speaks to a group of varied viewpoints that see coloniality as a basic problem in the modern (as well as postmodern and digital) age, and decolonization or de-coloniality as a necessary mission that has yet to be completed (p.2).

Genealogy of decoloniality

The notion of decoloniality dates back to centuries ago, but a brief genealogy elicits the work of Quijano and a number of scholars, thinkers, and activists from Latin America, and more broadly from the Global South, who generate critical theory from a different perspective: that of the colonized and oppressed. The majority of this work comes from or is framed within the Third World, and it is widely regarded as Latin American researchers' most valuable contribution to critical theory, philosophy, and ethnic studies. As a result, it has attracted international interest, gathering numerous contributions from all over the world and forming what has been dubbed a "decolonial movement" or "decolonial shift" in the field of knowledge (Muñiz, 2015.p. 3).

Decolonization is still going on. Smith's position is supported by political philosophers such as Argentina's Walter Mignolo (2013) and Cameroon's Achille Mbembe (2016). Mignolo emphasizes the importance of breaking free from "mental slavery (delinking)” (p,12) as “the way to break free from coloniality”. The decolonial theory aims to re-inscribe histories and views that have been devalued by "radical exercises of un-thinking, de-disciplining, and re-

educating" that reformulate key questions in philosophy, theory, and critical thought. The term decolonial aesthesis/ aesthetics, which has recently gained currency thanks to the work of Argentinian semiotician Walter Mignolo, is the most significant addition in the field of art theory (and his collaborators) (Muñiz, 2015 p.5).

In view of the epistemic decolonization effort necessary to remove the harm inflicted by both modernity and perceiving modernity/coloniality exclusively as modernity, Mignolo draws on Quijano's earlier theoretical work, particularly his conceptualization of modernity/coloniality. He contends that decolonization results from a knowledge of the geopolitics and historical context of information. According to him, information decolonization takes place when people affirm the customs of marginalized groups while also acknowledging the historical and geographical contexts of knowledge. Mignolo is an advocate of a decolonial epistemic shift that enables the understanding of other cultures' histories and ways of thinking before European invasions and uses this understanding as the basis for creating interconnected histories of experiences brought about by those intrusions. Throughout, he urges a dissociation from "modernity's rhetoric" and a reexamination of "modernity's emancipating values from the viewpoint of coloniality" (Bhambra 2014, p.117).

Decolonial philosophy is built on the philosophical, creative, and theoretical contributions of the Global South, not in opposition to or as a result of European grand narratives. Many important decolonial concepts are articulated within Transmodernism, a philosophical and cultural movement founded by Argentinian-Mexican philosopher Enrique Dussel, as well as the work of intellectuals like Martinique-born Afro-Caribbean writer Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) and Martinican Aimé Césaire (1913-2008), who are its historical backbone (Muñiz, 2015 p.7).

Postcolonial and decolonial arguments have been most successful in questioning the exclusivity of historical myths and historiographical techniques that originated in Europe. To far, however, not much has been done to connect the various trajectories of these professions (Bhambra 2014, p.115).

White supremacist epistemologies

From 1960 to 1990, according to Bruce Trigger (1990, p. 316), South African archaeology was "...the most colonial of all African archaeologies." It was conceived by the "white minority elite," whose "relationship with the majority of South Africans remains profoundly unclear"

(also see Shepherd 2005, p. 123). Tony Humphreys, citing the work of Ray Inskeep, Tim Maggs, and Revil Mason during the apartheid era, has argued that categorizing the goals of all South African archaeologists as colonialists is inappropriate. From these challenges, white supremacist epistemologies remain the major stumbling block towards the transformation of African Heritage since certain truths behind black heroic stories in African civilizations remain masked as new interpretations were formulated to hail white hegemony (Witz, 2005) while demonizing blacks. This was meant to promote white dominance which was fully consolidated in the 1950s through the establishment of a formalized and institutionalized apartheid system in South Africa (Minkleyand Westerway,2005). These developments intersected with the systematic exclusion and marginalization of the majority of black South Africans in terms of access to both political and economic power. It is within this system that most of the museums were located, with black South Africans having little to no power and access to interpretation and management of South African heritage under the auspices of the South African museums governing board (Nhlapho, 2003).

The colonial nature of current museums

The liberalization of archaeological artefacts led to the universalization of histories which erases their contextualized framing. Hence artefacts need to be held in their places of origin, with the people who can tell a story behind them, such that a “true” history of humankind will be moulded out of them (Simons, 1987). Because truth in itself is ideal, this research will seek to expose various influences that peoples' positionalities have on history. In that vein, declarations such as the Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums (DIVUM) overlook the concerns of owners of particular historical narratives and how it should be up to them to shape discourses around their origins. This is because DIVUM states that there should be no argument whatsoever to reclaim and reverse ownership of artefacts acquired under violent colonial times (Rassool, 2000). The declaration was only signed in December 2002 by only 18 major museums in the world as a document meant to support the use of power and white rule in the manipulation of heritage issues across the globe (Silverman, 2013). This declaration shows the colonial nature of current museums as another major hindrance to transformation. These dynamics promote the legitimization of western knowledge and interpretations at the expense of local ones.

It is noteworthy that the African continent is grossly underrepresented on the list of UNESCO world heritage sites. Out of 1,031 sites listed internationally, there are only 89 located in Africa. This conspicuous under-representation of Africa speaks volumes about the Influence of European and Western power on heritage issues in Africa. Munjeri (2005) argues that this representation reflects grand narratives of European notions of aesthetics and national identity. Lowenthal (1998) has suggested that this is a sure reflection of the notion that Europeans rate themselves and their heritage as superior hence it ought to be global. That said, little research has been carried out to interrogate this space.

Community participation in site heritage management

Participation entails involving the host communities in various elements of research, such as the planning phase, the research itself, and the interpretation, management, and conservation procedures (Phillips 2008). For example, the Masai have been integrated into the natural resource management of the protected areas within the Ngorongo World Heritage Site, which is another effective example of community participation. In reality, protected natural spaces have played a key role in the integration of the community participation idea (Ndoro 2004). Community involvement also entails balancing the interests of local residents with those of the historic manager. The interests of these parties on the same resource may not always be the same. For example, a holy graveyard or beloved link to ancestors and their stories may be something altogether different for a local community than an archaeological site as a scientific specimen (Ndoro and Chirikure, 2009). Most cultural heritage sites have management challenges that deal with the challenging task of balancing several demands on a property. Community participation, on the other hand, is not just about interaction; it is also about giving local people influence over all areas of heritage, including research and management (Philips et al, 2008). For decades, Aboriginal Australians and Native Americans have rejected heritage managers' half-hearted engagement with questions of power and control in the context of heritage, frequently mocking governmental demands for more authority and influence over heritage. Archaeology, history, and anthropology have all collaborated on projects (Zimmerman, 2005). In Africa, as in Australia and North America, advocacy for acknowledgment of traditional custodial rights and their repatriation to host communities has been one manner of recovering power (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008).

These traditional custodial rights were eroded throughout colonisation, a process that has prevented host people from not only using but also choosing the meaning, use, and future of

their past. Furthermore, community participation and engagement entail utilizing heritage as a financial resource and disseminating the findings of the research through multiple media. These benefits communities not only monetarily but also intellectually, and it is regarded as a long-term method of managing heritage resources since communities recognize their value and hence see a need to protect them (Manyanga , 2003, 2006; Abungu, 2006). Other activities, such as farming, constantly put pressure on the ground where these heritage objects are located. It is consequently critical that local communities benefit from the legacy's use-values; otherwise, the heritage will be perceived as a liability rather than a benefit. It's also critical that heritage managers recognize the diverse expectations that local communities place on a heritage property. Thus, local participation can also imply recognizing that, while a community may not recognize the importance of an archaeological site, it may be valuable to them as a grazing place (Ndoro and Chirikure, 2009). In such cases, the communities are not required to participate in the research or presentation, but they must be incorporated into the area's management to ensure that varied interests are recognized and preserved. Given the tragic history of sub-Saharan local communities' exclusion from heritage management until recently, the discussion of community engagement naturally sparked a lot of hope for heritage managers and communities alike (Ndoro,2000; Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008).

Community participation has been a fundamental demand in heritage projects for many politicians and donors. This is evidenced in the fact that recent management and action plans include paragraphs about the importance of community participation. Despite this, it appears that little effort is made to put such words into practice. When such attempts have been made, the outcomes have frequently been mixed. As a result, it's critical to revisit examples where community engagement has been used in order to learn from them in the future.

While archaeologists and heritage managers may have complete documentation of the graves and associated artefacts and features, the entire process of reburying a relative is very specific to communities and families, so such responsibilities cannot be taken on solely by archaeologists or heritage managers. As a result, Indigenous communities with historical ties to the site were required to take part in the Mapungubwe reburial rites. Participation and involvement in the community become a need rather than a choice in this situation. The present socio-political and historical challenges surrounding land claims, however, make a long-term program of community involvement impossible. Until now, Mapungubwe's community engagement has consisted of delegates from several communities. Given the long period of disenfranchisement of local residents from their ancestry, this involvement appears to be a

positive move. However, it falls short of fully incorporating local populations in the management and growth of the project. This is due to the fact that local residents live outside of the site and are only invited to official occasions. They are usually kept away from the legacy that is contained within the South African National Park land.

The Mapungubwe cultural landscape is now largely acknowledged to extend beyond the present world heritage property and political boundary (see Huffman, 2007; Manyanga, 2007). The Mapungubwe cultural complex is considered to have spanned eastern Botswana, much of southern Zimbabwe, northern South Africa, and south-western Mozambique, according to existing archaeological evidence. Some Venda and Shona communities in Zimbabwe, the Babirwa in eastern Botswana, and the Tsonga in south-western Mozambique have been barred from community engagement at Mapungubwe thus far. These groups do not appear to have been represented among those identified as Mapungubwe descendants. Accepting the historical linkages of these border groups, on the other hand, could be viewed as excusing the illegal mass migration of these and other communities into South Africa in recent years, particularly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Protests have already erupted in South Africa as a result of these immigrants. As a result, involving them in Mapungubwe management could face opposition from rival local organizations.

Local communities would profit from the tourism development of the Mapungubwe area and the wider Trans-frontier cultural area, according to Norton et al (2000), which proposed community tourism development programs (TFCA). Due to the lack of communal land adjacent to Mapungubwe, community participation in its maintenance has been limited. So far, only the local white farmers who are currently using the property near the site, as well as their farm labourers, have been recognized as the community in close proximity to the site (Norton et al, 2000, p.65). The so-called historical local settlements are located distant from the site. According to them, the lack of a local community restricts the political acceptability of the Mapungubwe tourism development initiative. However, this also necessitates making steps to engage populations that were disproportionately left out of colonial and apartheid systems.

According to them, the lack of a local community restricts the political acceptability of the Mapungubwe tourism development initiative. However, this also necessitates making steps to engage populations that were disproportionately left out of colonial and apartheid systems. The consequences of unjust archaeological practice and management in the past continue to haunt heritage planners today. Even though community engagement does not guarantee seamless

heritage management, heritage managers often find themselves in a difficult and compromised situation due to a lack of community participants.

The need to decolonize; applicability to this research

The decolonial theory is employed in this study. According to Maldonado-Torres (2011, p. 2), the term "decolonial turn" refers not to a single theoretical school but rather to a collection of opposing viewpoints that share the idea that coloniality is a major issue in the modern (as well as postmodern and informational) age and that decolonization or decolonization is a necessary but unfinished task. The research approaches the state of cultural heritage interpretation centres in South Africa as sites in urgent need of decolonisation[14]. Such an approach can liberate the cultural heritage interpretation centres' spaces from western centred ideas. The decolonial theory is employed in this study. According to Maldonado-Torres (2011, p. 2), the term "decolonial turn" refers not to a single theoretical school but rather to a collection of opposing viewpoints that share the idea that coloniality is a major issue in the modern (as well as postmodern and informational) age and that decolonization or decolonization is a necessary but unfinished task.

Decolonization challenges the validity of knowledge created by a select few (Western Europe) for the benefit of all people. This viewpoint is asserted by Grosfoguel (2013), who also poses a significant query. "How did they come to monopolise the authority of knowledge in the world?" (p 74) s. It was no coincidence, as Said in Grosfoguel (2013) indicates;

> that decolonisation movements from the early twentieth century onwards triggered a fundamental crisis within Orientalist thought; a crisis that shatters the complacent portrayal of the "other" as passive and docile, and questions the presumptive conceptual structure that underpins such portrayals. (p. 74)

Homi Bhabha thoroughly examines this challenge to prevailing conceptual constructions in his work, which has become fundamental to the larger mission of Postcolonial Studies (Shumar, 2010). His collection of articles, The Location of Culture, covers a wide range of subjects but centres on a dual engagement with social ethics and subject creation on the one hand. However,

[14]After the conclusion of the historical colonial era, it refers to the intellectual, political, economic, and social process of restoring land and life (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015).

