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Community Perceptions of a mine recruitment centre in Pafuri and the development of a cultural heritage site in the Greater Limpopo Transfrontier Park

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science

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Declaration

I declare that this Dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Heidi Suzanne Hansen

_____ day of _____ 2008

Abstract

The TEBA recruitment centre in Pafuri has come under discussion and debate with the developments of the GLTP. The site has played a signficant role in the social and economic history of this dynamic permeable borderzone. Through documenting the experienced memory and meaning of the site on either side of the border, developments of the site as a heritage site in a Transboundary protected area have been considered. Ethnographic interviews were used to document these meanings. TEBA is a reminder of a prosperous past amidst the current desperate poverty and unemployment and with little faith in the government, the Kruger and Limpopo Parks, TEBA is looked to for the provision of employment. This lack of faith in the parks and their insensitivity towards the historical significance reflects the lack of real transformation in conservation philosophy that the Transfrontier Initiative claims to have achieved. In order for the site to be holistically and ethically represented, greater and more real incorporation of stakeholders is necessary.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CPA	Community Property Association
FRELIMO	Frente Libertação de Moçambique (Liberation Front of Mozambique)
GLTP	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
NRC	Native Recruitment Corporation

RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambiquan National Resistance)
RNLA	Rand Native Labour Association
ROZ	Recreational Opportunities Zoning Plan
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SANDF	South African Defence Force
SANParks	South African National Parks
TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa
WNLA	The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

Chapter 1

Introduction

The discovery of gold in the 1800s in the southern Transvaal area led to the development of a large gold mining industry in South Africa, which was to become the world's largest supplier of gold. It was the development of this industry that catapulted South Africa into the industrialised era, and on what modern South Africa was built upon. The industry, because of the low grade of the ore on the Witwatersrand (Handley 2004), came to depend considerably on a large cheap migrant African labour force to mine the ore profitably (Jeeves 1985; Crush *et al* 1991). This dependency led to a massive mobilisation of labour across the southern African region. The mining industry's labour recruitment extended from the Eastern Cape to as far north as southern Tanzania, and its policies remained largely intact for about fifty years (Crush *et al* 1991). The success of the South African gold mining industry, which led to the success of the South African economy, can be largely attributed to this massive cheap labour mobilisation.

The Chamber of Mines[1], in order to curve the large amount of destructive competition for labour, wanted to centralise control over the labour recruitment and standardise wages. To do this the Chamber established two separate recruitment agencies; The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA), and the Native Recruitment Corporation (NRC) (Jeeves 1985). In the early 1970s the two were merged and renamed The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) as it is still called today (Gordon 1988).

The WNLA focused its recruitment efforts outside of South Africa's borders and managed to secure a monopoly over labour in southern Mozambique. This labour

[1] Referred to from here on as the Chamber

from southern Mozambique came to constitute a substantial percentage of the labour force on the mines. To facilitate the large number of recruits from this area, the WNLA built a number of recruitment stations along the South African-Mozambique border, one of which was the important station in Pafuri (in the far north east corner of South Africa) (Mockford & Pienaar 1990). The site played a crucial role in both the gold mining's labour history as significantly large numbers of recruits were employed through here, as well as in the lives of the Pafuri borderzone residents, as their social, economic and cultural lives were influenced by the site. The gold mining industry's impacts and effects were not only contained in the urban areas surrounding the gold mines, but through its mobilisation of African labour it orchestrated enormous social and economic changes in the rural labour supply areas (Harries 1994; Moodie 1994). The last recruits came through the Pafuri station in February 1976, when FRELIMO came into power and reduced the recruitment to the mines (Stahl 1981:36; Crush *et al* 1991:109). As a result the Pafuri recruitment station was closed.

The relevance and importance of the site, however, are not only linked to the labour history of the mines, but to its location at the centre of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) as well. The GLTP is one of South Africa's first transfrontier conservation area initiatives run by the Peace Parks Foundation. This ambitious and public endeavour will join protected areas in South Africa (Kruger National Park), Zimbabwe (Gonarezhou National Park) and Mozambique (the newly declared Limpopo National Park). The main aim of the Transfrontier Park is to eradicate boundaries within the ecosystem created through the presence of political borders (GLTP JMB 2002) and promote peace through the co-management of the extended protected area (Tanner *et al* 2004).

The future use of the TEBA site has been under discussion since the establishment of the GLTP in 2002. The GLTP, like other protected areas, does not only have a social responsibility to people living in or near the park but also to ethically present the diverse history and culture of the region (Adams 2004). TEBA and the labour recruitment are a vital part of Pafuri's history. It is therefore imperative

that the stories, memories and lived experiences are considered sensitively, ethically, and with full participation from the people who hold them. This research is about these memories and stories attached to the site, as well as people's current perceptions and aspirations of the site.

1.1 Motivation for the Research

TEBA in Pafuri is important to both the mining industry's labour history and to the individuals residing (or who had in the past resided) in Pafuri. The importance to the labour history lies in the number of recruits that were recruited here. Pafuri became a main entry point into South Africa not only for people from southern Mozambique but also from Zimbabwe (Mockford and Pienaar 1990:567). The site played an important role in shaping the histories of the people living in Pafuri and mineworkers and their families. Mining recruitment through TEBA bought about extended social, economic and cultural changes to life in Pafuri. New traditions and cultural norms were created, and new economies were formed as dependency on agriculture waned. Women took on new roles in the production of the homestead and men created new ways of identifying and defining themselves (Head 1995; Harries 1994; Moodie 1994). Extensive work has been done on these social and economic affects both on the mines and the surrounding urban areas, and in the rural villages from where the labour was recruited; as well as on changes in identity and role performances (Wilson 1972; Böhning 1981; Jeeves 1985; Crush et al 1991; Coplan 1994; Harries 1994; Moodie 1994; Head 1995). The experienced memory and current perceptions of the site have yet to be documented. This research focuses on the experienced memory of the site, its recruitment and what these mean to people today and the social contexts that construct these meanings. I will show, by focusing on these memories and their current meanings, that TEBA and its recruitment through all these changes had come to represent wealth and prosperity for the people in Pafuri and today still represents a time far better than their

situations today, a time of prosperity far from the struggles of poverty and hopelessness they experience today.

The future use of the TEBA buildings has been under discussion with the establishment of the GLTP in 2002 and a number of proposals for the use of the buildings that have been put forward by the Kruger National Park (namely; a museum for the Thulamela artefacts, a ranger post, and a research camp). When Kruger was declared in 1926, TEBA on the South African side fell within the boundaries of park. It has been alleged that at the time of the Kruger declaration an agreement was reached between TEBA and Kruger in which it was supposedly stated that within a reasonable time after recruitment ended, the facilities were to be handed over to Kruger. However this agreement has yet to be located (Küsel & Nkatini 2002). This rumoured agreement came under the spotlight in 1995 when archaeological work commenced on the Iron Age site of Thulamela. TEBA was seen as a possibility for a museum in which to house the Thulamela artefacts. Funding for the project ran out before the museum could be considered. The idea of a museum at TEBA resurfaced again in 2002 when Goldfields sponsored a feasibility study for an interpretative centre at the site (Küsel and Nkatini 2002).

At the same time other interests for the use of the site emerged, such as a ranger station for the Pafuri ranger and a research camp. Kruger has camps situated throughout the park for discounted accommodation for visiting researchers. In 2000 the Pafuri camp Bobemeni was washed away in the floods of that year. A substantial donation was given to the GLTP for the development of tourist facilities. Rebuilding the research camp was one of the projects ear marked for this funding. An environmental impact assessment identified TEBA as an ideal alternative site (Küsel and Nkatini 2002).

The initial ranger station in Pafuri now falls on the land won by the Makuleke land claim, which is now being used by the Makuleke community. Therefore, instead of identifying and building a new ranger post, TEBA again had been seen as an ideal place. The reason for not rebuilding a ranger post mentioned in an

interview with the section ranger in question, is that the Pafuri area in Kruger, at the time of the interview had, been zoned according the Kruger's recreational opportunity zoning policy – the ROZ plan - as a wilderness area. According to the ROZ plan wilderness is defined as an area set aside in which the natural character of the environment is protected and maintained, and if any access is allowed it must be in a non-mechanical form (Protected Areas Act (57 of 2003) Section 26). The ROZ plan has since then been revised and the Pafuri area rezoned (discussed further in chapter 3).

In 2003, a workshop was held to discuss these needs and the possibility of TEBA being used. This workshop's purpose was to include all identified stakeholders in the discussion. There were however a number of stakeholders absent, including TEBA themselves and neighbouring communities. This meeting seemed only to be a public participation front while the decision, to use the site as a ranger station and research camp, premised on purely biodiversity priorities was pushed forward. However there has been substantial objection to this decision by TEBA and the debate has been reopened (Verhoef 2006: pers.comm).

It is important for protected area managers to acknowledge, sensitively respect and reflect cultural values in the management of the areas, for successful and fruitful relations with neighbouring rural societies (Infield 2001). Protected areas and especially transfrontier conservation areas have been widely criticised for neglecting cultural values of neighbouring and/or resident people (West& Brechin 1991; Infield 2001; Wolmer 2003, 2004; Slater-Jones 2003; Adams 2004). The importance of respecting cultural values and the participation from people living in or on the boundaries of the parks is acknowledged by SANParks, however there is very little evidence of this in secure policy and more importantly as action on the ground (Steenkamp & Grossman 2001). In Kruger cultural heritage protection is mentioned in the park's mission statement but yet there are no supporting policies for this. Cultural values are marginalized for the priority of biodiversity conservation. A clear example is the prohibition on the utilization of culturally

important natural resources, such as plants used for traditional medicines, which hold spiritually important values.

TEBA, through its positioning straddling across the South African-Mozambique border and at the centre of the GLTP offers a unique opportunity for the historical and cultural values of the Pafuri region to be reflected through the full participation and ownership by those who hold these values. It simultaneously offers the possibility of restitution for the exploitation of men for the gold mining industry in South Africa. The importance and significance of the TEBA site in the context of the Pafuri borderzone, GLTP and migrant labour history of southern Africa is irrefutable. These need to form the backbone of the discussions around the future of the site and have yet not been adequately addressed. This research takes a critical look into this.

1.2 The Aim of the Research

As mentioned before, the historical and cultural value of the TEBA site held by people who experienced the site has not yet been taken into full consideration. Although Kruger and GLTP have acknowledged these social values, no actual "on the ground" involvement has taken place, and yet these ex-mineworkers and their families residing near the site will be most affected by the decisions taken. It is the aim, therefore, of this research is to investigate these historical and cultural values and the future aspirations for the site held by ex mineworkers and their families living in close proximity to the site, as well as people who lived near TEBA during its operation. The aim really is three fold as I look at the experienced memory of the site held by the research participants, what their current perceptions of the site are and what they hope for from the debates around the development of the site. Finally the development of the TEBA site as a public cultural heritage site within the GLTP is discussed.

Memory and meaning are central to this research. Memory is seen as imprinted into everyday life, not a static event that is over, informing current experiences and identity (Werbner 1989). David Thelen, in his paper on the processes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, challenges us to reconsider the linear narrative of past events, narratives that have a beginning, middle and end. Through the process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission where participants were encouraged to relive the past event, in many cases re-enact the event, he shows how agency was given to the people involved in the event and revealed a history far more fluid, complex and active (Thelen 2002). It was therefore not the aim of the research to simply gather information about the past and the participants' memories but rather to understand what this past means today and the construction of this meaning (Meskell 2005a). I was not looking for a simple narrative of the mine recruitment history but to give agency to the participants of the recruitment by looking at their experienced memory – for them to go back and relive the recruitment. This however proved to be somewhat ambitious as repetitive action is not easily remembered. Many of the participants repeatedly went through the process of recruitment usually at intervals of about 2-5 years.

Memories are transmitted through various modes, from memorised speech to narratives and rituals (Vansina 1985). Connerton goes on to show that there are three kinds of memory; personal, cognitive and habit memory. Personal memory are those related to our own life histories, while cognitive memory relates to lessons we have learnt in the past, where notions of encoding and construction as remembering are central. Habit memory is related to remembering through reproduction of an action, such as riding a bike (Connerton 1989). At first glance, the research seems to focus on personal memories transmitted through narratives. However through the repetition of the recruitment process, the recruitment narrative takes on more of a cognitive memory role. This is especially evident not in the remembering of the recruitment process but in the forgetting. Events that are repetitive are not often easily remembered as their coding becomes identical

(Connerton 1989:27). Therefore participants were not able to relive and relate to me in great detail their experiences of the recruitment process.

Memories are spatial functions and are arranged with reference to particular places (Betts1998) and within social spaces (Connerton 1989: 37). However these memories are by no means neutral, they carry meaning to the person who holds them. It is through the creation of memory in a space by means of human action that meaning is inferred to this space and turning it into place (Nash & Chippindale 2002). Memories and their meanings are never static; they are always changing (Vansina 1985; Connerton 1989; Bender 2001) through various social, political and economic experiences. These experiences lead to a change in perspectives and value system, through which reflections of the past are distorted (Humphries1984). Current meanings and recollections of memory are therefore influenced by the present social and economic situations. This research therefore not only aims to document these memories, but also the current meanings of these memories and the place of TEBA and what constructs these particular reflections and shapes its meaning, 30 years after the event. In addition though the experience of the present is informed by the past and so the past experiences (Connerton 1989:2), especially of the borderzone will play a role in meaning given to today's experiences. For example, the Pafuri borderzone is characterised by a number of relocations and resettlements (Connor 2002: 25). Bender (2001) shows through various ethnographic studies how relocation influences meaning of place. In Pafuri it is these dislocations that have cemented notions of home and belonging to Pafuri (Connor 2002: 12).