Bhabha's (2014) observation that "We must not only change our histories' narratives, but also our concept of what it means to exist" may best summarize the portrayal of current disparities and their historical contexts on the other, on the other, and, of course, the relationships between these elements (p. 116).

CHAPTER FOUR: ENGAGING WITH COLLECTIONS AND THE STAKEHOLDERS

Introduction

Because this study is qualitative, it has been feasible to "examine the quality of connections, activities, conditions, or materials" in order to comprehend social phenomena (Fraenkal and Wallen, 2003, p. 380).

Data collection

Over the past three decades, the interdisciplinary field of heritage studies, which combines the disciplines of archaeology, history, anthropology, palaeontology, psychology, politics, law, religion, environmental studies, literary studies, and cultural studies, has solidly established itself in academia as a component of the postcolonial project of rationalizing the past in the present. Recent years have seen a significant increase in public interest in heritage as both an academic topic and a practice based on fieldwork, as part of the growing societal discourse on culture, identity, and history in South Africa.

This study relied on scribed information (on the items at Mapungubwe) and unstructured interviews. The information presented in the galleries of the Mapungubwe cultural heritage interpretive centre was used in the research. For the interviews, I chose one item from the Mapungubwe traditional heritage interpretive centre. I photographed this item and showed it to the research subjects, who then provided their interpretations. I next made a comparison between the interviewees' interpretation and the data provided by the centre. I was unable to take the participants to the centre due to financial restrictions. I did this by taking pictures of the chosen item from the centre’s collection and showing them to the participants in semi-structured interviews.

I took pictures of these items and showed them to the participants so they could recognize and describe them. To elicit participant reflections on the object, the images were utilized in conjunction with a semi-structured in-depth interview schedule. I was curious to hear their explanations of the object's composition, its historical application, its relevance to the local culture, its traditional indigenous African name, as well as how they were feeling about it overall. I first inquired about the transformational challenges the local community was experiencing in accessing the interpretation centre and having their voices heard in the interpretation of the objects housed at the centre (such as the object) after understanding the relationship of the participants to the object as described above (such as the object I had presented to them).

Interviews

The goal of the research interviews was to learn what the local community's participants thought of the gallery's objects and what they saw as the transformative issues associated with how these things were interpreted. In order to complete the research and respond to the research questions, information gleaned from these interviews was utilised. Several authors, including Sandell (2003), Falk and Dierking (2000), and Wisker (2000), have supported, informed, and commented on the ongoing transition of museums from collection-focused to audience-focused organizations (2001). Three fundamental theories: museums are places for informal learning where visitors construct meaning through cultural engagement (Hein, 1995; Falk and Dierking, 2000); museums should focus on the interests of the local community and be accessible to all demographic groups (Weil, 2007); and museums are places for informal learning where visitors construct meaning through cultural engagement with local communities (Winter 2018).

The goal of the study is to describe, explain, and foresee a social phenomenon (Cohen and Manion, 2007) Wisker (2006) contends that interviews are important because they can elicit information based on thoughts, feelings, and emotions as well as personal experiences and sensitive topics. The importance of interviews in qualitative research studies cannot be overstated because they offer a thorough and comprehensive account of a particular event or circumstance. Therefore, qualitative interviews must be distinct from those employed in quantitative research.

According to Kyle and O'Leary (2006), the goal of the qualitative interviews is to understand the universe of the respondents' experiences, thoughts, and feelings regarding the topic. Commenting in museums acts as a channel for visitor feedback and establishes a line of communication between the organization and its patrons. It also serves as an important research tool (Macdonald, 2005), assisting with the comprehension of the visitor experience, program evaluation, policy and planning, documentation of the museum's work, and grant applications.

By enabling museums to switch from transmission models of learning to social-constructivist models, it helps their efforts to serve as venues for informal learning and meaning-making (Bruner, 1997). By allowing them to switch from transmission models of learning to social constructivist models, it supports visitors' efforts to use exhibitions as informal learning and meaning-making spaces by giving them a platform to interact with exhibition topics and relate to their knowledge and experience (Bruner, 1973). I interviewed several participants that I will

get through the snowball sampling[15]. To guarantee consistency between interview sessions, my interviews followed a script with a set sequence of questions. Potential volunteers were addressed courteously, allowing them to decline without offending them. If they expressed an interest, they were given information about the research study's context and substance, as well as the option to ask questions and have them answered by the interviewer. Before the interview, participants were asked to read and sign a consent form if they consented to participate in the study. Following consent, the interviewer went through a set of predetermined questions, using support materials (for example, images of commenting mechanisms) at predetermined points, asking follow-up questions as needed to further explore the interviewees' views and assumptions, and taking written notes of their responses. The following topics were discussed during the interviews:

- The involvement of the local community in the interpretation of collections.
- The general feelings of the participants towards the collections.
- The make-up, use and significance of the object presented to the community.
- The challenges faced by the community in accessing the interpretation centre.
- Transformational challenges identified by the local community in the centre.

The researcher went a step further in addition to this set of questions. Participants filled out a section on demographic and background information to minimize any potential humiliation. During the interview, the researcher took notes using a custom coding form that was created to swiftly record frequent answers discovered during a pilot study while also allowing enough room for detailed individual responses and verbatim quotes for qualitative analysis. The coding sheet was checked immediately after each interview to augment and clarify notes, as recommended by Winter (2018).

Archival research

Ventresca and Mohr (2017) note that;

> "In their most basic sense, archival operations are those that involve looking over historical records, or things created over the last few decades. providing us

[15]A sampling procedure may be defined as snowball sampling when the researcher accesses informants through contact information that is provided by other informants" (Noy, 2008, p. 330).

> with access to the organizations, people, and events of the distant past that we might not otherwise have" (p.1)

An electronic database is used by the Mapungubwe interpretation centre to store data on all the collections it is hosting. The database contains data on certain collections that are kept in collection rooms and some that are on exhibit. The institutional data that was compared with participant reflections will be available in the database. Only the museum's curators and personnel have access to the electronic database at Mapungubwe. I scheduled an appointment with Dr. Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu to get access to the database. The information provided on the piece and the curator's expertise in that field both had an impact on my decision regarding which thing to choose.

From 1934 to 1940, small containers such as match, cigarette, and rifle cartridge boxes were used to hold things recovered from excavations or retrieved from the surface. These boxes were precisely labelled to produce a permanent record of excavation that could be matched to an inventory. Every object excavated was given an X, Y, and Z coordinate, and the provenance of all archaeological finds was recorded according to a comprehensive grid system. M for Mapungubwe, B2 S3, block 2 sections 3 and A36.R30.D20 can be found on several artefacts and ceramics in the collection.

The letters ARD, when put together, stand for the coordinates and consequently the provenance of each object. The letter "A" stands for the distance from left to right along each segment; "R" stands for the distance from the trench's left side to the right, and "D" stands for the depth from the surface. The exact position of any object concerning its position in a section of the excavation may be easily verified using this method of recording, which uses a simple formula (Gardner,1963, p.3). As a result, museum archaeologists can still trace many artefacts in the collection to the original inventories when curating material from prior digs.

The Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments issued legal licenses for any excavations and the recovery of any archaeological material (1934). The Bushmen Relics Protection Act 22 of 1911 was the first attempt to protect any form of archaeological heritage in South Africa, followed by the National and Historical Monuments Act 6 of 1923, the more inclusive Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act 4 of 1934, and finally the National Monuments Act 28 of 1969. The South African Heritage

Resources Agency (SAHRA), which was established by the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999, grew out of the National Monuments Council. This is the current central legislation governing heritage resource management, including the Mapungubwe collection. Kotze and Van Rensburg (2003) are sceptical of the existing legislation's ability to protect heritage resources, stating that the Act is not without criticism, and questioning if necessary financial and human (own emphasis) resources are available to provide effective protection. The SAHRA's responsibilities are still up in the air. as they constantly display their incompetence and willingness to manage South Africa's heritage treasures effectively (South African) Annual Report of the Heritage Resources Agency, 2008 p.46).

Questionnaires

Questionnaires were useful for having an understanding of who, and where the various collections belonged and attitudes towards presented collections. They were also used in this research to examine the degree to which cultural traditions are preserved. Initially, the questionnaires and the guidance obtained by the informants were based on the premise that questions should be answered neutrally and critically (Klein and Moeschberger ,2003, p. 72). The informants, or respondents, as they are often named, are no longer considered to be members of a specific place and are allowed to answer the questionnaire based on their own experience Salomonsson, 2003, p. 92). Therefore, the purpose and content of the qualitative questionnaires have shifted from positivistic collectivism to interpretative individualism (Klein and Moeschberger ,2003, p. 72). In this study, the questionnaires worked as supplementary to the interviews. Some participants could not be interviewed and these had to be catered for through the use of the questionnaires. The data collected from the questionnaires were then added to the data that was collected from the interviews. While the questionnaires could not provide all the information the participants may have wanted to give, they indicated the general feeling the community had about the collections.

Ethics

‘Ethics can be understood as the need for intellectual reflection on good practice in a particular research context’ (Laurier and Parr, 1999, p.98). Anderson's (1990) principles for using volunteers in research projects guided the researcher's actions during the study. Participants were not compelled to participate or threatened with physical harm. They were assured that no

harm was going to come to them as a result of this research. the data collection and analysis were anonymous, participants were informed about the research's context and purpose, and participants were informed that they could withdraw from the interview at any time and decide whether or not their answers would be used without giving a reason.

An integral aspect of the exploration of new information is qualitative analysis. It is a very helpful addition to quantitative analysis and several studies now include all quantitative studies. In seeking informed consent, I made sure I had prepared informed consent forms that were signed by the participants. I also utilised a model of continuous or process consent, where the researcher reaffirms consent throughout the research process. Participants were invited to read an information sheet before the interview, were allowed to ask questions regarding the research and have them answered, and then sign a consent form. The entire survey instrument, including the script, questions, datasheet, and consent form. Ethical issues such as privacy and confidentiality, informed consent, harm and politics and power and other involvements were seriously considered.

The privacy and confidentiality of the participants were guaranteed and the names of the participants were hidden throughout the research. The participants were assigned numerical figures as representations. The research was cleared through the Ethics Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand with the Ethics clearance protocol number H21/09/31.

Coding

Thematic coding was used to organise data into themes. According to Gibbs (2012, p.2) “Coding is how you define what the data you are analysing is about. It involves identifying and recording one or more passages of text or other data items such as the parts of pictures that, in some sense, exemplify the same theoretical or descriptive idea”. The data were arranged into themes and homogenous colour was used to tag corresponding data in a common theme. “When using paper, coding is done by jotting the code name in the margin or by marking text with colour” (Gibbs, 2012 p.7).

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter discusses findings drawn from archival material, previous studies and interviews. The chapter is thematically organised. The themes discussed assume the following thematic order:

Theme 1: Relevance of local communities

Theme 2: Legitimacy of local community

Theme 3: Land claims and repatriation

Theme 4: Knowledge of local people

Theme 5: The intersection issues

Theme 6: Inequality as a legitimate story

Theme 8: The positive side of Mapungubwe

The section goes through each theme, presents findings and analyses them.

Theme 1: Relevance of local communities

Most African museums were founded during the colonial period, either by colonial authorities or by members of the European elite. In some ways, the Mapungubwe interpretation centre resembles European museums, or at least the way museums are typically conceived in Europe: as a place where the wealthy can marvel at exhibits of exotic artwork belonging to indigenous peoples of the area. South Africa underwent a phase of 'Africanization' in 1994, and today several curators in the Mapungubwe area are indigenous Africans, as are most of the employees. The core layout of museums, however, remains the same: endless glass cases with (often) dusty natural history or ethnographic artefacts. This raises the question of whether this type of exhibit can genuinely meet the demands of today's African museum visitors seeking to understand the story of Mapungubwe. Increasingly, the response is 'no.'

Findings show that the local community believe that the purpose of cultural heritage tourism in community development in Mapungubwe should be to bring people close to the centre and

allow them to participate in the site's activities and interpretation of collections. There is a general belief among locals that Mapungubwe should serve as a relevant site for local communities. In Lowenthal's opinion, modern heritage sites are intrinsically designed to become major sources of employment and revenue (Lowenthal 2005) for locals as well. This is contrary to some sentiments expressed by the participants. The researcher found that a majority of the local community people interviewed felt they were not included any of the activities taking place on the site. Participant 7 a 36-year-old black woman stated:

> *As much as this site is in our community, I do not feel like it is doing anything considerable in terms of exhibitions or programming that includes local people of this area. It feels as if we are being left out (Interview, 2021)*

Participants who reported being engaged and participating in activities, on the other hand, reported benefiting from the site. Participant 10 a 24 black man said:

> *Others might not agree with me, but I have been privileged enough to be able to access this site. I think because of my knowledge of cultural things, Mapungubwe is a place I can engage with. I have instances where I have participated in programs that had financial returns. I think this might not be the same for everyone. I should consider myself lucky! (Interview, 2021)*

This finding demonstrated the existence of a link between community engagement, community participation, and profit from site earnings. This means that involvement in events taking place on the site has a direct impression on what locals perceive to be the benefits of being in proximity to the site. However, Participant 10 also acknowledges that his privilege has placed him in a good position to access Mapungubwe. This shows that class and education have the potential to create different forms of relations to the site

Furthermore, the findings point to a lack of consistency in community participation, as well as a lack of presentation and equitable allocation of relevant positions, all of which speak directly to transparency and effective leadership. Participant 4 noted that:

> *Indeed the site is ours. We are very grateful to the site managers who call us monthly to come and assist them with cleaning up the collections and assisting foreign visitors*

> *in navigating around the site. Remember we know this site better than any of the site managers here. Myself, for example, I grew up about 10 kilometres from where the Mapungubwe interpretation centre was built…. When we grew up the centre was not there but now we get paid to help run the centre…we are grateful there are no work opportunities out there.*

Indeed, the participant appreciates the benefits and relevance of having the site in proximity to where they grew up . South Africa has a pre-existing unemployment deficit therefore the centre's employment of locals seemed highly appreciated. The participants' demographics typically led to the data having more experiences of mostly black, semi-skilled and working participants because of the sampling technique used. On the other side of the coin, it can be argued that participant 4s' sentiments also suggest that his engagement with the site is solely based on the site managers' need for extra hands to run the site when there are large numbers of visitors or tourists. This means the jobs at the centre were not permanent or guaranteed but were mostly taken up on a relief basis. SA World Heritage Sites are required to encourage investment, job creation, and economic, environmental, and cultural sustainability as mandated by law (Carruthers, 2006). While the initial interpretation of participant 4 s' sentiments has been that of viewing the centre as an alternative employment source for locals, it is also another precarious option. This confirms an earlier position that mines, international trade, exploitation of the environment and mankind, and capitalist accumulation form part of the Mapungubwe world heritage centre (Carruthers, 2006).

Participant 4 s' sentiments also suggest that he only assists with the cleaning of collections and not the interpretation of the collections. This means the participant and his community are given jobs that are far less intellectual than they would have loved. The participants' contribution to the centre is confined to physical labour and this consequently relegates them from the space of intellectual labour involved in interpreting collections at Mapungubwe. This is a trend in keeping up with coloniality and colonialism's tendency to view black bodies as physical specimens for hard labour. There is little doubt that there is a lack of stakeholder involvement and engagement at the Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre since findings show that stakeholders now feel alienated from the site's activities. Curator 1 also put it that:

> *The local community is not involved in the interpretation of collections at the site. The centre relies on archaeological research, social history and anthropological research for data collection…. excavations are no*

> *longer allowed at Mapungubwe therefore there are no new materials that the local communities can assist in interpreting.*

According to Carruthers, (2006) heritage and culture are key components of any nation's essential being since they represent the values and traditions of that nation or territory. To move forward and advance, a lack of management, a lack of sufficient appreciation of stakeholders, and taking traditions for granted or interference should be eliminated. Black and brown people particularly if they are impoverished are seen as physical and athletic, while white people are considered the ideal thinkers of humanity. That is why black people working at the centre barely enter the space as interpreters but as helpers charged with the maintenance of the space. This is an observation showing the intersection of race, education and class.

While the centre provides employment opportunities for local black people it can be argued that the site also conceals and facilitates power differentials such as economic inequalities in these communities. Those who participate in official programmes are mainly invited for official ceremonies or functions, Mapungubwe being a National Park' (Chirikure et al., 2010, p. 36). These past findings bear testimony to the deep-seated inequalities found in South African communities particularly black communities in South Africa. In South Africa, poverty and affluence live side by side.

Participant 2 however highlighted that their participation at any level in the events at the centre is non-existent. The participant noted:

> *The villages are far away from the site and we have no idea what is going on because there has been no consultation that occurs regarding the activities happening at the site. We only get to hear about some of these activities through Phalaphala FM…. But usually, that is after the events have already taken place.*

An issue that speaks to the relevance and accessibility of the centre is that of geography and space. It is a known fact that spatial dynamics in South Africa were at the fore of the conceptualisation and implementation of apartheid. It, therefore, comes as no surprise that some local villagers feel spatially and discursively distanced from the site and its activities.

Participant 2 also insinuates that the centre's management does not involve or consult the communities on-site activities, resulting in tensions between the two: This is highlighted when participant 2 mentions, *We are not even told what is happening today or tomorrow for example*. Apart from that, the management was accused of lacking accountability and transparency on

critical issues such as who benefits from the site's revenues, how much revenue is made, and how the funds are spent or distributed. This leads to a lack of trust among the communities and implies that there is no equitable allocation of relevant tasks among the groups. The absence of trust stirs up suspicion towards institutions set up right next to black people. This suspicion seems to assume a divide and rule tactic in that it makes participants feel like the centre favours other people at the expense of others. For instance, participant 1 noted:

> *My brother, it is sometimes useless to go and work there even if it's removing weeds from the park or cleaning the collections….it seems to me that these people (the site managers) have their people that they pay more to do the same work …..imagine some of the people I used to work with there are now driving cars while we are still struggling to earn a decent living….I might be wrong but I don't think everyone is paid the same there.*

This quote exposes some of the exploitation that takes place at the centre. However, this might also be an indication of the educational differences between people in these communities. It appears that the less education one has, the less relevant the centre becomes for those individuals. Some may choose to argue that educational background is a justifiable criterion to use to decide who gets a higher salary. Yet, it can still be argued that this is a colonial construct that cannot justify the unfair allocation of benefits between external people working in the centre at the expense of locals. Perhaps, more training programs that can equip local people to come on board are necessary and feasible in mitigating this discrepancy.

Illuminating the importance of the locals, Participant 1sheds lighter on the role the local community plays when engaged by the centre:

> *My brother, how do you ask for more money when you do not even know what your job description is? We just do as we are told……my father was working here before I joined him, but he died not knowing exactly what his role at the centre was* (Interview, 2021)

When duties are established and distributed properly, the local community benefits. This can be implemented through a wide range of interventions such as training, workshops and skills upgrade allowances for local people to pursue further education and return to work for the centre. However, because participant 1 revealed that the local community is unaware of the site's products and services, there is no general indication of the existence of such initiatives. According to Keitumetse (2014), educating local people has the advantage of creating a certain

level of knowledge regarding their involvement and engagement in the site, as well as the meaningful contribution anticipated from them. As a result, through the people and conservation departments, this gap can be addressed if the park gives knowledge about current cultural heritage tourist products or services, most likely through roadshows and seminars in the local language. This can be taken a step further with formal education, workshops, and short courses aimed at stakeholders who will be serving in various roles. Lack of knowledge can lead to avoidable but serious difficulties that stifle progress. Curator (1) gave a very good recommendation regarding the education of the local communities:

> *They must be educated and trained, according to my viewpoint, to engage in and contribute to heritage management choices…. I view them as heritage managers, especially from a traditional standpoint …. They just need to be empowered. They have a deeper understanding of the terrain, its values, and how it has influenced their way of life.*

Without education or training, the centre is irrelevant to most local black people. The other findings show that participants feel that the community should be part of the key decision-makers on what happens at Mapungubwe. Participant 9 stated that: '*We live far from the site, and we are also not seen as important. We are just black people living next to an important site that is all to them.'* Economic benefits are strongly related to the descendant or local community's representation on committees, local community consultation and engagement, including an active museum forum, economic benefit, and protocol input. This shows that a lack of community participation and engagement may result in a dysfunctional connection between the park and the surrounding communities. There is a general lack of inclusion for locals in important decision-making. This could also be because 'the rigid and bureaucratic criteria of the nomination procedures for World Heritage status are unable to fully incorporate the complexity of the layers of cultural interest around Mapungubwe' (Carruthers, 2006, p. 6). Their prescriptions do not provide a directive on how locals can be incorporated into key managerial or administrative arenas. Therefore, the call for community involvement in key decision-making is a valid one.

Participant 3 a 28-year-old black woman living close to the site stated:

> *I do not think we have ever been consulted on the most important issues like top management. What we are given is an illusion that we are participating in deciding things like developments, but our voices do not*

> *really matter. When we are consulted the information is inaccessible because it is usually passed in English (Interview, 2021)*

While the top management might think they are being inclusive, they often fail to address the accessibility of the information they pass to the community members. Chirikure et al, summarise this dynamic:

> So far, community participation at Mapungubwe has taken the form of involving representatives of the different communities. Given the many years in which local people were disenfranchised from their heritage, this involvement would seem a positive step. However, it does not go very far in actively involving local communities in the management and development process. This is because local communities live away from the site and are only invited for official functions. Most of the time, they are kept away from the heritage which is within the South African National Park property (2010, p. 36)

Against this backdrop, this study argues that community participation in decision-making is critical but often neglected. South African National Parks (SANP) are recognized for their good conservation and management records. However, they have come under fire because of a conservative ethos that has marginalized local communities and Africans more generally, from the national park enterprise (Carruthers, 2006). The SANP can also be criticized for neglecting its legal duty to conserve the cultural, historical, and archaeological aspects of protected areas, as, by law, it must value these aspects (Carruthers, 2006). In principle, participation in heritage does not refer only to engaging communities but also to giving them power over heritage research and management (Chirikure, Manyanga, Ndoro and Pwiti, 2009). This is what the local authorities have missed.

There is no denying the fact that local black people feel disenfranchised as far as planning and programming at Mapungubwe is concerned. Participant 7 told the researcher that: "*we are simply told that we are needed at the centre for an event or work without even being consulted on the events or work taking place there. Imagine being summoned to come to bury your mother without being informed that your mother is dead in the first place."* This example by the interviewee shows the degree of entitlement that the authorities have in Mapungubwe. Experiencing invitations as a summon is partly informed by the underlying power dynamics

between stakeholders. These sentiments need to be addressed. The next theme will narrow down to the archive and politics of interpretation.

Theme 2: Legitimacy of the local community

There is also evidence that the local community members are not seen as a legitimate archive for local history and knowledge. This follows comments by both curators and interviewees that expose the undermining of locals who have historical objects through being constantly asked to surrender these to the centre. This delegitimization of locals as a legitimate archive can also be seen in the minimal reliance on folklore to tell the history of Mapungubwe. Folklore, according to Keitumetse (2006), is an oral method of expressing the values and socio-cultural of a group. Participant 1 posited that '*we as indigenous people of the land know the history of this area, but we do not usually have the opportunity to share the stories passed on to us by our ancestors with visitors.'* In his response, Participant 1 considered Mapungubwe an ivory tower, privatised in form with a lot of misconstrued historical accounts legitimised as truth. This research argues that the marking of institutionalised historical accounts as truth in contrast to oral history is an outcome of coloniality's tendency to relegate non-western canons of knowledge.

It is apparent that power determines which differences make a difference. Being local bred knowledge, the orally passed stories are marked as different in a manner that colonial powers that be cannot endorse. Indeed, if knowledge has not been penned down or digitally captured it is seen as inadequate. This confirms Terry Cook's (2010) statement that archives are perceived as discourse, metaphors, symbols, and manifestations of power, as sites of human inscription and intentionality, and as sites of contested memory. Oral accounts passed on by black bodies are scarcely acknowledged as legit historical archives. Rankian-type definitions of archives and the influences of colonialism and imperialism are rejected by the "decolonization of archival methodology" trend (Tiley-Nel, 2018, p. 1-2).

This is despite the position by Schoeman and Pikirayi that:

> Fluid group membership involved in the negotiation for the return of human remains from Mapungubwe meant that it would be difficult to exclude any claimants. It was therefore agreed that conflicting oral traditions should be viewed as equal, even when not supported by

> archaeological data. This acceptance of multivocality resulted in a joint claim by representatives of the Mapungubwe descendants (2011, p. 389)

This assertion shows that some mixed feelings and approaches have been adopted by different individuals concerning oral history and claims. There is of course the ethical question of the reliability of oral claims to a space, where no written records have been kept.