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Postcolonial framework has been used in conducting this research and analysing its data. There are three main senses to Postcolonial Theory. Through the notion of hybridity it gives voices to groups previously suppressed, it privileges methods that involve dialogue, participation and where the researcher is considered part of

the research, and it is descriptive of the ex-imperial states (Ranger 1996: 271-272). Working within a postcolonial framework therefore is not only limited to the chronology of the discipline, in that legacies of the past are deconstructed, but also incorporates the cognisance that the institutions and disciplines in this study have essentially originated from the colonial (Gosden 2001). Forced wage labour and notions of proletarianisation, conservation practise and notions of pristine wilderness absent of people have both originated out of Eurocentric notions (Carruthers 1995;Adams and Mulligan 2004; Adams 2004).

The active agency and resistance of colonized cultures is bought to the fore front, through African resistance to forced wage labour and adapting to colonial policies. Colonialism was never a simple meeting of two cultures and worldviews dominating and suppressing another, but rather a complex process of resistance and adaptation (Said 1993). Both the colonised and the coloniser retained parts of their own and took from the other what was desired (Gosden 2001). The workers recruited for the mines in the same way were not passive victims of their oppressors' exploitation, but resisted, adapted and fought to retain dignity and sense of identification (Coplan 1987: 419; Moodie 1994). In the same way that novels were used to assert European sense of colonialism and reflected their notions of land and European Imperialism (Said 1993), songs were used in southern Africa to express resistance to colonial rule and exploitation by the gold mines (Vail &White 1991; Coplan 1994; Harries 1994; Moodie 1994). Harries' documentation of oral testaments of mine labour from southern Mozambique show how cultural adaptations took place in the area and mine labour became incorporated as a marker of life phases of southern Mozambique (1994).

Postcolonialism focuses on the changes in cultural forms and identities created through and by the colonial contact. Here the creation of demarcated monolithic ethnicities by the colonizers at the core (Ranger 1996). But we need also to consider these changes and creation of identities post the colonial encounter, how are people dealing with notions of difference and cultural expressions in an environment of equality and non-racism (Meskell 2006). In this we find ourselves

oscillating between time and space, and culture and social identifications are in an 'in-between' place (Bhabha 1994). Postcolonial theory is not about returning to the past, but reshaping and defining the present. Postcolonial cultures have now moved from a transfer of power and resistance of all that was European to the appropriation of what was once imposed (Betts 1998). In this cultural and social identities are facing a shift or remaking. During colonial or apartheid rule, cultural differences and notion of cultural purity were concentrated on and elaborated, and used in reasoning of social and racial oppression. Now with these senses of segregation diminishing with independent rule, there is a struggle between balancing the need to redefining cultural identities and the creation of equality. This is especially prevalent in cultural and in fact natural heritage practise in South Africa, where issues of stakeholdership emerge (Meskell 2006). Through a postcolonial framework, questions around the meaning and memory of place are examined as well as how people and institutions are dealing with stakeholdership and ownership. In relation to TEBA, this question of ownership includes the protected areas, on merit of ownership of the land, TEBA and the miners recruited there.

1.4 Methodology

My interest in the TEBA site stems from the years I worked as a cultural heritage officer in the Kruger Park. It was during this time that I had some involvement in the discussions and debates around the site. I therefore draw on this experience and the ethnographic interviews conducted in various villages in Pafuri (Mozambique), the Makuleke village (South Africa) and with relevant officials. Interviews were held with people from the GLTP, Kruger, the Limpopo National Park, the Makuleke and people residing within close proximity to the site in Mozambique as the future development of the TEBA site has implications for them. People living in Pafuri who had been recruited through the site have previously not been adequately incorporated in these discussions about the site; therefore, I was mainly concerned with their memories, views and opinions. A questionnaire was designed to provide a framework within which to work, and

helped keep the conversations from diverting too far off the subject at hand (see appendix A).

Ethnographic interviews are primarily interested in the participants' point of view of a particular subject and their reality of the world and so were used to discuss people's perceptions, experienced memory and meaning of the TEBA site, its history and possible future developments within the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. Knowledge and meaning are constructed at the interview and is influenced both by the way in which the participant organises their reality (Henning *et al* 2004: 62) and the audience (Darlington &Scott 2002: 50). The interview through a particular account or representation of the participant's views only represents one possible reality of the social world experienced by the participants (Bryne 2004). This reality however is considered within its complexity and contexts (Filstead 1979) and so is often conducted within the participants' natural setting in order to gain a deeper understanding of the participants social context and further situational information (Henning *et al* 2004: 20). However interviews are always structured to some degree despite the attempts from the researcher to create naturally flowing conversations. Through setting up the interview, the researcher constructs a social event bringing about structure and context (Darlington & Scott 2002: 56). Therefore the interview produces understandings, meanings and knowledge that are situated in that specific interaction (Denzin & Lincoln 1994: 353), which takes place within a context. Knowledge and meaning are not independent of the context in which they are conveyed and so it is necessary for the researcher to be sensitive to this context and to consider what is said during the interview within these contextual complexities (Punch 2005: 180).

It has been widely noted that meaning and knowledge that the researcher learns about in the interview is not simply gathered, but rather created in that interaction, by both the participant and the researcher (Fontana & Frey 1994; Silverman 2000; Darlington & Scott 2002; Bryne 2004; Henning et al (2004); Holstein & Gubrium 2004; Punch 2005). The interview process is therefore an active interaction with both the participant and the researcher actively participating in the construction of

meaning and knowledge (Holstein & Gubrium 2004). In Holstein & Gubrium's argument that all interviews are active, they show that the participant actively and selectively gathers, takes away from, adds to and transforms facts and experiences into "artefacts for the occasion" (Holstein & Gubrium 2004: 145). Here the "Other" (those who we have chosen to study) has been transformed from a distant faceless measurable object, to a living active productively subjective human being (Fontana & Frey 1994: 373). The participant being activated in the interview will piece together experiences and mediate and alter knowledge as it is conveyed to the researcher (Holstein & Gubrium 2004: 145) influenced by the researchers characteristics, such as race, gender, class and ethnicity (Denzin & Lincoln 1994: 353). Knowledge is therefore constantly constructed and organised depending on the audience.

The researcher is very much a part of the research by virtue of conducting the research (Henning *et al* 2004: 37), and so cannot be written out of the text (Darlington & Scott 2002: 18). It is therefore necessary for the researcher to be reflexive and to continuously reflect on their actions (Seale 2004:2). Just as active as the participant is in creating knowledge so to is the researcher. Through this activity and co-production of knowledge it is impossible to exclude the researcher's characteristics and biases. The data from the interview will in turn be interpreted by the researcher through her own biases and worldviews and will again in turn influence the creation of the knowledge in the interview as well as what is taken note of and what is not. It is therefore imperative for the researcher to clearly disclose herself in the interview and the texts that follow the research (Fontana & Frey 1994: 368). It's these contexts and influences that I will discuss below in order for the discussions of the interviews to be better understood. It is not possible to gain a complete picture of the participants' realities or to completely understand the research topic. The researcher is completely dependent on what the participant says, we cannot enter their thoughts and so we can only gather a representation of the views and opinions held by the participants (Bryne 2004:182), which need to be understood holistically within their complex contexts. The contexts in which knowledge was produced will be discussed in

chapters 3 and 4. I would like to discuss the factors that have influenced the interviews here starting with my own characteristics.

As mentioned what is said, revealed and created in the interview will depend on the context, mood, and nature of the encounter, familiarity – gender, class, and cultural background of all actors (Bryne 2004:180). The participant will self-censor what is said based on these characteristics (Darlington & Scott 2004: 55). The interaction is by no means neutral and there is the existence of what Henning *et al* call an"undemocratic communicative" relationship, people will not easily confide in strangers from different social backgrounds (Henning *et al* 2004: 54). So I as a white, middle class, English speaking South African female interviewing predominately black, poor, Shangaan speaking males (there were some women interviewed but most of the participants were male) strongly influenced what was revealed. My race, gender and class permeated the interviews and strongly impacted the creation of meaning and knowledge. I remember for instance a participant my translator had spoken to the night before an interview, who had told him, in my absence, of the humiliating experience of being examined by the TEBA doctor. In the interview the following morning when asked about the medical examination he portrayed a far more neutral picture of the experience. On the surface it is clear that the participant did not want to reveal to me the embarrassment he had experienced. But looking further at why he would not want me to know, there are a number of possibilities. Due to the oppression experienced by these men during the apartheid of South Africa by white people, my race had a definite role to play. Race is an especially sensitive and strong influence on interviews conducted in these instances as the oppression from Apartheid South Africa still lingers, especially for elder people who have experienced this oppression for more than half their lives. One elder in the Makuleke village told me how happy he was to see a white person in his village, because the white man is his superior. Participants formulate their responses to what they perceive the researcher wants to hear (Silverman 2000: 124). And so additionally his assumption that I did not want to hear negative recollections of

the recruitment may have influenced his response. Again my race, gender and class would have influenced his impression of me.

One of the basic elements of interviewing is language (Fontana & Frey 1994: 366). It is through language that we are able to represent meanings, values and perspectives (Punch 2005). Although the researcher maybe fluent in the participant's language there are still cultural norms that influence the way in which things are said and what is said or not (Fontana & Frey 1994: 366-367). The majority of the interviews I conducted were with Shangaan speaking people. Some were able to speak broken English or Afrikaans, but it was easier for them to express themselves in their own language. A translator from the Makuleke village assisted me in translating the interviews. However this reliance on a translator added another layer of meaning, bias and interpretation to the interviews (Fontana & Frey 1994: 366-367), which needs to be kept in mind. Added to this, is the loss of nuances in the participant's responses (and simultaneously in the questions asked) and the translator's control of the interview. It was my aim in the interviews to allow for free flowing conversation within the framework of the research objectives and to allow the participants to talk and express themselves as they saw fit. This would allow them to talk of issues that may initially seem unrelated to the research, but would eventually link up (Darlington & Scott 2002: 69). However the translator would often stop a participant in mid response if they seemed not to be answering the question and by this he controlled the interview albeit with very good intentions. Meaning is often revealed not only in what we say, but in how we say it (Bryne 2004: 183). Through the reliance on the translator these nuances were often missed, and not always revealed in the translations, due to tacit cultural knowledge that may have not seemed obvious to the translator to describe. The translator's interpretation of the responses and questions would have also influenced exactly what and how these were translated.

Power relations in interviews have become more of a concern recently with the move away from the traditional paternalistic view of the interview (Fontana & Frey 1994: 369), where the researcher is powerful and the participant sub-ordinate

and seen as a passive repository of knowledge waiting to be mined (Darlington & Scott 2002: 49; Holstein & Gubrium 2004: 141). Through feminist objections of viewing the female participant as an object of study, emphasis in methodology has shifted to minimizing these hierarchies and status differences (Fontana & Frey 1994: 370). However the researcher still has inherent power and control of the interview by virtue of having a research framework within which to work, and by taking away the words mentioned in the interview, objectifying them through transcribing the interview and selection and interpretation for the text that is written (Darlington & Scott 2004: 51). Status difference is however minimised through the researcher disclosing herself and reciprocating in the interview. Greater openness and therefore greater insight and richer data are gained through this as well (Punch 2005:173). The ground breaking ethnographer Malinowski answered questions from participants and allowed his personal feeling to influence him in the field, deviating from the distant, rational researcher of the more traditional interviews (Fontana & Frey 1994: 366). Attempts were made in the interviews held to reduce any power relation by allowing my opinions filter through the interview and by answering the questions participants may have had, and so instigated a two way dialogue.

1.5 Description of the TEBA site

When WNLA built its recruitment stations along the South African-Mozambique border, two camps were built at Pafuri. In South Africa, a camp was built on a hilltop at the confluence of the Limpopo and Luvuvhu rivers, and in Mozambique directly opposite the border from the camp in South Africa. From both hills on which the camps were built, one is treated to a panoramic view of the Pafuri landscape carved out by the Limpopo and Luvuvhu Rivers. In Mozambique this landscape is dotted with lively villages while in South Africa, it represents the

forced removals and conservation priorities[2] of Kruger. As the crow flies, the camps are within walking distance from each other.

Initially the dwellings and other necessary structures such as storerooms, were constructed from local material, namely ironwood (*Androstachys johnsonii)* and clay. It was only in 1938 that the buildings in both South Africa and Mozambique were rebuilt from brick in the typical 1930 – 1940s architectural style with large verandas. It is easy to imagine officials soaking up the late afternoon sun or enjoying their morning cup of tea on these scenic verandas overlooking their scenic view of Pafuri. Both camps had very similar facilities built. These included dwellings for the district manager (South Africa only) and other European staff members. Black staff either lived at home in the nearby villages or were accommodated in very small basic living quarters (usually consisting of a small room (sometimes shared), outside ablution facilities and communal kitchens). Other buildings included offices, storerooms and dormitories, kitchen and ablutions for the recruits (Mockford & Pienaar 1990). The camp in Mozambique covers a slightly larger area than the camp in South Africa (Küsel & Nkatini 2002).