According to the findings of this study, some of the artefacts thought to have been excavated from Mapungubwe are in the custody of some of the descendants. Curator 2 noted that:

> ……. *we have been in constant contact with some of the local community traditional leaders that are still keeping some of the artefacts excavated here at Mapungubwe. Some of them are just reluctant to give us back the artefacts and some claim to be using these for their own rituals.*

This reveals a lack of confidence between the site's managers and the local villagers who claim to use these artefacts in customary ceremonies. This demonstrates apprehension that they would lose the artefacts if they are turned over to the authorities, raising concerns about the current level of preservation of assets on the site. It also raises concerns regarding the descendants' community and its leaders' access. According to Keitumetse (2014) and Kurin (2004), communities that are educated about their geographical location's comparative advantage and the potential economic gains of conserving cultural heritage assets (such as relics, monuments, sites, and landscapes) are more likely to value these assets in a way that strengthens relationships between people and managers. It was important to also investigate the issue of access to address existing ties and ritual objectives, as well as to convince the descendants that the artefacts are safe and that they will see the artefacts again. As far as Mapungubwe is concerned; there is relatively little oral history available to learn about the social and historical relationships of the people who lived in the areas surrounding Mapungubwe before the colonial conquest (Ralushai, 2003). Hence people's accounts ought to be recognised and recorded.

Another issue emerging from the curator's plea for locals to submit their artefacts is that of institutionalisation. The curator's comment supposes that these artefacts are unsafe or invalid in the hands of some of these locals; this points to the broader problem where indigenous people are not legitimate entities for the protection and interpretation of their artefacts. The curator sounded like he was looking down on the use of these artefacts to form rituals as if it is an evil

practice. However, the reality is that the formalisation of Mapungubwe denies local people access to it as a site of ritual ceremonies and processes. If anything, the opposite is true- it is not the locals robbing the site of its artefacts, but the site robbing the people of their artefacts and cultural fabric. Curator 2 notes the politics that exist in the naming of the descendants and stakeholders at Mapungubwe. Site ownership issues are still visible in the interactions between the visitors and the local community.

> *They reject to be referred to as stakeholders, preferring to be referred to as descendants rather than stakeholders, because if they are referred to as stakeholders, they become just like everyone else, and an interested party. They don't only have an interest there; they believe they own it, and that this land never belonged to the Boers* (Curator 2, interview, 2021)

Over the last century, the military, mining in the neighbouring areas and conservation land use have all added to the mix. While this historical background points to the difficulties in finding the authors and the actual communities that lived there before the colonial conquest, it is important to recognise the current communities living around the entire Mapungubwe landscape. In a bid to try and involve the local indigenous communities, it would seem appropriate for this researcher to recognize the Vhangona, Twanamba, Leshiba, Machete, and Lemba communities (for example) as the indigenous communities since these are some of the communities that have put forward land claims around the site. A core principle in heritage management is to realize that local communities play a vital role in identifying and conserving heritage items. These communities are involved in the process of identifying heritage values and heritage management. Their engagement in the management of the Mapungubwe cultural landscape (MCL) is a hot topic, but one that is not adequately addressed in the management strategy of the Mapungubwe interpretation centre.

The delegitimization of locals as an archive also expands the disregard for intangible heritage at Mapungubwe. Participant 1 raised a very critical point related to the lack of acknowledgement and respect for intangible heritage at Mapungubwe. For example, traditional ceremonies such as rainmaking ceremonies are conducted at important graveyards and sites. These burial sites may as well have currently served as important ritual posts for rain-making ceremonies being led by the local communities, but this is not the case at Mapungubwe. Most of the local communities are not even aware of where exactly some of the graves are located. Intangible heritage may only be considered heritage when it is recognized as such by the

communities, groups, or individuals who produce, maintain, and transmit it. Failure by centre officials to incorporate graveyard locations as part of heritage restoration renders the graves intangible and essentially invisible. Without acknowledgement of the graves, no one else can declare that a particular expression or practice is part of their history. Participant (1) notes that '*Some of the re-buried materials for example were buried at a secret place where even us do not know. We would appreciate such graves being acknowledged.'* These graves are a missing piece of the puzzle that interviewees like participant 1 feel ought to at least be remembered in narratives at Mapungubwe. This was further collaborated by Curator 1 who pointed out that *'the repatriated human remains from the University of Pretoria and the University of Witwatersrand were buried in different places and some were buried at a secret place within the park.'* The curator recognises the invisibilisation of graves that took place in the translation of artefacts during the institutionalisation of Mapungubwe.

Theme 3: Land claims and repatriation

Widespread dispossession has taken place in the area currently known as Mapungubwe. 'As in many parts of southern Africa, colonial and apartheid land policies moved local communities away from their heritage' (Shadreck et al., 2010, p. 34). However, some of the black locals feel like this history of dispossession has not been taken seriously by authorities. One of the respondents, a Vhenda black man known here as participant 11 stated: *'I was born during a time when these land claims have been topical, till today nothing has happened. Yet activity continues at Mapungubwe as if the situation is normal.'* On historical and archaeological grounds, the communities that have claimed them appear to be deserving of serious consideration (see Huffman 1986, 1996, 2000, Huffman and Hanisch 1987). Because MCL is part of South Africa's national estate, there has been a discussion between the University of Pretoria and other stakeholders about control, ownership, management, repatriation, and restitution of the cultural and skeletal remains.

The main point of contention is SAHRA's demand that the university manages the process of returning the artefacts and skeletal remains to Mapungubwe on behalf of the communities most closely associated with the landscape, which the university can also do. The university has agreed in principle that it is not opposed to the process, but there is a lot of groundwork to be done if this conversation is to become active. There has never been a claim filed under any provision of the National Heritage Resources Act, which should set a precedent and lay the groundwork for best practice. This shows a lack of compatibility between what the site stands

for (African renaissance) and what is happening on the ground. Indeed, several paradoxes abound in modern South Africa, and some of them take shape around Mapungubwe (Carruthers, 2006).

In 2004, the topic of repatriation and restitution of Mapungubwe and K2 cultural artefacts, as well as human skeletal remains, gained traction. The Resources Act of 1999, which took effect in April of 2000, is a federal law that regulates the use of natural resources. For the first time, an interactive and integrated system was introduced to heritage resources in South Africa, and local communities were given more power in the management and development of the project. Preserving their cultural heritage following established national and international guidelines and worldwide standards to follow. Section 41 of the Act stipulates that publicly supported institutions curating mobile historical artefacts enter into agreements with bodies or communities with a legitimate interest in doing so. Some Venda, Tsonga, Tswana, and Shona groups have been asking for the artefacts to be returned and the human remains to be reburied since the middle of 2004.

These human remains are referred to as “their ancestors” by them (own emphasis). These communities have instructed their traditional leaders to collaborate with UP and SANParks in researching ways to manage the process, in what is poised to be a precedent in heritage management. The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), formed under section 11 of the Act, is responsible for promoting the nation’s interests in heritage matters. In matters of cultural heritage, it is also the final arbiter. Due to this legislative and administrative development, certain South African research institutions directly connected with Mapungubwe were forced to take aggressive measures to address the issue of cultural artefacts and human skeleton remains stolen from the sites. Since the early 1930s, scholars from the University of Pretoria have collected tens of thousands of artefacts, including pottery and glass beads, from Mapungubwe and nearby sites (Fouche 1937, Gardner 1955, 1956, 1963, Eloff 1979, Meyer 1998). Some of the most valuable artefacts from the site, including the famed gold rhinoceros, are housed in the Mapungubwe Museum, which opened in 2000.

Indeed, the reason behind the relocation and unearthing of graves that locals would ideally use to lay claims on the land was caused by orientalism which led to tampering with sites that could have been used to show who occupied the land before the arrival of white people. Yet the continued lack of acknowledgement of indigenous habitation of Mapungubwe before the arrival of colonists subtly confirms the empty land myth. This is a myth that before the arrival

of white people the land was empty, an untrue assumption. ‘The discipline of History became the Afrikan battleground and, not surprisingly in the paradigm of Afrikaner Nationalism and the ‘myth of the empty land’, Mapungubwe was political anathema’ (Carruthers, 2006, p. 7).

Human skeletal remains from Mapungubwe (12 individuals, 3 of which were connected with gold items) and K2 (81 individuals) are housed at the university’s Department of Anatomy (for further information, see Steyn 1995,1997, 1998). Henneberg and Steyn 1994, 1995; Steyn 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, Steyn and Henneberg 1995a, b; 1996, 1997) who have done extensive research on these remains, and there is yet room for more. Many feel that the university has held onto the remains for long enough (over 20 years) to carefully explore ethical problems surrounding reparation and reburial. It’s crucial to understand community sensitivities resulting from earlier researchers’ treatment of these remains (see, for example, Lestrade 1937, de Villiers 1968, 1998, and Rightmire 1970). This dimension is mainly absent in South Africa, and there is much to be learned in this area from other nations (see Green 1991’s questions on ethics). As part of their outreach effort, research institutes must be proactive in questions of reparation.

Due to the pre-existing dispossession and capitalist domination of whites by blacks, the profitable land in Mapungubwe is either owned by the authorities or by white people. According to Sinthumule (2006), Mapungubwe National Park has 10 game farms owned by whites, which are not managed by South African National Parks (SANParks) or the Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCA). ‘All commercial farmers that were interviewed claimed Mapungubwe to be the best agricultural area in South Africa as the soil is fertile, water is abundant from the Limpopo River, and good climate conditions (the area is free from frost and it is dry and warm) which make it favourable for farming. Farmers claim that the citrus and vegetables produced in the Mapungubwe area are of good quality that they export to Europe with good economic returns. As a result, farmers have no intention of giving up their farms to conservation’ (Sinthumule, 2016, p. 128). During an interview with a commercial irrigation farmer 3 in Mapungubwe, South Africa on 9 January 2012, Sinthumule found that the assessment that Mapungubwe had the best agricultural land in the country was a leitmotif. For instance, the interviewee said:

> *The soil and climate in this area are conducive to growing vegetables and citrus. Citrus fruits and vegetables are not affected by insects because the area is dry and warm and receives just a little amount of rainfall. Frost*

> *is also not common in Mapungubwe, making the area ideal for planting vegetables, particularly tomatoes. The area also has an abundance of water for irrigation from the Limpopo River. You cannot suffer from hunger in this area (Sinthumule, 2017, p. 69)*

In keeping up with decolonial or radical economic transformation thinking, it can be argued that these white people flourish by owning land that was gained during the mass forced removals of black people during apartheid. 'Some game farmers are also not comfortable to be part of either Mapungubwe National Park of GMPP because they fear losing their only source of income which is derived from game hunting and live game capturing' (Sinthumule, 2016, p. 129). The maintenance of this structure through respect for these property rights leads to a further entrenchment of black people living right next to these farms with lesser land and employment opportunities. This way the current arrangements at Mapungubwe bear witness to the race and class injustices founded on South Africa's apartheid past. The last bit of the white farmer's response stating that 'You cannot suffer from hunger in this area' disregards the impoverishment of black people taking place right next to the farmer's affluence. His narrative is a single story, not entirely representative of the entire population of the Mapungubwe area. Therefore, while black people ponder over issues of bread and butter, on a higher level, the conversation is scarcely about social justice through the inclusive use of Mapungubwe. Rather, farming and conservation are competing for the same piece of land and the competition has yet to be resolved in the area (Sinthumule, 2017). In Mapungubwe, the dispute over geography is emblematic of the contest over who is entitled to claim "ownership" of certain areas and how land is used and governed. It is too simplistic to assume that different parcels of land under various tenures can easily be integrated into TFCAs and other conservation areas (Sinthumule, 2017). It is an argument that erases the relevance of indigenous people who continue to lay claims over this region.

Theme 4: Lack of knowledge about Africans

In an interview with participant 6, he exclaimed, '*why should we be told about our history or let it be explained to others by people who know nothing about us black people'* (Interview, 2021). According to Shepherd (2003), the practice of African archaeology by archaeologists without having any knowledge about or desire to learn about African people was perfectly normal. Locals in Mapungubwe distrust interpreters and interpretations as a result of white archaeologists' historical predominance, the use of ceramic designs to identify ethnic groups,

and designs that depict Africans as members of bounded, tribal entities (Schoeman and Pikirayi, 2011). Curator 1 also attested to this issue, stating:

> *Most of us working in this field have little to no knowledge of the local culture in places where we work. We are in effect custodians and mediators of a culture we do not belong to. I would suggest training locals work in these areas where they are born and know what that is all about (Interview, 2021)*

Curator 2 is a black man. However, being black does not necessarily guarantee that one will have sufficient knowledge about a particular culture. If anything, coloniality is a theory that unpacks the contradiction of how black people can become transmitters and executors of colonial paradigms. Such is the work of coloniality and what has been termed the racist gaze. Lessons on coloniality teach us that the global hierarchies of power set up 450 years ago demarcating European/Euro-American metropoles and non-European peripheries did not disappear with the end of colonial administration (Grosfoguel et al., 2015). Rather, they are now mediated by black people who occupy higher classes from their so-called lesser counterparts. proves to be simultaneously "alluring" and "frightening"' (Hammett, 2014, p. 223). This gaze is not only externally deployed but it is also deployed within Africa by African leaders and curators. There is a need to hold a more complex image of African heritage and its curators through an analysis of the colonial undertones in both inter and intracontinental messages between curators and visitors.

Theme 5: The intersectional issues

Another area scarcely considered with the Mapungubwe centre relates to the effects that authority mining activities have on intangible heritage materials. Participant 8 a 60-year-old man who indicated he belonged to the Vhangona people stated:

> *We were not consulted when the mining started. The authorities were mainly concerned with preserving what they could see but forgot that the very land and those who lie underneath it are all ancestral connections. This means we and them hold different cultural values and ways of interpreting the land and that underneath. When we drink beer during our traditional ceremonies, we pour out some to the ground to our ancestors. It is them that they have disturbed here (Interview, 2021).*

The statement by participant 8 bears witness to the connections between locals and the land. It is beyond agriculture but concerns ancestry and burials. This is not a peculiar finding. Findings by Swanepoel and Schoeman confirm these sentiments. They state that:

> There does not appear to have been adequate consultation with regard to aspects of intangible heritage and community interests. It is likely that many of the Farming Community sites that will be destroyed by mining activity will contain burials. There appears to have been a lack of consultation on this issue with local communities and more generally with local communities about aspects of intangible heritage in the area in which the Vele mine will be located. This lack of consultation with all local communities is of particular concern since the 2007 DEAT-led reburial of the human remains from the Mapungubwe area highlighted how deeply the archaeological past resonates with contemporary communities.The human remains previously excavated by archaeologists were not seen as just bones, but rather as ancestors who were displeased about being moved from their resting places. It is probable that the communities will view the mining-related exhumation of graves and bulldozing of burial places in the same way (Swanepoel and Schoeman, 2010, p. 2)

Leonard and Lebogang (2018) also observed a similar concern. They noted that before mining took place local perceptions of mining activities in the area were a concern, including what the government and the mining industry have done to prevent mining from impacting sensitive sites and tourism (Leonard and Lebogang, 2018). The reason for resistance against the unearthing that takes place during mining is not only that of the potential tampering with burial sites. It is also a matter of how the Mapungubwe landscape is organically set, and community members and some archaeologists alike agree that the landscape should be left in its natural state. Participant 4 responded to this issue by discouraging any external mining to be allowed in the area:

> *You see my brother; it is only that we are powerless. However, this land is connected to the site itself as well as other features such as the hill and the wildlife. When people come here to mine, they disturb the balance of*

> *nature. No company should be allowed to come here and disturb the natural flow of things* (Interview, 2021)

Indeed, the participant is worried about nature and the ecosystem at Mapungubwe. This is a similar concern raised by Leonard and Lebogang (2018) in their position that an archaeological and historical site such as Mapungubwe is not only valuable due to the physical site but also due to the landscape around it. However, scholars like Carruthers (2006) have critiqued the hegemonic interpretation of Mapungubwe as a site that was built on environmental awareness:

> Mapungubwe is not natural, but an environment constructed to reflect the society that utilised it. The driver of the original society was the use, exploitation and maximisation of natural resources to reinforce social, political and economic values (Carruthers, 2006, p. 11)

If anything, Mapungubwe's hill site was an accumulation of land moved from elsewhere. Therefore, the essentialist interpretation that the site is natural is another misinterpretation that requires revisiting. Carruthers (2006) refers to Mapungubwe as:

> An appropriate symbol because it salutes an early modern, technologically advanced state and economy that existed in the region long before the era of colonization. In common with modern South Africa, therefore, Mapungubwe had a commercial system with ramifications worldwide. The values encapsulated in this cultural landscape are modern, capitalistic and international (, p. 4)

This interpretation allows us to view Mapungubwe as a hub of power, the subjugation of nature, people and enemies. That way it is not a site that was inhabited by backward people, frozen in time, but by innovative individuals, imperfect and going through life just like any other civilisation. It is through a step in this direction this research argues that we can bypass the essentialisation and stereotype of precolonial African lives. As Shephard (2003) argues archaeology has a 'history of political implication' and has created more myths than it has dispelled.

Theme 6: Legitimacy of inequality

A few people rarely consider precolonial class and gender dynamics in precolonial African societies. This is however a fruitful and relevant target of inquiry. There are different

interpretations held of the meaning of class and gender in Mapungubwe. According to Carruthers (2006), there is some irony in the fact that in southern Africa, Mapungubwe is celebrated as an example of early class distinctions. Mapungubwe society did not become class-divided according to invading communities dominating one another, it did so organically as the result of inequitable control over resources by a few who expanded their power over the many (Huffman 2000 p. 20–27).

Acknowledging that inhabitants of Mapungubwe debunk the myth of the empty land often pushed in western colonial discourse. This is an orientalist discourse that positions black people as closer to nature. It is a discourse that makes black people appear naïve, and lacking agency to dominate and rule people, territory and nature. The history of the African content is one of dehumanization and attribution of blackness with barbarism and incivility. The colonization of South Africa was built on the perpetuation of the myth that when white people arrived in South Africa it was an 'empty land.' 'The myth of "empty land" is an ancient strategy to alter the history of human habitation of the land for ideological purposes' (Cezula and Modise, 2020, p. 4). Such myths seek to make precolonial black seem like non-factors that had no proximity to civilization or any form of social organization.

It is appropriate to claim that a land is "empty" (of human habitation) when people living there are not treated as human beings and are instead treated as animals. (2010) Cezula and Modise. They also seek to make believable the white lie that black people have been historically incapable of governance making the white man the epitome of leadership. This can be captured in van Riebeeck's words where he referred to the Khoisan as '"dull, stupid, and odorous" and as black "stinking dogs"' (Magubane, 2007, p. 182). 'In the coverage of African countries and peoples, one "fact" that explains much of African events is rooted racially in notions such as "blackness," "primitiveness," and "savagery" (Fair, 1993, p. 10) Fair (1993, p. 5) shares how for her students 'Africa is: "a basket case," "jungle-covered," "big game, safari, "impoverished," "falling apart." among other things. Here, both fact and fiction are used to regard black Africans and Africa as the other. 'African postcolonial interactions and colonial occurrences in Europe. Their modern, media-based conception of Africa is heavily influenced by cultural processes that have shaped the "Other" construction of Africa throughout history. (Fair, 1993, p. 6). Hence it can be argued that acknowledging that Mapungubwe had some sort of politics is a step in the right direction in terms of showing that blacks are also capable of governance. This does not however mean that this researcher endorses any form of violence that took place in the area in the name of governance. It is a position simply meant to show that

pre-colonial African states like Mapungubwe had some form of governance. In other words, the area was not an empty land.

Theme 7: The positive side of Mapungubwe

While it is easy to get carried away with all the negatives that have taken place as far as Mapungubwe and her archiving are concerned, there is also a need to take note of some of the progress that has taken place. All archaeological and historic locations, as well as the mobile objects associated with them, have been inventoried and are kept up to date. Communities can lodge land claims of ownership of the Mapungubwe catchment area. There are a lot of these land claims from different parties, in fact (Chirikure et al 2010, p. 35). For instance, the Vhangona, Twanamba, Leshiba, Machete, and Lemba all assert to have resided close to Mapungubwe at one point or another (van Warmelo, 1940). In December 1998, the Machete community filed a land restitution claim under the Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act No. 22 of 1994) on properties declared as part of the park, as well as those that were under the park's management but not owned by the park, based on agreements signed between the park and the landowners.

The Machete Land claim was judged to be valid by the Regional Land Claims Commission in December 2008, following the conclusion of the study process, and the Bathwamapa Ba Ga-Machete Communal Property Association was registered to possess and manage land on behalf of the Machete Community. On many of the lands claimed by the Machete Community, the Tshivhula Community filed a counter land restitution claim. The validity of the claim is being investigated by the Regional Land Claims Commission. It is worth noting that the land claims process has been extended until June 30, 2019, which could result in more claims being filed against the park. The fact that there is no ongoing relationship between people and place in Mapungubwe should be emphasized. The property is not occupied by a contemporary community that could assert an organic connection to it. As was already established, there is no oral history of the establishment or demise of the places between the years 900 and 1300 AD. Mapungubwe celebrates an alien but African culture for contemporary black and white South Africans. Thus, it is an undisturbed spiritual and cultural landscape, analogous in this regard to another South African World Heritage site, the much older hominid fossil deposit at the Cradle of Humankind near Johannesburg.. Mapungubwe's symbolism can be seized by a variety of groups and interested parties, and because it is shared by so many people, it can serve as a model landscape for South African reconciliation and nation-building. It can also be used

to predict current political and economic results, as well as fulfil a variety of contemporary objectives unconnected to its original purpose.

The rigorous and bureaucratic criteria of World Heritage candidacy procedures are unable to adequately encompass the complexity of the layers of cultural interest surrounding Mapungubwe. Early European ideas of Africa and Africans, which mythologized the continent as rich with superstitious and barbarous behaviours, populated by people who were backward or primitive, are one of the narratives that are excluded. Until the 1920s, Europeans were hesitant to admit that the sophisticated walled sites between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers, such as Great Zimbabwe and others, might have been built by Africans. Phoenicians, Romans, Hebrews, Dravidian Indians, and other outsiders have all been given credit for their creation at different times. Indigenous Africans were only properly accepted as the designers of these magnificent sculptures after British archaeologist Gertrude Caton-work Thompson's on Zimbabwe in the late 1920s (Caton-Thompson1931; 1939). As previously stated, the Limpopo valley on the South African side in the 1920s was primarily made up of private land, with farms ranging in size from 3 000 to 3 000 hectares that the state had sold under exceptionally favourable conditions. The Van Graan family were settlers, and J.C.O. van Graan was a student at Pretoria University.

Mapungubwe interpretation centre is already dealing with the issues of the twenty-first century, such as decreasing government funding, poor visitor numbers, static exhibitions, and high staff turnover, to name a few. Some difficulties, such as government funding and 'brain drain,' are beyond the museum's direct control. Museums in Africa, on the other hand, can and are tackling some of the other issues. New exhibitions and teaching programs are being launched to attract more visitors, and the role of the centre as a neutral location for interchange and debate among individuals of many nationalities and religions is becoming increasingly important. These are more community-driven and geared to address relevant social issues.

Conclusion

This section has highlighted the most outstanding themes that came out during this research. In total, seven themes were identified. The first theme shows the mixed feelings associated with the question of Mapungubwe’s accessibility to local people. The relevance of the site to participants depended on one’s class and educational background. This motif connects to other themes in the way it speaks to the need to realise the difference in the black population of locals

impacted by the site and its activities. Overall, the first seven findings reveal the need to adopt a more nuanced understanding of what constitutes inclusive practice. Outstanding of which is acknowledging that inclusion and transformation are not just about scratching the surface. Rather, they are both about addressing the deep-seated structures that lead to the discrediting of majority-black people inhabiting and servicing the area. Transformation and inclusion at Mapungubwe should go beyond box-ticking to implementing programs that ensure the infinite involvement of disenfranchised black people in the site and community's processes. Examples of this include education and training programs that can bring the locals on board across various departments. There has also been considerable progress in the area of claims and repatriation. However, there is evidence that more can be done to ensure more inclusive processes. In the next section, the research will provide recommendations for future research and practice on the topic.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

This research has in part tried to deal with the general idea of transformation and inclusion from a decolonial standpoint. It has shown the different stages of the development of the museum and heritage industry in South Africa. Overall, the research has sought to show evidence that the foundations of the South African heritage industry are deeply embodied in colonial practice. Therefore, while there have been changes over the years since the country's democratisation in 1994, there is still a lot of work to be done. This is because the overall set-up, structure and performance of museums and heritage sites are carried out through western frames. Therefore, even black African curators in the industry judge or have their effectiveness judged using western standards. This makes the current museums- 'museums in Africa', not 'museums for Africa.' There is no denying the fact that this leads to the erasure, omission and marginalisation of black people from spaces that represent the history of their own traditions and culture.

Using the coloniality heuristic meant that the research calls for a much deeper interpretation of coloniality. This interpretation moves from viewing coloniality as something that only white bodies mediate, but also considering how black people, systems, norms and structures are a part of the enforcement of coloniality. For example, black curators may be unconscious agents of western ways of doing heritage, archives and museums. This has been shown in the findings.