Even after the brick buildings were built, it was only in the early 1950s and 1960s that basic amenities such as running water and electricity were respectively provided at the TEBA camps. Water was pumped from a borehole near the Limpopo River in South Africa to the camps. Before this, water was transported from the river up the hill to the station in 44-gallon drums or wine vats on a wooden sledge drawn by an ox. Showers consisted of buckets hanging from trees. Electricity was provided, and still is today, by a generator.

In this remote unregulated area, life demanded innovation, initiative and a practical mind in order to be necessarily self-sufficient. Before motorised

[2] Historically Kruger has prioritised the conservation wildlife above the livelihoods of people in and around the park (Carruthers 1995). Conservation aimed to preserve a landscape empty of any human interaction (beside that of management) and so thus removed resident people to create a people-less landscape.

vehicles were used to transport recruits and goods in 1928, cattle were kept as a provision for meat and milk (Mockford & Pienaar 1990:565). Vegetable gardens were grown to provide fresh vegetables, despite the troubles caused by wild animals such as baboons and elephants. There is a story about a Portuguese official, who was particularly proud of his vegetable garden that late one night was raided by two elephant bulls. Both the elephant bulls were shot (Mockford & Pienaar 1990:565).

As with remote borderzones elsewhere, Pafuri is removed from mainstream laws and regulation of the political states (Connor 2002: 5). As a result, officials were generally left to their own devices. This was especially prevalent in Mozambique. It would take weeks for messages from the capital, Lorenzo Marques to reach Pafuri and vice versa. This would often delay the recruitment process when new policies were implemented or changed. Officials often took advantage of the areas' remoteness such as returning from their annual leave two weeks late or simply abandoning their posts for weeks without any suspicion from their managers (Mockford & Pienaar 1990). Life in Pafuri gradually revolved around recruiting men for the mines, managing and maintaining the roads, supply of water and other general maintenance duties.

The recruits would travel from bus (from after 1928) or walk to the recruitment camp. Here their names were recorded as part of the immigration records and were issued the necessary documentation, namely passports and contracts. According to South African law the recruits would not be legally able to enter South Africa without those documents. As part of the Transvaal- Mozambique agreement, the recruits were to be repatriated after their contracts expired on the mines. Therefore the passports issued to the men (at a cost of 10 shillings) were only valid for the 12 months of their contracts. Contracts and passports could be extended for another 6 months while in South Africa at a cost of 5 shillings. After a foot and mouth outbreak in 1938, that was suspected to have crossed over the border from Mozambique, the recruits were prevented from taking any traditional medicine or divining bones, used for protection, into South Africa. All talisman

and charms were taken from them and only returned to the recruits on their journey back home. Once the border post had been built in 1966, recruits would have their documents stamped and finger prints taken at the border post (Mockford & Pienaar 1990).

The participants spoke of an atmosphere of excitement and anxiety among the recruits as they crossed into South Africa. Many recruits looked forward to the prospects of earning wages and returning home with food, clothes, and gifts for their families, while the many first time recruits felt anxious of the unknown that lay before them. There was a considerable amount of singing and chattering among the recruits as they crossed the border. The singing was both a representation of their excitement and joy as well as encouragement to the new anxious recruits.

After the recruitment ended in 1976, the buildings were abandoned as the Portuguese evacuated the country and civil war broke out between FRELIMO and RENAMO. The buildings today are structurally in a relatively good condition (Küsel & Nkatini 2002). Roofs are missing from most the structures, and doorframes are all that are left of the entrances. A dirt road leads up the middle of the houses, finishing near the post's water tower. The site is overgrown and guano and cattle dung have collected in some of the buildings. These derelict remains of a once powerful recruitment station now echo the brutality of Mozambique's 16-year civil war. The feeling of warfare is felt from the scene of these empty buildings with bullet holes in the walls and cartridges scattered all over the site, along with an old rusting truck that was used to transport soldiers. Graffiti on the buildings both representing FRELIMO and RENAMO militia, give more startling evidence of the brutality and cruelty of the war. The graffiti on the remains of the kitchen are interesting in the placements. On the outside wall of the kitchen, all the graffiti represents RENAMO while the inside wall depicts leaders and slogans of FRELMO. The graffiti spreads slander of the opposing force, and holds high the values of their influential leaders. Imagery depicts male domination over their adversary, and women.

Like the shared and yet different notions of identity in the borderzone (Connor 2002), TEBA reflects the different political histories of the two countries. After FRELIMO gained independence in Mozambique from their colonial oppressors and devastation of the war spread through out the country, the buildings have come to represent that devastation in the same way that many other colonial buildings in many other independent African states have done. The buildings in South Africa continued to represent the white minority rule in the country. When the station was closed, TEBA kept a minimal staff at the site, maintaining the colonial ambience and notions of white domination. Today, TEBA in South Africa have still maintained this atmosphere with its beautifully manicured lawns and large shady trees tended to by African general workers. The doctor's old house now houses the camp manager, while a small cottage and the old Mockford house[3] are rented out as holiday accommodation. The Pafuri section ranger was using the other small cottage at the time of the study. The ranger's field ranger corps are accommodated in what was the dormitories or living quarters for TEBA's African staff. These buildings were refurbished and modified despite the National Heritage Act (No 25 of 1999), which states that, any alterations on buildings older than 60 years needs authorisation from the heritage agencies.

The recruits, once they were in South Africa would again have their names recorded and documents checked. They would then undergo a medical examination and be inoculated against pneumonia and cholera.

Blankets, food (for their journey to the mines) and necessary clothing for working on the mines were handed out to the recruits here as well. The bus would arrive in Pafuri three times a week- Wednesday, Friday and Sunday. The recruits, once all the necessary administration work was complete, would wait for the bus, which would often result in an overnight wait. These recruits were then accommodated in the dormitories and fed usually maize meal porridge (*pap*). As mentioned

[3] Named after the district manager Harold Mockford, who worked and lived in Pafuri for 47 years

before due to the isolation of Pafuri, the officials stationed here needed to be self-sustaining. In order to grind maize for the maize meal, a hand mill was used. The remains of the old hand mill are still to be seen on the Mozambique side.



Figure 1.1: Example of graffiti on the walls of the abandoned TEBA buildings in Mozambique.

1.6 Chapter Layout

Chapter 2 contains background to these contexts, starting with a history of the establishment of the mining labour recruitment, its impacts and the terminating of TEBA's recruiting empire. As TEBA and the research takes place in Pafuri, I have outlined a brief history, relevant to the study giving, context to the socio-politics of the area, from Makuleke land claims, ravaging war and economic strife

in Mozambique, and tensions between conservation priorities and the resident peoples.

The study straddles both South Africa and Mozambique in location, and people were interviewed in both countries. Interestingly, but not so surprisingly, there were some differences in the responses. These are analysed in chapters three and four. Chapter three focuses on South Africa and the Makuleke responses. Included in this analysis will be responses from Kruger officials interviewed and the discussions and tensions between TEBA and SANParks. Chapter four follows with focus on developments in Mozambique including the Limpopo National Park and issues dealing with the GLTP. More detail and discussion around the methodologies used will also be discussed through out these two chapters.

In conclusion, chapter five will document the findings and results of the entire research and the impacts on future developments. Recommendations will be made regarding the site and further research necessary.



Figure 1.2: Frelimo graffiti on an inside wall of the kitchen at TEBA Mozambique



Figure 1.3: Graffiti depicting RENAMO on the outside wall of the kitchen at TEBA Mozambique

Chapter 2

Historical Background

The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 was one of the most significant events that took place in the southern African region. The subsequent mass migrant labour system led to enormous social, political and economic changes. The legacy of these developments is central to this study of one of the industry's important recruitment areas on the borders of South Africa and Mozambique. Just as important to this study are the social, political and economic dynamics of this borderzone. The aim of this chapter is to bring across the context in which the TEBA site in Pafuri is situated. I will therefore discuss the development of mining labour recruitment in southern Mozambique, the social history of the Pafuri region and the role that the TEBA site played in both the recruitment history and in Pafuri.

As this mobilization of labour has played an important role in the southern African sub-region's history, there has been extensive academic interest in almost all facets of migrant labour on the goldfields. However this chapter will focus on the three major works of Alan Jeeves' *"Migrant Labour in South Africa's Mining Economy"* (1985), Jonathan Crush, Alan Jeeves and David Yudelman's *"South Africa's Labour Empire"* (1991), and Patrick Harries' *"Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa"* (1994). These works are especially relevant to this study as they cover the early developments of the mining industry's labour recruitment system, the changes that took place within this system in the 1970s and the social, economic and cultural impacts it had in the rural supply areas.

2.1 Mining History

2.1.1 Early Developments

The gold bearing reef found on the Witwatersrand forms a huge semi circle of about 8000 km (Handley 2004). Even though this reef has produced the highest tonnage of gold in the world, its regularity in supplying the ore is only relative. In comparison to alluvial gold found elsewhere on the sub-continent, the Witwatersrand reef was exceptionally continuous. On a local scale though it was unpredictable and uneven (Jeeves 1985). On top of this the grade of the gold ore is rather low. It was because of the low grade of the ore that a large cheap labour force was needed. The fixed gold price and the need for intense labour to mine enough ore left the mines vulnerable to any wage increases (Jeeves 1985). In fact if the low-grade ore was found in reefs in other parts of the world they would probably have never been mined due to the inability to mobilise a large enough cheap labour force (Crush *et al* 1991: 1). The European settlers as well as prospectors from around the world turned to African men to exploit in their endeavours to mine their fortunes. African labour had been used before on the diamond fields of Kimberley, so migrant African labour was not a new phenomenon to the gold fields (van der Horst 1942; Crush *et al* 1991).

In order to obtain and make the most of their labour, the gold mining industry established a recruiting system of migrant workers that had extended further both in time and geographically than any other labour migrancy history (Crush *et al* 1991). The process of establishing its monopoly over labour in the southern African region, however, was not a smooth, easy one for the mining industry (Jeeves 1985). In fact, the early years of the industry were riddled with conflict and competition for labour. The success of the industry as a whole was a long and arduous road. The mining companies realised that the best way to resolve the numerous issues they faced was to form a consolidated front and tackle their problems in a cooperative manner. They came together in 1889 and formed the Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines (now known as the Chamber of Mines of South

Africa, and is commonly referred to as the Chamber of Mines[1]). Their main aim was to promote and protect the mining interests of South Africa and especially of what was then the Transvaal[2](Mining Survey 1989). The Chambers greatest concern in these early days was that of labour, as this was their most restricting and costly concern. The Chamber continuously fought to have centralised control and standard wage payments. In order to achieve this, the Chamber needed to overcome numerous obstacles such as competition both internally, between various mines, and externally with other recruitment agents and other employers, especially white farmers (Jeeves 1985:12).

The mines, each in need of low cost labour, competed aggressively with each other for labour. This would often lead to mines pushing up wages in order to attract more migrant mineworkers. Although the increase in wage costs was undesirable for the mines, not having a secured labour force was far more detrimental (Jeeves 1985). It was because of this competition and the resultant higher wages that the Chamber strove for a centralised control of labour recruitment and standardardisation of wage costs. The Chamber, in an effort to achieve this, sent agents along with their black assistants ('runners') to scout the rural areas for labour. However, along with them came independent agents recruiting men and selling them to the highest bidder (Crush *et al* 1991: 5). In times of labour shortage, competition and high costs of labour were especially rife. Due to their essential need for labour and regularity in which independent agents delivered the labour, the mines would accept the higher costs and wages from these agents (Jeeves 1985).

The gold mining industry was not the only employer in need of a large labour force. White farmers, because of the low productivity of the land also required a large labour force. The farmers demanded from the state some protection from other employers such as the gold mining industry. The Union Government (a coalition government between Britain and Afrikaans South Africa) passed

[1] Referred to as the Chamber from here onwards.
[2] When gold was discovered the Transvaal or Zuid Afrikanse Rupbliek (South African Republic) was run by the Kruger Government, independent from British colonial rule.

legislation prohibiting mine recruitment over most of white rural South Africa. This forced the mining industry to push its recruiting boundaries further into Africa, beyond the borders of South Africa (Crush *et al* 1991: xiv). This and the reluctance of black South African men to work underground, explains the difficulties the recruiting agents had in recruiting men from most parts of South Africa.