Another important issue that came out in this research involves the (re)interpretation of Mapungubwe itself. This research shows how and why Mapungubwe is at the centre of numerous debates on who its original occupants are. Nonetheless, this question has not born any results as there is a lot of confusion around the different claims that have been made. Indeed, Mapungubwe is a mystery, an absent present and a contradiction. This is because it is a kingdom that was historically built on organised class systems. Today, it seems to represent the same for a lot of disenfranchised participants this researcher interviewed. Ever since mining companies started digging in Mapungubwe, some locals have used traditional interpretations to discourage this activity. These traditional interpretations include the idea that diffing and unearthing leads to the displacement of their forefathers' graves. Some have also raised the environmental dangers such activities cause in Mapungubwe. However, the irony lies in the fact that Mapungubwe was built on many environmentally toxic practices such as the moving of soil from different areas to the hill.

Such interpretations are important for locals because they show the agency of Mapungubwe's inhabitants. The research argues that western constructs of African history usually forward a false claim that the continent was empty land when they arrived. These claims ignore the sophisticated organisation of black groups living in such precolonial cities. Just like the Shona of Great Zimbabwe, the Mapungubwe people pursued a very organised level of domination, governance and civilisation. These truths were raised by most participants who took pride in the intelligence exhibited by their forefathers. By interpreting their cultural artefacts as evidence of gross civilisation, the participants also deny the empty land myth. Therefore, local interpretations of the archive are also important because they are an opportunity for black South Africans to reclaim their superiority.

The research findings have also shown why the term archive is a contested term. In one of the themes, the researcher argues that oral history circulating among the black locals is not considered a legitimate archive. Although at some point, oral tradition has come to be regarded as more important than other tangible artefacts, locals feel like it is not held with the highest degree of trust from those who the centre considers educated.

For this research, the matter of the originators of Mapungubwe was out of the question. The major focus here was on how contemporary black people living in the area benefit from the site. This inquiry raised several issues including the employment dynamics at play among the locals. While they admitted class and education still play an important role in how people experience the site. Most uneducated people will most likely do menial jobs at the centre while those with more education can be involved in curation and interpretation. Overall, it is argued that to be excluded from the interpretation of one's history is to be discursively ostracised and disenfranchised. In the next section, the research will make a list of recommendations based on each theme that was dealt with in the research.

Recommendation 1: Make Mapungubwe accessible to local communities

This recommendation suggests that authorities and managers should try to pay attention to the needs of local people to make the site relevant to local communities. Making Mapungubwe relevant involves evaluating Mapungubwe's social, economic and political contribution to the local community. Examples of such efforts include permanent employment creation, localised interpretation of archives, consultation of locals in important decisions and programming and

actively pursuing coalitions with locals in the running of the site. That way, Mapungubwe can benefit its people in a similar way that platinum benefits the Royal Bafokeng[16] people.

Recommendation 2: Include the community in key decision-making

Some participants indicated concern over the lack of representation at the top level. There is a need for locals to be included more in important decision-making instead of being incorporated in programs and events once decisions have already been made.

Recommendation 3: Consider the local people a legitimate archive

There is a tendency to exclude oral narratives from mainstream representation and narratives on groups of people. Black people have for years mediated their history through oral accounts. While writing has been a major historic way of sharing stories in highly civilised African traditions, the commercialisation of written material was largely a colonial construct. Therefore, the absence of written evidence on African cultures became a lucrative territory for epistemicide which is the killing of local pieces of knowledge. If the site is to be more inclusive or become a facilitator of transformation it needs to consider the local people's accounts a legitimate archive. This legitimisation of oral accounts seems to have been useful in some claim processes that have occurred to date but there is no denying that more needs to be done in this regard.

Recommendation 4: Ensure compatibility between land claims, repatriation and action

While a lot of promises have been made on different claims and repatriation cases, there has been little to no action. The literature and findings section has shown that claims and repatriations submitted to the authorities take time to be addressed. Therefore, more effort and efficient processes need to be applied in this regard.

Recommendation 5: Ensure that hired authorities and practitioners know African stories

[16] A traditionally run community in the North West Province which now has $4 billion worth of financial assets from proceeds of their platinum reserves. This comprises a 13% stake in Impala Platinum, a 51% stake in Royal Bafokeng Platinum, their own platinum mining and processing company, and stakes in the financial services, telecom, real estate, and transportation industries. Proceeds are shared equally amongst the community,(Cook,2013).

This recommendation speaks to the idea that most people working in the knowledge field of heritage are hired on account of their qualifications without any consideration of their knowledge of various local contexts. It is therefore advisable for authorities and practitioners to either be equipped with practical knowledge of the society they will be operating or for sites to hire locals. As has been argued earlier, training and workshops can assist locals to be a part of the storytelling machinery of heritage in their respective communities.

Recommendation 6: Recognising the connection between mining and heritage

Indigenous interpretations of environmentally hazardous activities such as mining consider such activity as a threat to burial sites and graveyards. Mining is seen as an activity that takes away from the importance of the land following tradition. For instance, some land is ancestral land, and its exploitation may disturb existing hidden graves that nevertheless inform locals' beliefs and culture. Inclusive heritage management in the area should consider the best ways forward that strike a balance between resource exploitation and heritage preservation.

Recommendation 7: Realising politics and inequality as a legitimate story of Mapungubwe

The story of Mapungubwe should not be romanticised because such romanticisation serves colonial logic. By revealing some of the politics and inequities in Mapungubwe, storytellers can show how the Mapungubwe inhabitants had agency and power to rule, dominate and govern. The idea is that this move helps debunk the myth of the empty land that has been used by colonialists to grab the land from locals. Indeed, the story and interpretation that reveals that Mapungubwe was an actual civilisation are important. These are stories that are usually passed on through oral tradition.

Recommendation 8: Seeing Mapungubwe as a symbol of the African renaissance

The hope is that realising politics and inequality as a legitimate story of Mapungubwe will allow people to see Mapungubwe as a symbol of the African renaissance. While this is a pre-existing idea that has been propelled by South Africa's former President Thabo Mbeki. Mbeki argued that Mapungubwe is evidence of the effective architectural craft of black Africans. By applying all the above recommendations, Mapungubwe can stand as an example of South Africa and the continent's civilisation, governance and technological capabilities.

Summary of research limitations

The limitations of this research include the lack of sufficient time to conduct more interviews. More time would have allowed the researcher to conduct more interviews with curators and other sections of society. The other limitation was funding. It is indeed difficult to conduct succinct fieldwork with little funding. However, to mitigate this factor, some of the interviews were conducted during the researcher's work-related travel to Limpopo. The other limitation was the issue of the language barrier. However, thanks to the presence of a translator who translated and transcribed the interview, this challenge was mitigated. However, the researcher was worried that some wording and meaning would be lost in translation.

Research gaps and propositions for future research

There are several research gaps that this research observed. The first research gap is the absence of research documenting the exploitation of local black communities living alongside main heritage sights. There has been little in terms of empirical outputs documenting the quotidian experience of black South Africans who live in communities in which important heritage sites exist.

The second research gap is literature problematising why local community oral traditions are not seen as legitimate archives according to mainstream heritage practice standards. There needs to be literature showing how museums can ensure best practices that can mainstream oral history and interpretations. This will help produce and capture organic stories of important heritage sites like Mapungubwe.

Lastly, there is still a lacuna in the literature that shows the liminal space between African pasts and futures and how these liminal spaces can be used to reimagine and reinterpret the present. For example, while it is easy to see the romanticisation of Mapungubwe's history as justified, one can also critique this interpretation for reinforcing racialised perceptions of black people. For example, seeing the previous inhabitants of Mapungubwe as innocent may also serve to represent them as ignorant and lacking in organised governance. These are therefore colonial interpretations that need to be rewritten.

Suggestions for praxis

Praxis is the space where practice meets theory. It is the space where one can move from theorising to acting. Below are the research's suggestions for praxis to practitioners

- Ensure inclusive approaches
- Always reflect on how our conduct can lead to further exclusion
- Invent innovative ways of dialoguing with communities
- Re-define our meaning of transformation from box-ticking to actual action
- Distinguish between transformation and structural adjustment for inclusiveness

Recommendations for practitioner

A lot can be drawn from this research to produce recommendations for practitioners. This is important because practitioners are at the fore of spearheading and implementing any initiatives that shape the heritage landscape in Mapungubwe. The research came up with 4 important recommendations. These are:

1. Maintain original names of objects

One of the major concerns that arose concerning the issues of the language used in the naming of the objects. This includes the question of to what extent local languages are legitimately considered to be a part of the narrative around Mapungubwe. A concern arises on how local languages enter the discourse around the centre and site. For example, it may be that when native names are tagged on objects, they serve to fulfil a certain kind of gaze towards local objects. For example, the local names on objects can be italicised meaning they are subject to interpretation and linguistic translation. This is a translation without which these objects appear strange to the viewer.

This gaze that constructs native naming as strangeness is a result of the language norms that set English as the norm and tradition in the heritage world. This norm makes other languages appear strange and this is indeed an issue that requires further attention. For example, the illustration below shows the issue at hand:

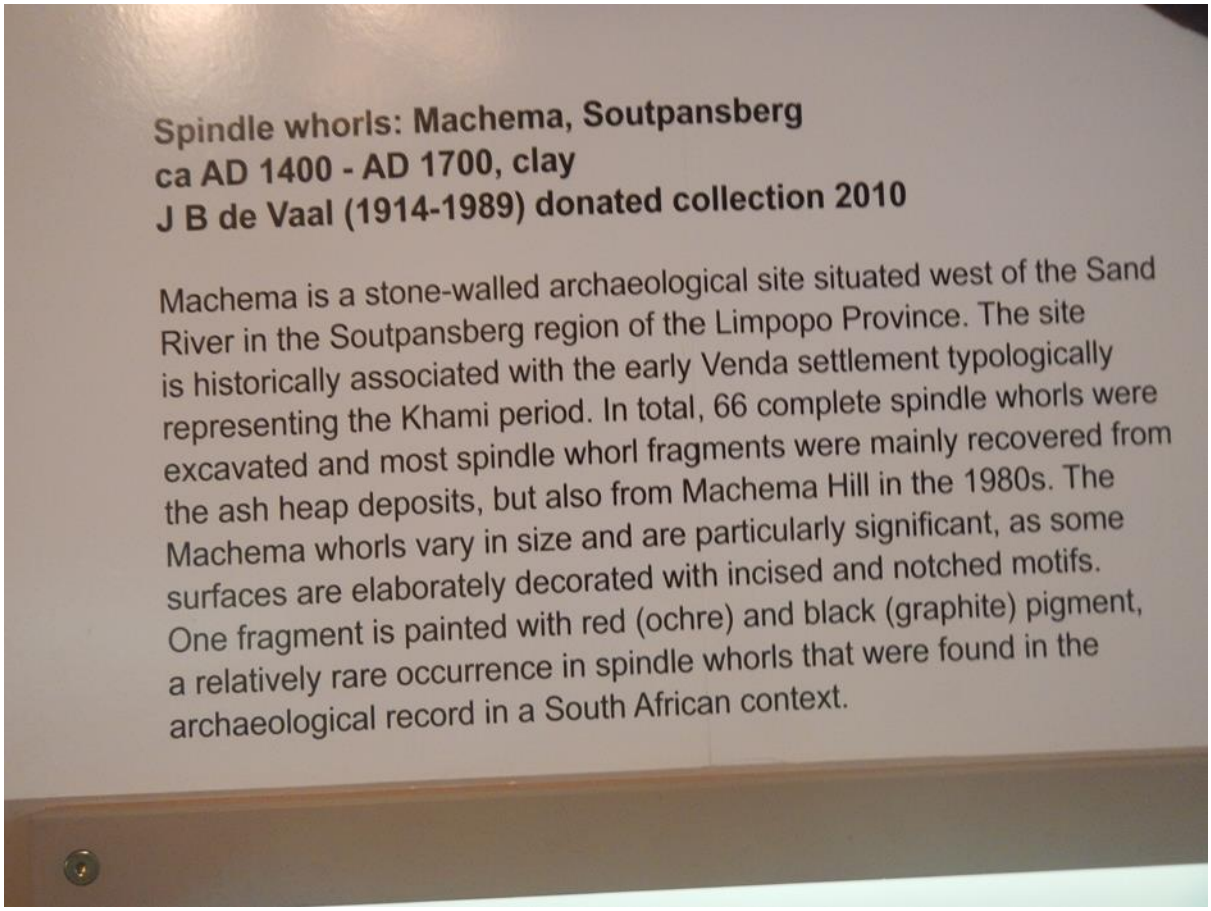


Figure 6: View of the description scribed on a Spindle Whorls from Machema hill at the Interpretation centre

A person reading on the above object may assume that it has no indigenous connotations due to the object shown.