On top of all the competition and conflict riddling the development of a centrally controlled recruitment network, there was resistance from Africans themselves. Africans were not willing simply to work on the mines and resisted proletarianisation. The colonial British, Portuguese and even Afrikaans governments implemented various policies, such as hut taxes, to force Africans into wage labour. Africans however continued to resist any dependence on wage labour and only used it when they so desired or needed it to supplement their rural livelihoods (Crush *et al* 1991). This led to periods of labour shortages and instability of labour on the mines, as men would often leave and return home in times of harvesting and sowing (Jeeves 1985; Crush *et al* 1991). Eventually, however, the Chamber began to encourage these links to the rural countryside, as this kept the wage bill low. In foreign supply areas, the colonial governments and the chiefs benefited from this situation as well. The economy of these countries came to depend on the income generated through the exportation of labour and deferred wages the migrants received. Colonial governments were paid a fee from the Chamber of Mines for every mineworker contracted (Crush *et al* 1991). As part of the agreements a certain percentage of the mineworkers' wages were deferred to their home countries, which he would then collect when he returned home, usually at the borders. This ensured that not all their wages were spent in the mining areas, and that some was actually spent in the rural countryside. It also made sure that the families of the migrants were not left in the lurch (Jeeves 1985: 220)

2.1.2 Mozambique Labour

In an attempt to resolve the labour supply issue the Chamber established a separate recruitment agency, the Rand Native Labour Association (RNLA) in 1897. During the Anglo-Boer war the association was restructured and renamed to the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) in 1902. Neither of the organisations were able to successfully gain the desired complete control of labour recruitment within South Africa's border (Jeeves 1985). The competition with other employers in South Africa drove the mining industry to look further a field to neighbouring colonies, where there were fewer alternatives of wage labour available for Africans. A decade after the WNLA was established, the Chamber created the Native Recruitment Corporation (NRC), which concentrated its efforts in the South African regions of labour supply, particularly in the eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. The WNLA then concentrated all its efforts outside of South Africa's borders. This remained the status quo for about sixty years. In the 1970s the two organisations were joined and renamed The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) (Gordon 1988)

Within about two years after its establishment, WNLA was able to secure a monopoly over labour in southern Mozambique and create a recruiting network far more elaborate and tightly controlled than it would ever be able to do in South Africa (Jeeves 1985). Although labour from Mozambique (and further north into Africa) was more expensive to get to the mines, it offered the mines the much-desired stability in uncertain and instable times, and offset the instability offered by South African labour (Jeeves 1985). Labour from Mozambique signed on with longer contracts and provided the mines with the stability so desperately needed. South African labour was volatile and sensitive to fluctuations. Men would not take on a contract longer than 6-9 months, so that they could be at their rural homes in times of sowing and harvesting. The longer stable contracts of Mozambiquan labour balanced this out and as a result Mozambiquan labour became very popular among the mines and quickly became a substantial component of the migrant labour force. From before the Anglo- Boer War

Mozambiquan labour made up about 65% of the labour force and remained a substantial component until the mid 1970s (Jeeves 1985).

WNLA was able to set up and secure its monopoly over the labour supply in southern Mozambique, through an agreement between the Chamber and the Portuguese Colonial government. In this uneasy agreement, the Portuguese aimed to protect their competitive edge on the shorter railway line from the goldfields to Lorenzo Marques (Maputo) by a guaranteed third of all railway traffic (Jeeves 1985: 187). They were also just as determined to ensure control over emigration and so all labourers recruited for the mines had to be repatriated back to Mozambique at the end of their contracts. As a way of ensuring this, officials were stationed at the mines to facilitate the repatriation of migrants. The Portuguese Colonial government resented WNLA, as the association gained more control in areas outside of Beira and Maputo, and were continuously striving to obtain better terms. No matter how much the Portuguese disliked the situation, they were far too dependent on the material benefits they gained from WNLA to intervene (Jeeves 1985).

Another crucial factor to the survival of the monopoly in Mozambique was the inability of the Portuguese to enforce any control in most areas outside Maputo and Beira. WNLA had the support of the Mozambique government through its grant of a monopoly but that was as far as it went, as the government was unable to enforce this support on the ground. For this WNLA relied on its own agents who dealt directly with local authorities (Jeeves 1985:190). Because of this, WNLA was able to gain the trust of local authorities and people. However the lack of government control led to WNLA's unsuccessful recruitment endeavours in northern Mozambique. There, the prazo[3] holders seemed to hold the power and WNLA competed with them, as well as with illegal touts operating in the area for the labour and who controlled most of the migration routes south to the coast (Jeeves 1985: 188).

[3] Estate farms leased to Portuguese settlers composed typically in semi feudal manner (master landlord and peasant tenants) dominating in the Zambezi Valley in Mozambique

Once WNLA secured its monopoly over labour supply in southern Mozambique, it put its efforts into establishing a recruiting network across the country. After the First World War, an investigation was conducted to establish the best possible routes by which to get migrant workers to the mines (Mockford & Pienaar 1990). As it turned out, routes already established by migrants moving south into Natal to work on the sugar plantations were built on and used (Jeeves 1985). In the northern Transvaal there were three main routes from Mozambique to Soekmekaar. The first was from Pafuri, at the confluence of the Limpopo and Luvuvhu rivers to Soekmekaar. This route passed a number of stop over points including Mahonyane (near the infamous Morty Ash shop[4]), Klopperfontein, Baobab Hill and Shikokololo (today's Punda Maria). The other two routes to Soekmekaar were, Massingire through Makhuba (today Letaba rest camp) and Mapulanguene through Isweni (N'wantsi). Along these routes on the border of South Africa and Mozambique recruiting stations were built. Along the Pafuri route two camps were built, one in South Africa on a hilltop at the confluence of the Limpopo and Luvuvhu rivers, and one in Mozambique directly across the border on the opposing hill (Mockford & Pienaar 1990: 564). It is important to note that all these points along these routes are all located within the Kruger National Park and most are accessible along tourist's roads in the park.

2.1.3 Labour Policy Changes

The gold mining industry faced numerous labour crises and protests against its exploitative recruitment and labour policies. The industry, however, resisted change to its policies and higher wage bills by expanding its recruitment network further north into Africa and persuading governments to assist and support the industry. The 1970s, however, marked a new era for the gold mining industry with a break away from its traditional policies and dependency on foreign labour. For the first time since its inception in the 1890s, the Chamber reconsidered its

[4] This shop played an important role in the history of Pafuri. Bulpin often referred to it in his autobiography of Cecil Barnard (1952). Blackbirders would also auction off their recruits here (Murray 1995)

labour policies. The mines introduced a new policy of 'internalising' its labour recruitment and began to seek labour from within South Africa and Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (Stahl 1981; de Vletter 1985). There were a number of factors forcing the mining industry to reconsider its recruitment policies. These included the political changes in neighbouring supply countries, massive recession in South Africa, and the abolishment of the fixed gold price (de Vletter 1985).

After the Second World War, colonial control in Africa began to wane. Africans, with new worldviews and ideals after fighting in the Allied forces away from home, began to push for more political power and self-governance (Meredith 2005: 9-10). By the 1960s, through numerous liberation struggles and wars, the colonial powers were beginning to loose their grip on Africa. Their resources became widely and thinly spread and more and more African states were gaining their independence. This threatened WNLA's recruiting network and labour supply to the mines, as supply often relied on agreements and relations with the colonial powers. The new African states were not as sympathetic to the need for labour on the gold mines (Yudelman & Jeeves 1986). Tanzania and Zambia were the first of the mining labour supply countries that gained their independence and withdrew and suspended all labour to the reef (Crush *et al* 1991: 22).

The mining industry did not take heed of the warning that these two countries presented and continued to rely on their foreign labour supply for about another decade. It took the events of 1974 to finally force the industry to review its labour policies for the first time in over fifty years. The first incident was a plane crash in Francistown, Botswana. The plane was carrying recruits from Malawi to Johannesburg. Seventy-four of the recruits were killed in the plane crash. To the shock of the industry, the Malawian Life president Hastings Banda suspended all recruitment to the mines and recalled men already on the mines (Stahl 1981: 34). The mines, convinced this was a ploy to force WNLA to charter Air Malawi planes to transport recruits tried to renegotiate but to no avail (Crush *et al* 1991: 106). For the mines this was a shocking realisation that dispelled their belief that

the labour supply areas needed to export their labour more than what the mines actually needed the labour (Crush *et al* 1991).

A second cause for changes in labour policies was related to the political changes that took place in Portugal. Portugal had been fighting colonial wars in its African colonies for much of the 1960s and 1970s. It was largely due to this tiresome and thinly stretched effort that resentment towards the Caetano's dictatorship and notions of nationalism grew within Portugal. The people of Portugal grew more concerned with economic growth rather than ensuing political control in Africa (Meredith 2005: 311). This eventually led to a *coup d'état* in April 1974. The new Portuguese government negotiated with Mozambique to hand over full power to the liberation party, FRELIMO[5]. In anticipation of a FRELIMO led pull out of labour, the mines put together contingency plans for recruiting in other foreign supply areas and within South Africa. In fact, due to the instability caused by the mass and sudden exodus of Portuguese officials, administrators and businesses, the Chamber of Mines wanted to reduce the number of Mozambiquans on the mines (Crush *et al* 1991: 109-110). They realised that their heavy dependency on Mozambique for labour made them vulnerable to the political changes and instability in that country. FRELIMO, however, seized this initiative from the industry, when in 1976 they reduced the quota of labour to be exported and closed seventeen of WNLA's twenty-one camps in Mozambique (including the Pafuri camp) (Crush et al 1991). This was done as supplying labour to an apartheid run South Africa conflicted with FRELIMO's socialist philosophy (Stahl 1981: 36).

All these factors came together forcing WNLA to stop depending so heavily on one foreign labour source, but rather to diversify their foreign contingent and to concentrate on labour within South Africa. Through its new internalisation policy, the industry aimed for a 50:50 ration of domestic to foreign labour but settled for a 60:40 domestic to foreign split (Crush *et al* 1991: 109). The new internalisation policy was not so much aimed at domesticating the labour force as

[5] Frente Libertação de Moçambique (Liberation Front of Mozambique)

it was at shifting labour supply sources to ones geographically closer to the mines (Yudelman & Jeeves 1986). Lesotho, although a separate independent country, supplied the mines in Free State with more labour than any supply area within the South African borders, due to its close proximity to these mines.

Economic changes in South Africa contributed to the mines' new internalisation policy as well. The drastic implementation of separate and "independent" Bantustan or Homelands policy of the Apartheid government in the 1960s led to massive forced removals of Africans. Africans were forced off their land, often with deep-seated cultural links, and crowded into designated areas some distance away from their homes. Due to the often very low productivity of the land exacerbated by overcrowding, people were led into migrating out of the homelands in search of wage labour. Africans became more accustomed to the higher standards of living that the wage labour had introduced (Stahl 1981). The recession in the early 1970s, because of continued inflation and difficult balance pay-offs, led to mass unemployment and increased need of wage labour. In agricultural terms the homelands were not able to support the growing population and new standards of living. This led to more South Africans volunteering for the previously much avoided mine labour and for the first time South Africans flocked to the mines.

South African men were also attracted to the mines by the increase in wages offered by the mines. The mining industry would have faced disaster if it were not for the abolishment of the fixed gold price by the end of the 1960s. Once the gold price was freed it suddenly soared giving the mining industry unprecedented profits. It was because of these increased profits that the industry was able to increase wages. This does not, however, adequately explain why the wages suddenly increased (Crush *et al* 1991: 105). The mining industry faced an influx of international criticism regarding the discrepancy in the wage bill. Real wages for African labour had not increased in over 80 years; they had in fact decreased (Wilson 1972). Added to this there was a growing militancy among South African labour and strikes took place on some mines in the early 1970s

demanding higher wages (Crush *et al* 1991). The mines were now in a position to revisit the wage bill due to the hike in the gold price, and there was enough motivation to do so.

2.1.4 Mining Labour Impacts

It is inevitable that a system as extensive both geographically, but more importantly in time, as the mine migrant recruitment, will have numerous deep-seated impacts. Both the rural supply areas and the urban surrounds of the mines experienced massive socio-economic and political changes as well as cultural adaptations (Harries 1994). These impacts have been widely documented (Harris 1959; Wilson 1972; Stahl 1981; De Vletter 1981; Böhning 1981; Coplan 1994; Harries 1994; Moodie 1994). Research conducted before the 1970s spoke only of the administration and policy developments of the recruiting system (for example van der Horst 1942). The exploitation and inconsistency of such a system became more central to research in the 1970s. Wilson's (1972) work looked at the economic impacts and revealed some of the benefits it had, but most importantly it protested against the discrepant wage bill. The writings in the 1970s were marked by protests against the exploitation of the industry's labour policies, but they also presented an African migrant who was simply a passive victim of WNLA and colonial powers. The exploitation and harsh conditions migrants were exposed to and forced to deal with, were by no means exaggerated statements; there was however no acknowledgement of the migrants' agency and active role in adapting and dealing with mine recruitment. Harries urges us not too loose sight of the "humanity" of the migrant (1994: xix). With a new democratic South Africa on the horizon, the migrants' stories became central to the writings of the Witwatersrand mining labour history. A more complex and active migrant emerged. The works from Moodie (1994), Coplan (1994) and Harries (1994) played an important role as they documented songs and oral testaments both in Mozambique and Lesotho. A greater understanding of the complexity of the migrants' experience, and agency in their experiences of mine

employment began to appear. The impacts themselves are widely complicated and extensive, ranging from economic changes to new cultural adaptations.

Changes in Homestead Production

The most obvious impact and change is the disruption migrancy had on the social organisation in the rural areas, especially at the homestead level. The regular and extensive absence of able-bodied men from the rural homestead resulted in women having to take on new roles and responsibilities. As men became separated from their traditional tasks of production, such as opening new fields, repairing and building houses, hunting and fishing, the responsibility increasingly fell on the women to ensure the production of the homestead. Not only were the women responsible for their usual tasks and the changes that took place in them in the absence of men[6], they also needed to take on the traditionally male responsibilities as well (Harries 1994).

In the 1970s it was shown that migrant labour enabled rural communities to feed larger populations and increased the standard of living in these areas (Wilson 1972). As mining became more entrenched, reproduction of rural homesteads became increasingly reliant on the wages earned from the mines. These wages were used to pay for hut taxes, buy clothes, food and wives independently of the elders (Harries 1994). Mine labour began to outweigh agricultural production and although farming production did not generate enough for there not to be any wage earnings, the opposite is true; access to wages also sustained rural agriculture (Head 1995:131). Some the traditionally male tasks were taken over by emerging artisans. Some men would use the money they earned on the mines to establish themselves agriculturally, buying agricultural implements, selling their surpluses and tending to the fields of other families for payment (Head 1995:135)

[6] For example, raising and disciplining children in the absence of their father

Sexual Relations and Health Hazards

I briefly discuss the issues around sexual relations and health hazards to indicate the extent of the impacts bought about by the mine migrant system. It not only changed economic and social systems but affected the physical health of both migrants and their families.

Due to the increased responsibility and importance of women to the production of the homestead, the price of *lobola* (bride price) increased (Harries 1994:155). This, however, was the only acknowledgment of her new roles; her status in society remained unchanged. New systems were developed to ensure the continuation of patriarchal leadership. For instance, when a man left for the mines, he handed over responsibility of his wife's and family's welfare to either her paternal homestead or more commonly to his father, brother or heir. These systems not only ensured that her welfare was looked after; it also protected the husband's sole right to her sexuality. When a man paid *lobola* for his bride, he gained exclusive rights to her sexuality, prohibiting her from any extramarital sexual relations. While her husband was away on the mines, which could be up to 3 years at a time, she was expected to refrain from all sexual activity (Harries 1994).

Some women, however, migrated to Johannesburg in search of wage labour. Although there was a very small percentage of women from Mozambique who went, this still had influence in Mozambique's rural countryside. Migrant men would often enter into sexual relations with these women, taking home an array of venereal diseases. As very few of these women were married or even employed some of them went to the small villages which developed on mine property. Due to the unbalanced ratio of men to women and single sex compounds, most of these women found themselves serving the sexual needs of the migrants. Although prostitution did develop, it was not very popular due to the expense. Men often turned to women who had resorted to using skills they had learnt in their rural homes, such as beer brewing to eke out some sort of income. These

women offered migrants sympathy and support through temporary sexual relations with them (Harries 1994:114; Moodie 1994:144-146).

The boom in 'commercialised' sex, bought about many obvious health hazards. Venereal diseases such as syphilis became widespread, not only in the urban areas but also back in the rural supply areas, as men would then infect their wives. These diseases became rampant in Mozambique towards the end of the 1800s (Harries 1994:156). Venereal diseases however weren't the only health hazard that mineworkers were exposed to. Due the overcrowding, poor drainage and proper sanitation, gonorrhoea, dysentery and typhoid became quite common. Pneumonia, however, drew more attention from mine officials and government. Men from the more tropical areas of east and central Africa were exceptionally susceptible to pneumonia. The mortalities in the mines due to pneumonia reached such disturbing rates that the government put a ban on labour recruited from north of the 22ºS latitude line in 1913. It was not only diseases that threatened the mineworkers health; the danger of the work required created a very real fear in the men, from falling rocks, collapsing of poorly constructed shafts and gas leakages (Harries 1994).

Change in Status

Diseases, heavy drinking and scars from faction fights weren't the only things the men took back home. They returned home with changed worldviews, sometimes literate and with knowledge of a foreign language. This was reflected and incorporated into life experience in southern Mozambique. When a man returned home from the mines, his status in society improved due to his ability to provide (Moodie 1994; Harries 1994). His increased status was reflected in the new name he was now referred to: *'gayisa'*. This comes from a derivative of the Portuguese word meaning English, *'ingelese'* (Harries 1994:157). Traditionally a boy needs to enter through a rite of passage before he is considered a man- before such time he is referred to as his mother's boy. As the wages earned from the mines

became increasingly important to the local economy, a period of time spent on the mines came to be incorporated into the rite of passage and formed part of the boys' instruction and initiation into manhood.

Migrants' Agency

The exploitation of African migrant workers is well documented and very obvious. The mines not only discriminated against African men in terms of wages and exposure to harsh living conditions, they also drained the rural supply areas of their most productive manpower (Stahl & Böhning 1981). This harsh exploitation forced the rural homes to incur the infrastructural and social costs of supplying mining labour. Stahl and Böhning (1981) argue that African migrant workers were essentially not masters of their own fate, as they depended in the short term on the country that they were employed in, without the ability to argue for better working conditions and reunification of families. This resulted in the high underdevelopment of rural areas and increased their dependency on South Africa. For example, in 1990 at least half of Lesotho's and a third of Mozambique's national incomes came from the exportation of labour (Crush *et al* 1991) while their labour and infrastructual and social costs subsidised South Africa's apartheid run economy (Stahl & Böhning 1981: 148). This dependency on South Africa for wage labour is still evident today with the large number of immigrants seeking employment in South Africa, both legally and illegally (de Vletter 2000; Waller 2006). There is no denying this exploitation and all the disruption it caused, but the agency and active role men played in deciding and controlling their destinies should not be forgotten (Moodie 1994, Harries 1994). They were well aware of what they were doing, they knew the conditions on the mines, they understood the disruption to their rural homes, and they made rational decisions to go work on the mines, albeit in an environment of very few alternatives. Moodie (1994) showed how men from Lesotho fought to retain their dignity and to take control of their lives as much as possible. The men saw and understood themselves in two roles: one as a wage earner in a capitalist system, and the other as the proprietor of the rural homestead (Moodie 1994: 2).

2.2 Pafuri in context

2.2.1 Introduction to Pafuri

As TEBA falls within the area of Pafuri, a tropical lush and fertile zone where Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique meet, it is important to put into context its rich and interesting history. It holds a long history of human occupancy (Reid 2001: 140) ranging from Earlier Stone Age deposits (Gibbon 2004) to the first land restitution in the democratic South Africa (de Villiers 1999; Steenkamp 2001). It is marked with adventures and exploitations of society's outlaws, brutal forced removals, movement of mine labour, refugees and weapons supplying Mozambique's violent civil war (Mavhunga 2003). It is important to consider all these aspects throughout the research as they have played an important role in the study. People are not isolated from their past, or their present political and socio-economic situations. They view and consider their pasts within the current context they find themselves in. This includes the relations and complexity of the diverse permeable borderzone and therefore histories of Pafuri play an important role in this study.

The fertile banks of the Limpopo floodplain have been sustaining human populations for ages. The presence of Earlier Stone Age tools on almost every hilltop indicates the presence of man in the area as far back as a million years ago (Gibbon 2004). Evidence of complex social organisations is shown in the more recent Iron Age sites of Thulamela and Makhane. Thulamela and Makhane are examples of the Great Zimbabwe culture that had migrated south after the fall of Great Zimbabwe (Grigirova *et al* 1998). These are examples of how far back the human history of the area extends to form a long, diverse and fascinating history. I, however, will focus my attention on more recent events from the 1800s to early 1900s, when exploitation of natural resources blended into the trafficking of human resources, which were almost reminiscent of slave trading.

2.2.2 The Makuleke

Before any European exploitation of the natural resources and people took place in Pafuri, the Makuleke, a Shangaan or Tsonga speaking group of people resided in the triangle between the Luvuvhu and Limpopo rivers. The Makuleke were initially settled further south along the Olifants River in Mozambique. Around 1820 they were displaced by a group of refugees under Shoshangane moving north (Harries 1987) as they fled Shaka's brutal raiding and conquests in northern KwaZulu-Natal during the Mfecane. The Mfecane was a period in the early 1800s of mass movements and displacements of people around southern Africa (Reader 1997: 468). Displaced people would come together and form loosely associated ethnic groups. The Makuleke moved westward along the Olifants, and then north into the lowveld, and eventually settled along the Luvuvhu River close to its confluence with the Limpopo. The Makuleke settled here in order to secure and widen their control over the ivory trade that they had seized along the way (Harries 1987). Although this was not their original place of residency, they came to view Pafuri as home and established deep ancestral links to the area land (Connor 2002: 6-7). Social and political aspects of life for the Makulekes revolved around the landscape of Pafuri (Harries 1987). This ranged from fishing and hunting to the collection of wild fruits. In an interview with one of the Makuleke elders he elaborated that even as children there were clear roles.
"[We] used to respect our parents, we used to herd the cattle … and then we used to catch animals with snares or with dogs…"

2.2.3. Crooks Corner[7]

Shortly after the Makuleke had settled in Pafuri, Europeans entered the area. This was a party of Voortrekkers moving north away from the British colonial domination and rule in the Cape in the 1830 Great Trek. When the van Rensburg

[7] Crooks Corner was a name given to the area at the confluence of the Limpopo and Luvuvhu Rivers and the junction of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe due to the infamous outlaws that resided in the area

party entered Pafuri in 1834, the Makulekes in an attempt to protect their control over the ivory trade route wiped out his party. It was only in 1890 that Europeans then set foot in Pafuri again, shortly after gold was discovered and a demand for labour developed (Bulpin 1954; Harries 1987; Pienaar 1990). Labour recruiters were attracted to the area by the large number of African men using the old trade routes to enter the Transvaal seeking wage labour on the mines. Along with the recruiters were Swiss Missionaries who set up a station in the area to service the spiritual needs of the migrants (Harries 1987:97).

The prospects of recruiting labour was certainly a draw card for these fortune seekers, however so was the unrivalled hunting opportunities that the area presented. Having entered the region with the firearm and an appetite for the vast economic potential of ivory and animal skins, it was these opportunistic Europeans that were responsible for the near decimation of the wildlife population (Pienaar 1990; Carruthers 1995). When the infamous Cecil *Bvekenya* Barnard first came to the area with the ideals of finding his fortune from the teaming wildlife, he would go for days with out seeing even an antelope (Bulpin 1955: 32). Yet the local African populations were banned from hunting for their subsistence as their traditional methods such as snares were considered “barbaric and cruel” and uncivilised (Carruthers 1995: 90).

One of the characteristic features of Pafuri was its remoteness and distance from any urbanisation, and therefore any legal regulation or watchful eye. This attracted a variety of unscrupulous characters, fortune seekers, fugitives and renegades (Pienaar 1990). These men tried their hands at almost anything that would bring them some form of fortune no matter how unsavoury. These activities included ivory and skin poaching and the luricative blackbirding. Blackbirding was the illegal recruiting and smuggling of African labour into the Transvaal, which was then sold to the highest bidder in ways that resembled African slave trading (Murray 1995). After the ban on recruiting labour from the tropics in 1913, blackbirders continued to smuggle men across into South Africa, supply them with false identity documents (Murray 1995: 383) and sold them or

bribed the legal recruiting officials to have them included in the legitimate team of recruits (Pienaar 1990:544). Blackbirding delivered more migrant labour to the mines than initially thought, although there is no accurate documentation of these activities that took place in the notorious Crook's Corner (Murray 1995).

2.2.4 Conservation status

There is another intrical part to the history of Pafuri and that is its conservation status. Since 1903 white Eurocentric conservationists (Carruthers 1995) have valued Pafuri as a place worthy, and in need of preservation[8] (Harries 1987: 104; Pienaar 1990: 543). It was proclaimed as part of the Xingwedzi reserve, but was eventually excluded due to the presence of the Makuleke. In 1913 it was proclaimed as an area of protection under the Department of Native Affairs. Again due to its remoteness and difficulties in implementing any regulations, all this really achieved was tension between the department and conservation officials and the Makuleke. The Kruger National Park was created in 1926 by joining the Sabi Reserve, which was further South (south of the Sabi river) and the Xingwedzi Reserves. The Park's officials prevented any hunting and fishing from the Luvuvhu River, activities that were integral to life for the Makuleke and which held social and political importance. These activities were seen to be inconsistent with the conservation priority of the park. Tensions grew not only because of this seemingly ludicrous ban (Carruthers 1995) but also over land dispute. The Kruger National Park for many years desired to have Pafuri included into the park and since 1930 had been trying to have the Makuleke removed from Pafuri (Harries 1987). However, it was only in 1969 under the Verwoed government's Bantustan programmes that the Makuleke were bundled onto trucks and taken to their new home some distance away.

[8] Here I have specifically used 'preserve' to indicate the exclusion of any human utilisation or activity unless it does not contradict the preservation aim, as opposed to conservation, which indicates some sort of utilisation.

2.2.5 Tsonga Identity

The apartheid government classified and segregated different perceived ethnic groups and enforced on them a tribal identity dictated to by the differences that occurred between the various groups. The Tsonga or Shangaan identity is, however, of special interest. Junod, a Swiss Missionary to Mozambique in the 1800s and early 1900s undertook 'a scientific study of the natives'. He was concerned though with the fact that in order for the study to be scientific, all descriptions should be limited to one well-defined tribe (Junod 1962). He was, however, aware that the people he was dealing with, although they spoke a language of such similarity that it was almost identical, had no sense of cohesion or belonging to a greater tribe or nation. So in an attempt to create, at least on paper, a nation or tribe, he allocated the name and identity of Ba-Thonga[9] (Tsonga) to these groups of people (Junod 1962). He goes on to explain where he got the word Tsonga. It was a Zulu derogative word for the Tsonga that they had captured and enslaved, meaning 'people from the east' (Junod 1962). It was in the meaning, not in the derogativeness of the word, that he saw its appropriateness. Shangaan was a word used mainly by white settlers and refers to the name of a Zulu chief who settled along the east coast (Junod 1962). The notion of a Shangaan or Tsonga nation has never been strongly adopted even during the apartheid Bantustans.