2. Admit ignorance (Ask local people if one does not have knowledge on a subject)

One of the things that professionals need to admit is their ignorance about certain issues. It is also okay for practitioners to ask the local people if they do not have knowledge about a particular issue. This will help to contextualise some content or objects better. While it is true that there are no single custodians of Mapungubwe's history, it can be argued that public opinion deliberation or lekgotlas that determine the accuracy of certain representations are important. However, the reality on the ground suggests that qualified heritage personnel and practitioners exist in an ivory tower of knowledge. This means that some practitioners render the information they learnt in institutions of higher learning as the beginning and the end of knowledge.

This is another outcome of coloniality which mainstreams classroom knowledge while disregarding socially generated knowledge. This shows the importance of decoloniality as a tool for the critique of hegemonic heritage practice.

3. Train and mentor local people in the field

The issue of empowering local people is important. It may be important for locals to re-evaluate the way they invite local people to the heritage site. For example, one may ask the question of whether locals are being brought on board as content creators, content consumers or simply facility caretakers. If it is the latter, then there is a need for practitioners to realise the organising colonial principle that enforces the endurance of the fact that most uneducated black people belong to the margins of knowledge construction- even in content about their culture. Therefore, while training and mentoring may seem like economic initiatives at face value, they are at their core decolonial initiatives with a significant influence on the lives of black people.

4. Advocate for socially just initiatives in the community

Advocating for socially just initiatives is one of the ways practitioners can begin relating to their communities. This involves taking up approaches that are public relations conscious. Such approaches acknowledge the community's problems and take them up as part and parcel of the centre's challenge to tackle as well.

REFERENCES

Abungu, G., 2006. Practicing archaeology in eastern and southern Africa: coming of age or the indigenization of a foreign subject? In: R. Layton, P. Shennan and P. Stone, eds. A future for archaeology. London: Left Coast Press, 143–157.

Ahmad, S., Abbas, M. Y., Taib, M. Z. M., & Masri, M. (2014). Museum Exhibition Design: Communication of meaning and the shaping of knowledge. Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, 153, 254-265.

Ames, M. M. (2004). Museums in the Age of Deconstruction. Reinventing the Museum: Historical and contemporary perspectives on the paradigm shift, 81.

Arinze, E.N. (1998). African museums: The challenge of change. Museum International 50 (1) 31-37.

Aldrich, R. (2020). Memorials and Museums. Postcolonial Realms of Memory: Sites and Symbols in Modern France, 68, 159.

Bennett, T. (1995). The multiplication of culture's utility. Critical Inquiry, 21(4), 861-889.

Bell, I. M., Clark, R. J., & Gibbs, P. J. (1997). Raman spectroscopic library of natural and synthetic pigments (pre-≈ 1850 AD). Spectrochimica Acta Part A: Molecular and Biomolecular Spectroscopy, 53(12), 2159-2179.

Bhambra, G. K., Gebrial, D., & Nişancıoğlu, K. (2018). Decolonising the university. Pluto Press.

Bhabha, H. (2014). Freedom's Basis in the Indeterminate. In *The identity in question* (pp. 47-61). Routledge.

Bruner, E. M. (1997). Ethnography as narrative. Memory, identity, community: The idea of narrative in the human sciences, 264, 280.

Buss, J. L. (2018). From homestead to roadside to gallery: The social life of late twentieth century and early twenty-first century Zulu ceramics.

Blakemore (2019) History : The Harsh Reality of Life Under Apartheid in South Africa century and early twenty-first century Zulu ceramics. Retrieved:20 July ;https://www.history.com/news/apartheid-policies-photos-nelson-Mandela

Carruthers, P. (2006). The architecture of the mind. Oxford University Press.

Carruthers, J., 2006. Mapungubwe: an historical and contemporary analysis of a World Heritage cultural landscape.Koedoe, 49(1), pp.1-13.

Cezula, N. S., & Modise, L. (2020). The" Empty Land" Myth: A Biblical and Socio-historical Exploration. Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae, 46(2), 1-21.

Chirikure, S., Manyanga, M., Ndoro, W., & Pwiti, G. (2010). Unfulfilled promises? Heritage management and community participation at some of Africa's cultural heritage sites. International Journal of Heritage Studies, 16(1-2), 30-44.

Choay, F., & OConnell, L. M. (2001). *The invention of the historic monument*. Uppsala: Society of Archaeology Uppsaliensis.

Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1995), Research Methods in Education, 4th ed., Routledge, London.

Cook, S. E. (2013). Community management of mineral resources: the case of the Royal Bafokeng Nation. Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, 113(1), 61-66.

Coombes, A. E. (2006). Ethnography and the formation of national and cultural identities. In The myth of primitivism (pp. 176-198). Routledge.

Corsane, G. (2004). Transforming Museums and Heritage in Postcolonial and Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Impact of Processes of Policy Formulation and New. Social Heritage.

Davison, P. (1991). Material culture, context and meaning: a critical investigation of museum Practice, with particular reference to the South African Museum

Damousi, J. (2002). History matters: The politics of grief and injury in Australian history. Australian Historical Studies, 33(118), 100-112.

De Sousa Santos, Boaventura (2010) Epistemologias del sur. Mexico: Siglo XXI.

Desai, D. (2010). The challenge of new colourblind racism in art education. Art Education, 63(5), 22-28.

Delmas, A., & de la Pena, P. (2019). Introduction: Towards a history of archaeology from South Africa. South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series, 12, 1-7.

Dubow, S. 1995. Scientific racism in modern South Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Du Preez, H. M. J. (2004). Museums in a constitutional state: a case study: Session 3: evaluating transformation. South African Museums Association Bulletin, 30(1), 37-42.

Dlamuka, M. C. (2003). Identities, memories, histories and representation: the role of museums in twentieth century KwaZulu-Natal (Doctoral dissertation).

Dlamini, J. S. (2020). Safari nation: A social history of the Kruger National Park. Ohio University Press. museums in twentieth-century KwaZulu-Natal (Doctoral dissertation).

Fair, J. E. (1993). War, famine, and poverty: Race in the construction of Africa's media image. Journal of Communication Inquiry, 17(2), 5-22.

Fanon, F. (2008). Black skin, white masks. Grove press.

Falk, J. H., Dierking, L. D., & Adams, M. (2006). Living in a learning society: Museums and free-choice learning. A companion to museum studies, 1, 323-339.

Fouché, L. (1937). Mapungubwe, ancient Bantu civilisation on the Limpopo; reports on excavations at Mapungubwe (Northern Transvaal) from February 1933 to June 1935. Cambridge, University Press.

Fontein, J. (2016). *The silence of Great Zimbabwe: Contested landscapes and the power of heritage. Routledge.*

Fraenkel, J. R. & Wallen, N. E. (2003). How to design and evaluate research in education. (5th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill Inc.

Jack A. Johnson-Hill. (1998). Seeds of transformation: discerning the ethics of a new generation. Cluster Publications.

Gardner, G. A. (1963). *Mapungubwe. v. 2, Report on excavations at Mapungubwe and Bambandyanalo in Northern Transvaal from 1935 to 1940. Pretoria: Van Schaik.*

Gamberi, V. (2019). Decolonising Museums: South-Asian Perspectives. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 29(2), 201-218.*

Gore, J. M. (2004). A lack of nation? The evolution of history in South African museums, c. 1825–1945. South African historical journal, 51(1), 24-46.

Golding, V., & Modest, W. (2018). Thinking and working through difference: Remaking the ethnographic museum in the global contemporary. In Curatopia. Manchester University Press.

Gramsci, A. (2011). Prison Notebooks Volume 2 (Vol. 2). Columbia University Press.

Greenhill, E. H. (1992). Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge. Routledge.

Grosfoguel, Ramón (2013) "The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities:

ECentury," Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge: Vol. 11: Iss. 1, Article 8 pistemic Racism/Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long 16th

Grosfoguel, R. (2015). Epistemic racism/sexism westernized universities and the four genocides/epistemicides of the long sixteenth century. In Eurocentrism, racism and knowledge (pp. 23-46). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Gurney, K. (2018). Zombie monument: Public art and performing the present. Cities, 77, 33-38.

Gibbs, M. (2012). The convict system of New South Wales: A review of archaeological research since

2001. *Archaeology in Oceania*, *47*(2), 78-83.

Hammett, D. (2014). Tourism images and British media representations of South Africa. Tourism Geographies, 16(2), 221-236.

Hall, M.(1996) "Archaeology Africa". Cape Town: David Philip.

Hein, G. E. (1999). The constructivist museum. The educational role of the museum, 2, 73-79.

Heleta, S. (2016). Decolonisation of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa. Transformation in Higher Education, 1(1), 1-8.

Henneberg, M., and Steyn, M. (1994). Preliminary report on the paleodemography of the K2 and Mapungubwe populations (South Africa). Human Biology, 105-120.

Henneberg, M. and Steyn, M., (1995). Pre-Columbian presence of treponemal disease: a possible case from Iron Age southern Africa. Current Anthropology, 36(5), 869-873.

Henneberg, M. and Steyn, M., (1996). Skeletal growth of children from the Iron Age site at K2 (South Africa). American Journal of Physical Anthropology: The Official Publication of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, 100(3), 389-396.

Huffman, T.N., 2007. Handbook to the Iron Age: the archaeology of pre-colonial farming societies in Southern Africa. Cape Town: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press.

Huffman TN (2000) Mapungubwe and the origins of the Zimbabwe culture. South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series 8: 14–29.

Huffman, T. N., & Hanisch, E. O. (1987). Settlement hierarchies in the northern Transvaal: Zimbabwe ruins and Venda history. *African Studies*, *46*(1), 79-116.

Hughes, A. J. B. (1950). The Copper Miners of Musina and the early history of the

Zoutpansberg.(Ed.) NJ van Warmelo. 1940. Pp. 201, 8 plates.

Hirst, K. K. (2014) Mapungubwe (South Africa). African Iron Age Polity in South Africa.

Kehoe, A. B. (1989). Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins. Colin Renfrew. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Keene, R., & Wanless, A. (2002). Transformation: lifting the veil: session 8: museology and the implementation of museum policy and practice. South African Museums Association Bulletin, 28(1), 43-45.

Keitumetse, S. O. (2014). Cultural resources as sustainability enablers: Towards a cmodel. Sustainability, 6(1), 70-85. community-based cultural heritage resources management (COBACHREM)

Klein, J. P., & Moeschberger, M. L. (2003). *Survival analysis: techniques for censored and truncate data (Vol. 1230). New York: Springer.*

Krawczyk, N. R. (2013) Pesquisa Comparada em Educação na América Latina: situações e perspectivas. Revista Educação Unisinos, São Leopoldo, v. 17, n. 3, p. 199-204.

Kurin, R. (2004). Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a critical appraisal. Museum international, 56(1-2), 66-77.

Kyle, G., & O'Leary, J. T. (2006). Perceived constraints to art museum attendance. In Proceedings of the 2006 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium (pp. 459-468).

Kotze, L. J., & Van Rensburg, L. J. (2003). Legislative protection of cultural heritage resources: a South. African perspective. *Law and Justice Journal*, *3*(1), 122-141

Labuschagne, P. (2010). Monument (al) meaning making in the" new" South Africa: Freedom Park as a symbol of a new identity and freedom?. South African Journal of Art History, 25(2), 112-124.

Labadi, S. (2013). UNESCO, cultural heritage, and outstanding universal value: Value-based analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions.

Laurier, E., & Parr, H. (1999). Emotions and interviewing Environment. *Ethics and Place*, *3*(1), 98-102.

Lavine, S. D., & Karp, I. (Eds.). (1991). Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display. Smithsonian Institution Press.

Leonard, L., & Lebogang, T. (2018). Exploring the impacts of mining on tourism growth and local sustainability: The case of Mapungubwe Heritage Site, Limpopo, South Africa. Sustainable development, 26(3), 206-216.

Lestrade, G. P. (1937). A Practical Orthography for Tswana. Bantu Studies, 11(1), 137-148

Lowenthal, D. (2005). Natural and cultural heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 11(1), 81-92.*

Macdonald, I. G. (1998). Symmetric functions and Hall polynomials. Oxford university press.

Madiba, P. (2003). Personal Communication from CEO of South African Heritage Resources Agency and delegate to UNESCO debates on Intangible Heritage Convention, 8 July 2003

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2011). Thinking through the decolonial turn: Post-continental

Magubane, Z. (2007). Mohamed Adhikari. Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community. Athens: Ohio University Press,

Mamdani, M. (2016). Between the public intellectual and the scholar: Decolonization and some post-independence initiatives in African higher education. Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, 17(1), 68-83.

McGee, J. L. (2006). Restructuring South African Museums: Reality and Rhetoric within Cape Town. New museum theory and practice: An introduction, 178-199

Mamdani, M. (1997). Makgoba: Victim of the 'racialised power'entrenched at Wits.

Manetsi, T. (2007). Can intangibles be tangible?: safeguarding intangible heritage in the new management for living heritage (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Town). South Africa: towards formulating policy for the conservation and sustainable

Manyanga, M., 2003. Intangible cultural heritage and the empowerment of local communities: Manyanga (Ntaba zi ka mambo) revisited. Proceedings of the 14th ICOMOS General

Manyanga, M. (2006). *Resilient Landscapes: socio-environmental dynamics in the Shashi-Limpop Basin, southern Zimbabwe c. AD 800 to the present (Doctoral dissertation, Arkeologi).*

Mandela, N. (1997). Renewal and Renaissance: Towards a New World Order: a Lecture GStudies. iven in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford on 11 July 1997. Oxford Centre for Islamic

Mignolo, W. D., & Escobar, A. (Eds.). (2013). Globalization and the decolonial option. Routledge.

Namono, C. (2021). Curation as Engagement: Boulder Exhibits at the Origins Centre, South Africa. Critical Arts, 35(4), 22-43.

Ndoro, W., 2000. Your monument our shrine: the preservation of Great Zimbabwe. Uppsala: Societa Archaeologica Uppsaliensis.

Mbembe, J.A. (2016). Decolonizing the university: New directions. Arts and Humanities in Higher Education, 15(1), 29-45.

Mbeki, T. (1998). The African Renaissance: South Africa and the World (Vol. 9). United Nations University.

Meskell, L., Liuzza, C., Bertacchini, E., & Saccone, D. (2015). Multilateralism and UNESCO World Heritage: decision-making, States Parties and political processes. International Journal of heritage studies, 21(5), 423-440.

Morganroth-Schneider, J. (1990). Albert Memmi and Alain Finkielkraut: Two Discourses on French Jewish Identity. Romanic Review, 81(1), 130. Assembly, 27–31 October, Victoria Falls.

Moro-Abadía, O. (2006). The history of archaeology as a 'colonial discourse'. Bulletin of the History of Archaeology, 16(2)

Meyer A .(2000) .K2 and Mapungubwe. South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series8: 4–13.

Murimbika, M. (2006). Sacred powers and rituals of transformation: An ethnoarchaeological study of rainmaking rituals and agricultural productivity during the evolution of the Mapungubwe state, AD 1000 to AD 1300 (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand).

Munjeri, D. (2005). The National Heritage Trust Draft Amendment Bill 2002 of the Republic of Mauritius. In *Legal frameworks for the protection of immovable cultural heritage in Africa (pp. p-33).*

Muñiz R, I. (2015). Thoughts on curatorial practices in the decolonial turn. Broadsheet Journal. 45(2): 14-18.

Mignolo, W. (2008). Theory, Culture & Society 2009 (SAGE, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, and Singapore), Vol. 26(7–8): 1–23.

Minkley, G., & Westaway, A. (2005). The application of rural restitution to betterment cases in the Eastern Cape. *Social dynamics*, *31*(1), 104-128.

Matondi, P.B., Havnevik, K. and Beyene, A., 2011. Conclusion: land grabbing, smallholder farmers and the meaning of agro-investor-driven agrarian change in Africa.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2015). Decoloniality Is the Future of Africa. History Compass, 13(10), 485-496.

Ndlovu, N. (2009). Transformation challenges in South African archaeology. South African Archaeological Bulletin, 64(189),91-93.

Ngcobo, A. (2018). The Politics of Representation in South African Museums. ICOFOM Study Series, (46), 147-166

Norton, P., et al., 2000. An overview of tourism development potential in the Mapungubwe area. Unpublished report from the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Pretoria.

Noy, C. (2008). Sampling knowledge: The hermeneutics of snowball sampling in qualitative research. International Journal of social research methodology, 11(4), 327

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). Research methods in education (Sixth). Oxon: Routledge.

Coetzee, C., & Nuttall, S. (1998). Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa. Cape Town: Oxford UP.

O'Doherty, B. (1999) Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 55

Ouzmen et al 2003. Encountering an encultured nature: some edifying examples from Indigenous Southern Africa, National Museum of Bloemfontein.

Pastor-Makhurane, J. (2002). Khwezi ka Mpumlwana, Gerard Corsane, Juanita Pastor-Makhurane and Ciraj Rassool. Museums, society, inequality, 244.

Philips, M., Zachariah, R., & Venis, S. (2008). Task shifting for antiretroviral treatment delivery in sub- Saharan Africa: not a panacea. *The Lancet*, *371*(9613), 682-684.

Pistorius, J. C. (1999). Spatial identity and expressions in a stone-walled complex on Kroondal. South African Journal of Ethnology, 22(3), 116-128.

Pikirayi, I. (2015). The future of archaeology in Africa. Antiquity 89 (345): 531-541.

Prah, K. K. (1999). Introduction: Production and reproducing knowledge in racist South

Africa. Knowledge in Black and White, the Impact of Apartheid on the Production and Reproduction of Knowledge, 1-15.

Pwiti, G. (1996). Let the ancestors rest in peace? New challenges for cultural heritage management in Zimbabwe. Conservation and management of archaeological sites 1: 151–160.

Rall, M (2018) "Across time of three South African San exhibitions: reflecting on coBulletin 40.1 11-22.lonialism, apartheid and decolonisation." South African Museums Association

Rassool et al. (2000). Skeleton in the Cupboard: South Africa Museums and the Trade in Human Remains 1907 – 1917. South African Museum. www.iziko.org.za

Ralushai, M. (2007). Experiences of women working on the mines: A case study from Rustenburg Platinum Mines. University of Johannesburg (South Africa).

Rodéhn, C. M. O. (2008). Lost in transformation: a critical study of two South African museums (Doctoral dissertation).

Rightmire, G. P. (1970). Bushman, Hottentot and South African Negro crania studied by distance and discrimination. American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 33(2), 169-195.

Said, E. (2008). Imaginative geography and its representations: Orientalizing the oriental. In The cultural geography reader (pp. 369-376). Routledge.

Sandell, R. (2003). Museums and the combating of social inequality: roles, responsibilities, resistance. In *Museums, society, inequality* (pp. 23-43). Routledge.

Santos, P. M. (2018). The other in us: Representation of black African identity in Portuguese social space. Journal of Anthropological Research, 74(4), 468-484.

Schoeman, M. H., & Pikirayi, I. (2011). Repatriating more than Mapungubwe human remains: archaeological material culture, a shared future and an artificially divided past. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 29(4), 389-403.

Schnapp, A. (2002). Between antiquarians and archaeologists--continuities and ruptures. Antiquity, 76(291), 134.

Schlanger, N. (2002). Making the past for South Africa's future: the prehistory of Field-Marshal Smuts (1920s-1940s). Antiquity, 76(291), 200-209.

Shackel, P. A. (2003). Archaeology, memory, and landscapes of conflict. Historical

Archaeology, 37(3), 3-13.

Sheppard, P. J. (1990). Soldiers and bureaucrats: the early history of prehistoric archaeology in the Maghreb. A history of African Archaeology, 173-188.

Schebesta, P. P. (1931). Zimbabwe Culture. Ruins and Reactions. By G. Caton-Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1931. 25s. Africa, 4(4), 512-515.

Shumar, W. (2010). Homi bhabha. Cultural studies of science education, 5(2), 495-506.

Simpson, M. G., (2001). Making representations: museums in the postcolonial era. London: Routledge

Simons, K. W. (1987). Assumption of risk and consent in the law of torts: A theory of full preference. *BUL Rev.*, *67*, 213.

Sinthumule, N. I. (2016). Multiple-land use practices in transfrontier conservation areas: The case of Greater Mapungubwe straddling parts of Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series, (34), 103-115.

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. Sage.

Sinthumule, N. I. (2017). Resistance against conservation at the South African section of the Greater Mapungubwe (trans) frontier. Africa Spectrum, 52(2), 53-77.

Soderland, H. A., & Lilley, I. A. (2018). The fusion of law and ethics in cultural heritage Management: The 21st century confronts archaeology. In *Relevance and Application of Heritage in*

Contemporary Society (pp. 160-185). Routledge.

Steyn, M. (2015). "Critical diversity literacy." Routledge international handbook of diversity studies, pp.379-389.

Steyn, M. (1997). A reassessment of the human skeletons from K2 and Mapungubwe (South Africa). The South African Archaeological Bulletin, 14-20.

Swanepoel, N & Schoeman, MH (2010). 'Editorial: Mapungubwe matters', South African Archaeological Bulletin, vol. 65, no. 191, pp. 1-2

Tiley-Nel, S. (2011). Mapungubwe Remembered: Contributions to Mapungubwe by the University of Pretoria

Togni, A. (1996). Planar-chiral ferrocenes: synthetic methods and applications. Angewandte Chemie International Edition in English, 35(13-14), 1475-1477.rsity of Pretoria. Chris van Rensburg Publications. Johannesburg.

Ventresca, M. J., & Mohr, J. W. (2017). Archival research methods. The Blackwell companion to organisations, 805-828.

Weil, S. E. (2007). From being about something to being for somebody: The ongoing transformation of the American museum. In Museum management and marketing (pp. 30-48). Routledge.

Winter, M. (2018). Visitor perspectives on commenting in museums. Museum Management and Curatorship, 33(5), 484-505.

Wintle, C. (2013). Decolonising the museum: the case of the Imperial and Commonwealth Institutes. museum and society, 11(2), 185-201.

Wisker, G. (2001). The postgraduate research handbook. U.K.: Palgrave.

Wisker, G. (2006). Key concepts in postcolonial literature. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Witz, L., Rassool, C., & Minkley, G. (2001). Repackaging the past for South African tourism. Daedalus, 130(1), 277-296.

Zimmerman, L. J. (2005). Human bones as symbols of power: Aboriginal American belief systems toward bones and 'grave-robbing'archaeologists. In *Conflict in the archaeology of living traditions (pp. 243-249). Routledge.*

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix one: List of the participants that were interviewed

Number	Name	Occupation	Location
1	Participant one	Farm Worker	Nyindi
2	Participant two	Farm Worker	Leokwe
3	Participant three	Garderner	Vhembe Lodge
4	Participant four	unemployed	Leokwe
5	Participant five	Part-time cleaner	Mapungubwe Interpretation centre
6	Participant six	unemployed	Leokwe
7	Participant seven	Former employee	Mapungubwe Interpretation centre

List of curators that were interviewed

1	Curator 1	Curator	Mapungubwe Interpretation centre
2	Curator 2	Curator	Mapungubwe Interpretation centre

Appendix two: Human Research Ethics Committee (Non- Medical) Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Muroyi

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H21/09/31**
PROJECT TITLE	Transformation challenges in the interpretation of cultural heritage collections at post-apartheid Mapungubwe
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr R Muroyi
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Wits School of Arts/
DATE CONSIDERED	17 September 2021
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Risk Level: Minimal
EXPIRY DATE	11 October 2024

DATE 12 October 2021 **CHAIRPERSON** J Knight

(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Ms G Valley

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to submit an amendment of the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a regular progress report. For Minimal and Low studies, this is due annually on 31 December. For Medium and High Risk studies, this is due twice annually on 30 June and 31 December.**

Signature

18/10/2021
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix three: Semi-structured interview question to the local community members interviewed

1) How long have you been staying in the area you are currently based (close to the interpretation centre?
2) How many times have you been called to assist or work at the centre and did you get paid?
3) How long have you been involved in exhibitions at the centre and what role were you playing?
4) Do you get consulted when the exhibitions are being put up?
5) Does any of the curators visit your homelands or communities to ask for information regarding the collections before they are exhibited?
6) Do you think there is a mutual understanding between your community and the centre in regards to how the collections should be interpreted?
7) Are you happy with how the collections are displayed in the centre?

Semi-structured questions to the curators that were interviewed

1) Who do you consider s the legitimate owners of the Mapungubwe landscape?
2) Is the local community directly involved in the interpretation of collections at the centre?
3) How often do you consult with the local communities when putting up your exhibitions?
4) Do you get useful information from the local communities regarding the collections before you exhibit them?
5) Are the local communities gaining economically from the existence of the centre?
6) Do you think the collections exhibited at the centre are correctly interpreted and should not be changed?
7) What do you learn from the local communities since you started working at the centre?
8) Do you think the centre represents the needs and wants of all stakeholders including the local communities?