2.2.6 Land Restitution

Patrick Harries in "*A Forgotten Corner of the Transvaal*" has carefully documented the lamenting and heartache that the Makuleke felt (and still do) when they were ripped from their land. He records their resistance to being pulled away from the guidance of their ancestors and access to the various foods and resources they had come to depend on (Harries 1987). The Makuleke, especially the elders, have longed to return to their land and the freer, better lifestyle of the past. The life of their relatives across the border has come to represent for them

[9] Thonga is a more archaic form of the word, today Tsonga is used and is used from hereon

the way life was and should be (Connor 2002). Dislocation from their land and homes has formed a central part of the lives of people living (or who had lived) in Pafuri, both in South Africa and Mozambique. In Mozambique, the Makuleke have been repatriated back to their land. Interestingly, some have chosen to rebuild their homes where they originally were, and have successfully identified where their homes were in spite of them being overgrown and the presence of land mines in the area (Connor 2002). Connor goes on to show that it is because of this displacement that the notion of home is so deeply implanted in Pafuri and that despite the borders and distance there is still some freedom of movement around and across the border. In this way relations are maintained with clan relatives across the border (Connor 2002).

Land rights became an important issue for the new democratic South African government, which has been dealt with through the Restitution of Land Rights Act (1994). Through this legislation, an agreement between SANParks[10] and the Makuleke was signed and the title of the land was handed back to the Makuleke (de Villiers 1999). According to this agreement the land remains under conservation protection and is jointly managed through a joint management board represented by both the Makuleke and SANParks. There is, however, some doubt cast over the process of the land claim. It is argued that through a "*multi-stakeholder process, the SANP[arks] was provided with an opportunity to have a direct influence over the community development process at Makuleke*" (Steenkamp and Uhr 2000: 3). The concern here is that the community's independence in the negotiations was undermined and that conservation priorities were once again put ahead of community needs. SANParks was clearly threatened by the claim, fearing that successful land claims would 'disintegrate' the Kruger National Park and aimed to set a precedent with the Makuleke land claim (Steenkamp and Uhr 2000: 6). The contested successful land claim did set a precedent and has been used as a blue print for further claims over conservation areas. However, it is argued quite widely that this success has come at the sacrifice to the community (Tapela & Omara-Ojungu 1999; Steenkamp & Uhr

[10] South African National Parks

2000; Steenkamp & Grossman 2001; van Amerom & Büscher 2005: 175). For instance, the elders have not been repatriated to the land and way of life they had before 1969. But more importantly the power relations have led to the Makuleke being coerced into conservation priorities, again letting the conservation take precedence over people. Pafuri today remains an isolated remote area, where even tourists are controlled and limited have to access to the land.

It is interesting to note that the National Parks Board, as it was called during the apartheid rule, supported the government's propaganda that South Africa was a chosen land for white Afrikaans people. Park officials reasoned that the land that makes up the present day Kruger National Park was unsuitable for human occupation, denying the actual substantial presence of human occupancy in Pafuri (Carruthers 1995: 97). From the discussions had during the research the success of the propaganda in embedding a deep seed of denial in the minds of white South Africans became apparent, as some people still today believe this despite all the archaeological evidence proving otherwise. This is a worrying phenomenon, as it perpetuates the notion that the conservation of biodiversity takes priority, which in turn dictates the management of cultural and historical sites within Pafuri, including TEBA, as will be shown.

2.3 Conclusion

Labour from southern Mozambique clearly constituted an important supply of labour for the mining industry, which in turn had significant impacts on the social, economic and cultural lives of people living in the area. The TEBA site in Pafuri, through its high volume of recruitment in the past and the impacts this bought about, has played a vital role in the area's history. These impacts and the dependency on the recruitment that developed are still very evident today, and along with the experience of the borderzone, have profoundly influenced perceptions of the site's history and future.

Chapter 3

Perceptions on the South African side

The Pafuri borderzone represents a place where the differences and similarities in the social, political and economic lives of those living in South Africa and Mozambique are played out and have become themes of the borderzone (Connor 2002:4). Experiences of the different political and colonial control, the different experiences of the mine recruitment, the forced removals of the apartheid government, and the patterns of war, floods and droughts have all contributed to the different yet shared experience of the borderzone.

The residents of the borderzone have been influenced by these similarities and differences, which are reflected in the conversations had with them. I therefore draw an arbitrary distinction between the two countries and discuss them separately, although there really is no clean demarcation between the two due to the arbitrariness of the border. In this chapter I talk to the South Africa side of the border, focussing on interviews held with the Makuleke and officials from South African National Parks (SANParks) and TEBA. In the next chapter (Chapter 4) I will discuss responses from the Mozambique side of the border. Despite the division in the chapters they should be read as one.

3.1 Participants from South Africa

TEBA had a formidable presence in Pafuri and played a part in the history of the Makuleke at Pafuri. Eight men from the Makuleke village were interviewed. As the Makuleke were self sustaining, before their removal from Pafuri (Harries 1987), very few needed or did take on mine labour and so therefore did not necessarily experience recruitment by TEBA. However TEBA in its close proximity and interaction with the Makuleke still played an important role in the

lives of the Makuleke, through work opportunities at TEBA, transport[1], and medical facilities[2]. Therefore the eight men I interviewed from the Makuleke village were mainly elders who had lived in Pafuri and/or worked at the TEBA site. Their association with TEBA did not simply end when they were removed from Pafuri, but continued in the form of employment at TEBA stations in Pafuri and Soekmekaar. Employment at the Pafuri site continues still after the recruitment has ended and so continues to play an important role in people's lives.

Permission was needed to conduct the interviews in the Makuleke village, both from the tribal authorities and the Community Property Association (CPA). The Makulekes, because of the land claim have been extensively researched (de Villiers 1999; Reid 2001; Steenkamp & Uhr 2000; Steenkamp 2001) and as a result have become somewhat suspicious of researchers and the expectations that could arise from participants' involvement. My research proposal was therefore scrutinised and rubber-stamped by these two authorities. This was a somewhat different yet very worthwhile process than in Mozambique where permission was simply asked for, and promptly given. This reflects the responsibility the Makuleke community has taken to prevent abuse of their own knowledge. The approval from the Makuleke came with the condition that feedback is given to the participants, the CPA and tribal authority. The main aim of this process is not to deter from the objectivity of the research or to influence it in any way. Its aim is twofold really. Firstly to ensure that the researchers are accountable for ethical conduct of their research by returning the data back to the Makuleke and avoiding unnecessary expectations, and secondly for the Makuleke to develop a database of research and their results conducted with their participation. During the interviews it became apparent that there were a number of researchers, who once they had gathered their 'data,' simply left 'never to return', some having even lived among the Makuleke. The Makuleke feel that they have invested their time; knowledge and trust to only loose their right to their own information.

[1] The Makuleke would make use of the TEBA busses used for the recruits
[2] The doctor at TEBA would often attend to medical needs of the Makuleke

Officials from SANParks and TEBA have been selected based on their involvement in the discussions around the site and/or the impact these discussions have on their daily duties. This ranges from on the ground staff to the higher echelons of management. From SANParks this includes rangers, People and Conservation, and Conservation Services staff. TEBA officials included site managers and head office staff.

3.2 Life at Ntlaveni

In 1969 the Makuleke were forcefully removed from their land in Pafuri by the apartheid government. In 1998 they were successful in reclaiming ownership of their land in one of South Africa's first land claims under the new democratic government (de Villiers 1999). In their agreement with SANParks the land would not be resettled and would remain under conservation protection (for more details see chapter 2 and Harries 1987; De Villiers 1999). It is this point that has led to a controversial debate around the proclaimed success of the land claim (see Steenkamp & Uhr 2000; Steenkamp & Grossman 2001; Reid & Turner 2004). But most importantly it has managed to create discontentment and debate among the Makuleke themselves. Barbara Bender in her paper "*Landscapes on-the-move*" (2001) shows that people who experience dislocation and relocation to new often-hostile places reconstruct themselves and their new place to become part of that new landscape. There is often a reminiscence of home; the familiar place entrenched with memories. However through time and as the new hostile memory-barren landscape becomes populated with experience and memory, reconciliation to the new place is made possible. People then move from making do to becoming part of the place. This move to reconciliation is often made when the possibility of returning home becomes non-existent (Bender 2001: 82), a sort of resigned acceptance. However for some, reconciliation is impossible and they continue to hold on to the place of their homes. For some of the elders of the Makuleke the hope of return to their land, conjured up by the land claim, has stirred up a nostalgia for the life lived in Pafuri and reawakened the hostility of

this ‘new place’, Ntlaveni. Many reminisce about the ease and abundance of life at Pafuri and compare the abundance and variety of wild fruits to the barren monotony of the Mopani bush around Ntlaveni. Others have simply never let go of life in Pafuri and were never able to completely reconcile to Ntlaveni. One participant complained that even the thatching grass at Pafuri was stronger than the grass found at Ntalveni and how even after 30 years of living there he still does not feel as though Ntlaveni is his home.
“And the thatching grass [we] used were so strong, not like this ones… yes [I’m] not used to (referring to living in Ntalveni)”

Others feel cheated by the land claim agreement, claiming that despite their community’s ownership of the land, they themselves as members of the community still do not have free access to the land promised to them through the land claim, a this participant lamented:
“Yes that is another thing [referring to the land claim] *that is been a challenge I think. But I’m sorry I am just not in agreement with the manner they are running the Makuleke camp. Ja I think the restrictions that are there is quite disappointing, the management plan that they are using there is strict and I don’t think they can allow such a thing to happen, because I see if you go there you can come back without getting inside there. I don’t know what’s going to be a good access for the Makuleke the people around, because you can go there and then they can send you back without getting inside.”*

These quotes show that Makuleke still hold and create their identity in relation to their ancestral home in Pafuri, which has been further ingrained through the experience of dislocation and reclamation of the land (Connor 2002).

Despite the controversy and disappointment around the land claim, the Makuleke community as a whole have managed to empower themselves enough to make attempts at lifting their village from the dredges of poverty and underdevelopment. The degree to which they have been empowered is arguable. Steenkamp & Uhr (2000) criticise and question the extent to which the SANParks coerced them into leaving the land under conservation. However despite this, the

Makuleke have managed a certain amount of empowerment that enables them to question and defend themselves in various forums. An example of this is the screening of researchers in their village by the CPA and tribal authority. From this empowerment and through profits earned from commercial tourism ventures and a highly controversial hunting season in 2000 and 2001, they have constructed essential facilities such as new schools, a clinic, electricity and a community centre from which the tribal authorities and the Community Property Association (CPA) operate. The CPA is responsible for the management of the land and financial gains and dissemination from the land in Pafuri. Included at this centre is also a community lodge where visitors may overnight and experience the Makuleke village life. In addition to these profits the Maluleke were paid compensation from the government for their land lost during Apartheid (Koro 2005). The community in turn asked the government to use that money to electrify the village. This included street lights (of which the community are very proud) and prepaid lights in homesteads. Along with the schools, clinics and electricity the village has access to clean running water. However this not yet available in each home, community taps are sporadically located at certain street corners.

Employment remains very low in the area however, with few work opportunities existing with the Kruger National Park (as with all villages bordering the park), the new private lodges in Pafuri, the few schools and a number of Muslim owned shops in the area. However sustainability of these opportunities are uncertain. During a visit to Makuleke I met a qualified schoolteacher who is unable to secure a permanent job at any of the schools and has come to rely on irregular translation work. Increased reliance on wage labour took place with the relocation to Ntlaveni with the dependency on subsistence agriculture decreasing due to a lack of arable land (Harries 1987). A new farming project has been initiated. People involved own 5ha of land on which they cultivate a crop to be sold through the project. Informal economic activities have come to contribute largely to the livelihood of people, such as informal drinking spots in the backyards of various homesteads. Women prepare traditional sorghum and fruit beer (mainly Marula

beer or lala wine depending on the season) which are then sold to mainly bored unemployed men at cheaper rates than commercial beer sold at the bottle stores.

3.3 Conflict between SANParks and TEBA

The tensions between TEBA and SANParks around the TEBA site and the perceptions of this tension have had a profound affect on the creation of meaning about the site and its history by both organisations. This is not however limited to just the tension between the two organisations but within the organisations themselves, especially SANParks. It is because of this influence on the creation of meaning that I would like to give more details about the situation.

As discussed earlier the debate around the TEBA site started with the Thulamela excavations in 1995 and gained momentum again in 2003 when the need for a new ranger station arose. From SANParks, two departments are mainly involved in the debate: Conservation Services and the People and Parks departments. Conservation Services are responsible for the daily management of biodiversity conservation, while People and Parks are responsible for facilitating the transformation of conservation practice including creating positive relations with people living adjacent to the park and the management of cultural heritage (both tangible and intangible).

My interviews took place at a time that proved to be a crossroads for both the organisations and the relationship between them. At both SANParks and TEBA officials were newly appointed into positions that identified them as possible participants in the research. At the same time Kruger revised their Recreational Opportunities Zoning (ROZ) policy, which had a profound influence on the decision making around the TEBA site.

The ROZ plan is a balancing policy between tourism development and the organisation's conservation objectives, and guides the infrastructual, ecotourism

development, and levels of conservation management and tourism activities (Freitag-Ronaldson & Foxcroft 2003:402). The Park is divided into various zones based on their ecological integrity and tourism potential. These zones range from Wilderness (very low human impact, only pedestrians and no facilities) to High Intensity Leisure zones (higher human impact, self drive, buses and safari vehicles, full facilities) (SANParks 2006). The ROZ plan had developed out of the notions of wilderness management and led to debate around the definitions, sizes, use and management of the zones including more importantly the perceptions, expectations and interpretations of these zones (Freitag-Ronaldson & Foxcroft 2003:402). This led to a revisit and revision of the policy, which culminated in a new revised, and more defined ROZ plan. It was this newly revised plan that swung things around in the relationship between SANParks and TEBA and led to a more co-operative relationship between the two.

The tensions around the TEBA site, before the turn around (due to the revision of the ROZ plan) were not only confined to external organisational conflict but also between departments within SANParks. There was a difference in opinion about the use of the site between the Conservation Services and the People and Conservation departments. Conservation Services prioritised biodiversity and wilderness management above the cultural and historical value and management, while People and Conservation were far more concerned with retaining and protecting the historical character of the site and prioritised this over the wilderness management (Verhoef 2006 pers.comm). Biodiversity objectives took a far more superior position during the conflict reflecting the inter-departmental hierarchies within the organisation. This was further emphasised with the relocation of the Pafuri ranger to TEBA after a workshop that was held at TEBA in 2003 (discussed briefly in Chapter 1) and the Conservation Services department's obstinacy in insisting that the Pafuri area was a wilderness zone disallowing further infrastructural development. During this difficult time it was the staff on the ground, both from TEBA and Kruger that were left to deal with the daily frustrations of the situation, from staff shortages due to the limited facilities at TEBA to the feeling of lack of communication from the Park.

However once the ROZ plan was revised and the area rezoned as a Low Density Leisure area (Venter 2006 pers.comm) the issue was revisited and the decision to use the site as ranger station was revised.

3.4 Memory on the South African side

In gathering the experienced memory of the site it was not my intention to simply gather these memories, to mine them from passive participants (Meskell 2005a), but rather to understand what this past means today. Memory is affected by two critical factors namely time and the audience. Memories change over time as new memory input reorganise, and in some cases replace older, memories (Vansina 1985: 161). As time passes our recollections of the past events become somewhat blurred and meanings associated to these memories change as we undergo change through experience. The poignant and most profound events and details tend to stand out from others and are at the forefront of our minds when remembering back to the event. So after more than 30 years since the event of TEBA and the Makuleke's association with the site and experience of dislocation and drastic political change, I was interested in what had been remembered and what meaning this conveys.

3.4.1 Makuleke Memory

As interviews are contextual, with meaning and the construction of memory created in that context, these meanings, constructed memories cannot be separated from their context of the interview. In addition to the interview context we need to consider the contexts in which both the researcher and participant were embedded at the time of the interview. The Makuleke view their present situation, through a sense of nostalgia for the past, as more unstable and insecure. It is through this sense of loss of lifes's taken-for-grantedness (Werbner 1998:1) that the memories related in the interview point to the Makuleke's present

situations and to issues that are essential for them now reflecting a crisis in memory (Werbner 1998). The Makuleke remember TEBA as an employer. In an environment of poverty and low employment rates the memory of employment at and through TEBA is viewed far more positively than would have been the case if the Makuleke thought of themselves as financially secure. The Makuleke expressed admiration towards TEBA for not only having offered them employment, but also for having created employment in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, where alternative employment was rare. The fact that there was employment and a means for men to support their families has overshadowed the difficulties this distant employment created in a time when the security offered by the employment is missed. A participant who is still employed by TEBA on an ad hoc basis revealed a deep loyalty to TEBA, emphasising the fact that TEBA has been his bread and butter.

"*Ja, I go there, I go help everyone, other man. Christine comes takes me here, go help there. I bring back food here, get bitejane (*a little*) money, get phuza (*drink*) bietjane. I get piece job there, get a bit of money, get mielies meal come give my children here"*

There were mixed opinions however about how the recruits were treated at TEBA. Some felt that men from Mozambique and Zimbabwe were forced to work on the mines and that they were generally afraid of leaving their homes and working underground. It was never mentioned that the staff at TEBA treated the recruits aggressively; in fact one participant specifically mentioned that the recruits were treated well at TEBA but at the mines they were ill treated and poorly paid. On the other hand some felt that because TEBA provided work for people who had very few other alternatives, and were provided with food and accommodation during the recruitment, they were treated acceptably. One participant, despite what TEBA did for the recruits, remembered how they were searched at the border control for divining bones. This, according to the participant, reflected the mistrust the mines, more than TEBA, had of the recruits from Mozambique and Zimbabwe and insensitivity to the recruits' traditional practices of protection.

"… some should hide those things [diving bones], *and at Mzilikazi there, they were going to search them and while they find that there are those things there, those diving bones there, they should question the office right at Pafuri, that why didn't you search these guys well"*

Spiritual rites and rituals, usually associated with hunting, travelling and trading, were adapted to the journey to the mines by the late 1800s. These rites and rituals were used for protection and giving the migrant labourer a means to control the dangers along the way, for example the feared possession and attack by the 'bush spirits' (spirits of dead migrants wandering the bush) (Harries 1994: 118-119). These rituals and talisman, in the form of divining bones, gave the migrant the extra security he needed to deal with the unfamiliar and a way of resolving his fears. When these were confiscated at TEBA, many would return home rather than face the journey into the unknown without the extra security these talismans offered them.

In addition to TEBA being remembered as a generous providing employer, other facilities offered by TEBA to the Makuleke during their stay at Pafuri was related. The buses used by TEBA to transport mine recruits from Pafuri to the Soekmekaar train station were often mentioned and seem to have been an integral part of life to the Makuleke. The Makuleke were able to use these buses for trips into town or other locations along the route when necessary. Some used these buses to seek employment in towns outside the park instead of going to the mines or working at TEBA. Another important facility available to the Makuleke was medical care. The Makuleke were able to rely on the doctor based at TEBA for their medical needs. One participant related the story of how, he as a young boy fell out of a tree and broke his leg, had gone to the TEBA doctor for help.

3.4.2 Researcher's Influence

As for myself as a researcher, there is no doubt that I have influenced these constructions (Fontana & Frey 1994: 368). The constructions of the events are significantly influenced by the audience and the responses are self censored by the participant in relation to my own characteristics (Darlington and Scott 2002:50, 55). This has in no sense invalidated these memories, instead it adds to the meanings reflected in their sharing them with me. In a country only recently freed from racial oppression and segregation, issues around race are still very much alive in the minds of South Africans. The oppression from a white minority, experienced for more than half their lives, lingers in the minds of the elders from the Makuleke and has played out in the interviews with them. Participants at the end of the interview would thank me and call me 'missus' or 'madam' regardless of my far younger age, highlighting their subservient attitude towards me as a white South African. This would have strongly influenced the construction of memory and self-censorship of what was related, including the overwhelmingly positive memory of TEBA, its recruitment and employment.

3.4.3 Historical Value

Part of these memories is the meaning and value attributed to the history of the site today. It is generally accepted that the history of recruitment and TEBA's formidable and long presence in Pafuri is an important history of the area and should be past on to the next generations. Many Makuleke feel that part of their family history is tied in with that of TEBA's. TEBA continued to play a role in these people's lives after moving to Ntlaveni and the recruitment, through the continued employment of the Makuleke. This often happened through referrals by friends and family members already working at TEBA. Three of the participants interviewed have childhood memories of their fathers working at TEBA and visiting them, and then after their fathers' retirement replacing them.

In the spirit of reconciliation and admission of wrongs in the new democratic South Africa, TEBA have acknowledged the exploitation of their recruitment system (Hester 2006). In response to this a section 21 company (not-for-profit) was established in 2001 (http://www.teba.co.za/tebadev/about_overview.asp). This company, TEBA Development, runs along side TEBA Limited and implements TEBA's commitments to social responsibility and economic upliftment of the rural areas that were their main supply areas at the zenith of their recruitment. Among their commitments is the increase in rural health, alleviation of poverty and creation of employment and livelihood opportunities, involving agricultural, school assistance and HIV/AIDS home based care projects (http://www.teba.co.za/tebadev/rurdev.asp?id=2&cID=1). However this is very often downplayed with the emphasis on the company's contributions to the infrastructual development of the area, especially its role in the Kruger Park. This ranges from Harold Mockford's records of the natural environment of the area to the construction of roads and camps. One participant emphasised the extent of TEBA's infrastructural range in the area and the importance of this:
"…I feel that um TEBA's very much a part of this area. In fact a lot of this development wouldn't be here if it wasn't for TEBA. In fact across the border you wouldn't have anything, this border post probably wouldn't even exist, some of the park camps were started by TEBA, some these roads were started by TEBA."

This is contrasted by Kruger's Conservation Services department's opinion of the site's history. Although the history is interesting and relevant in terms of Mockford's contributions to the area's management, wilderness conservation and its protection is far more valued and privileged over the historical significance of the site. This opinion continued despite the persistence from the People and Conservation department of the site's role in the area's history. In an environment where cultural heritage practice continues to be sidelined (Meskell 2005b, 2007), this raises the question of whether a real transformation of conservation practices, that SANParks claims to have set out to achieve in the new democratic South Africa (see Dladla 1998:i), has in fact taken place.

3.5 Perspectives from South Africa

The poverty and lack of employment opportunities experienced by the Makuleke today and the memory of employment from TEBA have painted a rather upbeat picture of TEBA. The memories of employment and access to facilities offered by TEBA are contrasted against the present everyday struggle against poverty at Ntlaveni. TEBA offered a means for these men to support their families, either through direct employment at the site or on the mines or through facilitating employment in towns by means of transport. For those that had worked there, TEBA was described to me as a fair and respected employer. Many felt that they were treated well at TEBA despite the inequalities of the employment so characteristic of the time. Throughout the conversations, they remembered earning wages, often better than what could have been earned on the mines and were supplied with food probably in the form of monthly rations.

The acceptance of unequal employment at TEBA reflects the proletarianisation adaptations that rural Africa was forced to make during their encounter with the imperialists that colonised them as well as the brutal propaganda of the apartheid regime to engrain a belief of white supremacy. In no way should this acceptance detract from the participants' resistance towards oppression. In his book, "*Forms of Resistance"* Leroy Vail talks about how songs were used to express and achieve resistance in southern Mozambique and that participation in a capitalist operation, such as wage labour, cannot simply imply collaboration or lack of resistance (Vail 1983: 5). In fact the Makuleke show their resistance towards oppression and threats to their lifestyles through firstly their resistance to the forced removals (Harries 1987) and secondly their outspoken discontent towards the Kruger National Park.

This further goes to show that TEBA's existence in Pafuri was never a threat to the Makuleke's way of life in Pafuri. In fact TEBA has came to be an integral part of that life and forms part of the memories of a better more prosperous life in Pafuri. This is strongly contrasted with the historical discontentment towards the

existence of the Kruger Park and the former apartheid government. Both the apartheid government and the Park threatened the way of life the Makuleke lived at Pafuri. Since the declaration of the Kruger National Park in 1927 (whose northern border at the time was the Luvuvhu River) restrictions on hunting and fishing have been placed on the Makuleke, and traditional practices of hunting and fishing were rapidly labelled as poaching (Harries 1987: 99; Carruthers 1995:91-92). This and the obvious threat of the forced removals did nothing to establish a good rapport with the Makuleke. Despite the success of the land claim, there is still contestation and disapproval, among some of the Makuleke, relating to the outcome of the land claim and Kruger is still seen as a greedy land hungry intimidator. This Makuleke elder speaks out about the prospects of Kruger taking over TEBA:

"If Kruger National Park also takes that place it will, its wrong, it's taking a place that doesn't belong to him… they are greedy… so like we tried at Makuleke, we are no longer there because even the government seems to be afraid to talk to Kruger National Park"

Kruger's perception of TEBA however is slightly different. The relevance and significance of the history of TEBA is understood in terms of what TEBA has to offer the park and its conservation of biodiversity. For example it is clear that Harold Mockford, who stayed and worked at TEBA for about 40years was also a keen naturalist and kept detailed records of the natural environment around him. A Kruger participant sees value in these records and therefore TEBA's involvement in the history of the park has gained in significance.

"*I know that the guy Mockford that stayed there, he was also a naturalist, so he recorded rainfall figures and things like that. That is of great value to the park. We haven't been able to access it yet, just because we don't know where the records are, so for the park that is also very important"*

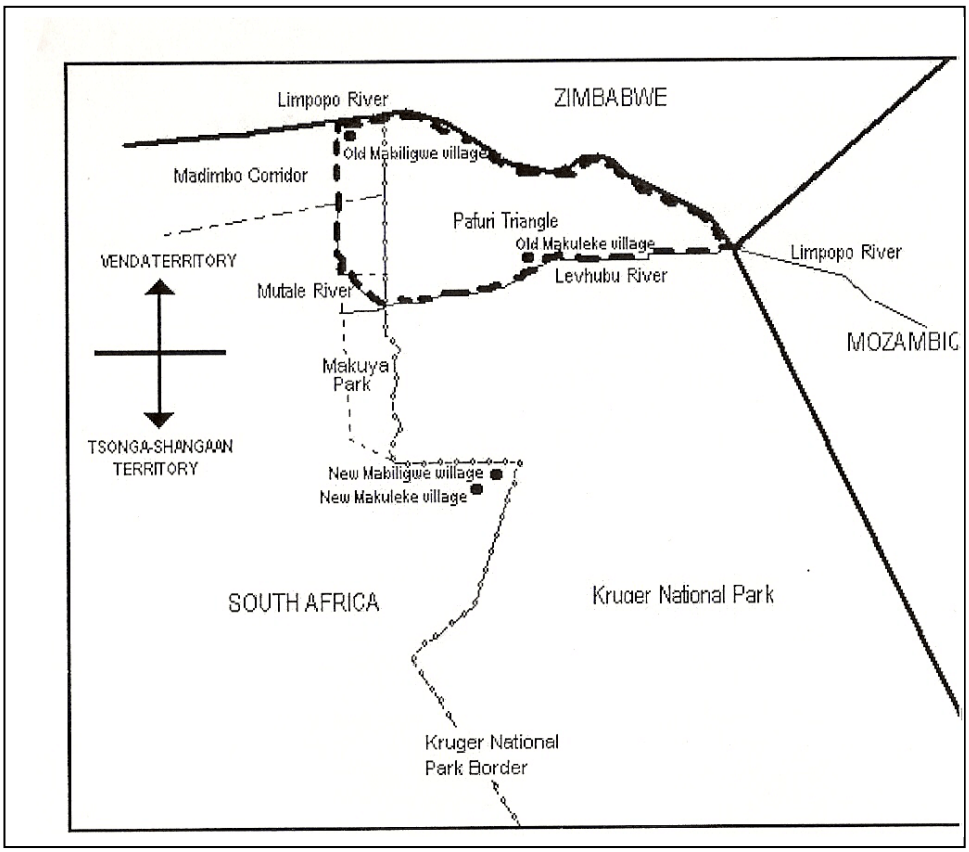


Figure 3.1 Map indicating the Location of Makuleke Villages (Steenkamp & Grossman 2001)

The understanding of the historical significance of the site however may only be artificial, shown in the relocation of the ranger to the site and refurbishment of living quarters for lower income staff (generally black general workers and now field rangers). This was done without consultation with the Cultural Resource Officer and the South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA). SAHRA is the responsible agency for the implementation and monitoring of the country's National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) (Act 25 of 1999). According to this law any building over the age 60 years may not be demolished or changed in anyway without consultation from SAHRA. This has again reflected the tensions between the two organisations and Kruger's unscrupulous intent on using the site as a ranger station. The buildings originally painted white were quickly transformed into the iconic Kruger building with a fresh coat of beige (khaki) coloured paint detracting from the buildings' historical character.



Figure 3.2. Example of an original white-washed building



Figure 3.3 Example of the buildings painted in the Kruger Park iconic khaki

3.6 South African Wishes for the Future

Thinking and meaning around the future of the site is at the forefront of the debate between TEBA and SANParks about the site. This was discussed with participants to determine what people on the ground foresee but most importantly what they wish to see happen at the site. As the past influences current perceptions so will both what is remembered as well as the current perceptions affect desires for the future. Memories of the past have both influenced and are influenced by the current perceptions of the site. Intertwined within all this is the underlying influence of current situational contexts. In other words the current experience of poverty and low employment influences both how the site is perceived now, what is remembered foremost of the site's history (as has been shown) and what is desired for the future.

Interviews with the Makuleke revealed varying opinions about the future of the site. Some are still strongly influenced by both the memory of TEBA as a non-threatening employment provider and pride in the work they did and loyalty to the site. These people are angered by the proposal of Kruger's administration taking ownership of the site. This is further aggravated by the fact that the conservation of a wilderness area, which does not bring any benefit to them or their livelihoods, has been privileged above the historical significance and most importantly the employment opportunities they would have at the site, as this quote clearly shows.

P[3]: No no no!! I don't want the park to take the camp of Pafuri! How come they take it?

R[4]: They say they want it for a ranger station.

P: No – the park he can go build their own camp, not Pafuri… That camp is expensive. You see it's a nice one, all the trees, he planted there and the rocks, he made it like that. Its WNLA that made that garden…Kruger is force, is using force to put his ranger there… Its better he goes to another place, not there! How come they are staying there?"

[3] Participant
[4] Researcher

Others feel that Kruger has the right to take over the site based purely on the fact that the site falls within the park's boundaries. Within these boundaries, Kruger has sole authority and may rule as they see fit. There were further divisions on this as well. While some did not like the situation, but they feel powerless to do anything about it or to simply voice their discontentment, others have simply resigned themselves to the acceptance of Kruger's authority and prioritising of biodiversity conservation. They have come to accept the park's conservation ideals.

TEBA's opinions about the future of the site vary within the organisation. The general feeling is that because of their long history and the impacts the company had in the area they should remain in Pafuri with the actual use of the site varying. Some feel that they should continue as an exclusive getaway enclave for their staff. However, this needs to be done with a drastically improved and closer working relationship with the park, reflecting the frustrations experienced by staff caused by the tensions and lack of communication between the two organizations. This opinion is however only reserved for the buildings on the South African side of the border. The buildings in Mozambique have been offered to the Park to be used as they wish. This reflects the importance given to the South African side or rather unimportance that the Mozambique side of the site has. This notion that TEBA only really exists in South Africa was expressed in all interviews held with the South African participants and further disconnects the history from Mozambique. This is certainly an unusual characteristic of this permeable borderzone, but one that reflects a certain superiority that is felt in South Africa.

There is some thinking around reopening the site for recruitment. As many Mozambiquans attempt to escape the dire poverty they experience and seek work in South Africa, there are frequent border crossings some legally but mainly illegally. Many farmers around the Limpopo and Mpumalanga province take on these illegal immigrants, as they will often work at lower rates than legitimate South African residents. There is large number of illegal immigrants that cross

the border from Mozambique and transverse through the Kruger Park. These immigrants risk their lives, facing numerous hazards, such as wild animal encounters while walking through the Park and facing Kruger rangers and the South African Defence Force (SANDF), in search for employment. There is very little tolerance towards immigrants that are caught either by the SANDF or Kruger employees and regular accounts are given of the numbers caught, deported or killed (Meskell 2006: 107). In answer to this TEBA are looking at the possibilities of recruiting Mozambiquans as farm labour in these provinces.

Throughout the discussions, Kruger on the other hand, have been adamant that the site will fall under park management consistent with the GLTP developments. It is widely accepted within the park, since the revision of the ROZ plan, that whatever course of action is taken, that the site retains its historical significance. Ideas for the use of the site have ranged from a ranger station and research camp (before the new ROZ plan) with wilderness protection stated as its main argument, a museum and tourist accommodation. Since the rezoning of the area from a wilderness area to a Low Density Leisure area, the use of the site as accommodation has been proposed.

Despite the disparities expressed by participants, about what should happen to the site within the GLTP, all agreed that the history of the site is important and that it should be made available and accessible to people visiting the area. All participants felt it necessary that the history is told from all perspectives i.e. the mineworkers recruited through the site and their families and the Makuleke associated with the site and their employment there as well as TEBA's as a company. The Makuleke felt it was also very important that the younger generation learn about the recruitment history and the Makuleke's involvement in the site. Perceptions of the best way for this history to be communicated varied among the different constituents. The Makuleke felt that oral testimony would be most effective whether it is directly with visitors to the site or if a researcher documents it. Having it written in books and taught at school was also deemed important.

It has been long proposed by Kruger that a museum is set up at the site, starting with the site identified as a possibility for the Thulamela education centre and museum. This arose again in 2003 when it was proposed that the Mozambique side of the site be used as a museum, however this time not only as a repository for the Thulamela collection but as a vehicle to reflect the Pafuri regional history (Küsel & Nkatini 2003). There are however some reservations towards a museum at the site. TEBA are concerned about the public access to the site and the impacts it will have on their visitors staying at the site. They would prefer to see a museum for public access set up elsewhere. While SANParks are concerned about a museum on the Mozambique side and feel this needs to be revisited considering the existence of the border post and the lack of further tourism developments in Mozambique.

3.7 Conclusions

From these conversations it is clear that TEBA is a site that holds disparate meanings for various communities. For the Makuleke, it is part of a more prosperous history and support mechanism than what exists in the present, for SANParks it is a place of opportunity either as tourist accommodation or ranger stations and for TEBA it has sentimental value as vestige to their long presence and achievements in the area, a reminder of their glory days. But this only relates to the buildings on the South African side. The site has been divided in the minds of the South Africans. Once the recruitment ended, Mozambique's contribution to the recruitment has been forgotten and left to the ravages of degradation and civil war, while the South African side has been carefully maintained as a reminder of imperial rule and 'conquering'.

Of great importance for the future of the site, is a far clearer communication between all parties. These different opinions of the site's future between TEBA and SANParks reflect the unco-operative relationship that has existed between the two, but with the newly stated objective from both sides to establish greater co-

operation, these opinions and ideas need to be clearly communicated and a resolution found to ensure further co-operation. Most importantly though is that the Makuleke who have a vested interest in the site need to be incorporated and bought into the discussions. These discussions also provide an essential opportunity for real and complete transformation of conservation thinking and practice. Cultural heritage and true community involvement need more recognition and impetus.

Chapter 4

Perception on the Mozambique side

Memories and perceptions that are constructed during the interview process are contextual of both the present socio-economic situations participants are in and their past experiences. People living on the Mozambique side of Pafuri are faced daily with even more desperate poverty than their South African counterparts and minimal, almost non-existent employment opportunities. This poverty coupled with a decade of brutal civil war has permeated through the discussions had with people in Pafuri about the TEBA site. As will be shown throughout this chapter, memories and perceptions of the site reflect these economic situations and the need for securing some form of wage labour. The site has in this context come to represent a nostalgia for the prosperity and secure employment and a time when these were far more abundant.

This chapter is in reality a continuation of the previous chapter. Chapter 3 discussed perspectives held by the various South African participants, people and institutions that have an interest in the site. In this chapter I will focus on the discussions had with people in Pafuri on the Mozambique side of the border. It needs to be emphasised again that the divide made between the two countries is a rather arbitrary one. Even as movement and perceptions of the borderzone are not clearly defined between the two countries, neither can these discussions. Therefore these two chapters should be read together.

4.1 Participants from Mozambique

Discussions around the development of the TEBA site began because of the establishment of the GLTP and Limpopo National Park (Limpopo) (which was declared in Mozambique in order to create the GLTP). Therefore an official from

Limpopo was selected due to the park's involvement in the developments of the site. However it is the people living in Pafuri, especially those living within the boundaries of the Park that will be directly affected by the site's developments. These men and women, due to their location in relation to the site, form a vital constituent group for the development of the site. Therefore participants were selected from this group and as I was interested what memories of the site mean to people today, men and women with experienced memory of the site were especially selected. The participants were interviewed in four villages closest to the site (within a distance of 25km), situated along the southern bank of the Limpopo River, along the main road from the border post to Mapai in the east. These villages, Xikhuma, Mbuzi, Ndlala and Mgwabane, are all situated within the Limpopo park boundaries. The existence of the Park and the perceptions people have of it should not be sidelined when considering the discussions around the site. These perceptions that people have, have had significant influence on the opinions of the site.

There was a very gendered experience of the TEBA site, simply because of the nature of the recruitment. It was the men that were recruited for the gruelling work on the mines and who through the recruitment process had direct experience of the site. Therefore 13 men who had worked on the mines and were recruited through TEBA were invited to partake in the interviews. On the other hand, the women who were left behind in the villages to suffer the impacts of the absent able-bodied men had an experience of the site that was far less direct. Although their encounter was less direct it was by no means less significant. Due to the differences in the experience of the site, women's perceptions of the site and its history was also of interest. Therefore the wives of men who participated in the research were also interviewed.

Children of the ex-mineworkers, over the age of 18 years, were also interviewed. In talking to these children about the recruitment, the transfer of memory could be determined as well as incorporating their perceptions and opinions into the discussions around the site's future. Their experience of growing up with an

absent father and of simply being part of the generation that had no first hand familiarity of the site would also have an influence on their perceptions of the site.

Local leadership in Mozambique has become a rather complex issue without clearly stated roles and responsibilities between government and traditional leaders (West 1998). These complications stemmed from the colonial influence on local leadership. Under Portuguese rule, chiefs were often made colonial officials, called *regulos*. These *regulos* were not only expected to perform various colonial roles but were also pressurised into combining these with their traditional roles and were supervised by a *Chef do Posto* or district governors (Connor 2002:28). Frelimo viewed traditional laws as backwards, feudalistic and an inhibition to productivity and so with independence in the 1970s the government disregarded customary and traditional leadership structures and strategies (Myers 1994: 607). Despite the ruling party's commitment to the revision of these policies, there remain opposing views on the issue within government (West 1998:142-143). However this conflict and distinction is not a clearly defined matter either and rural societies exhibit far more agency in the issue than is commonly perceived (McGregor 1998).

These issues were clearly evident in Pafuri. As evidence of these colonially induced authority structures, when I asked the current chief for permission to conduct my research in the area, he refused to give me an answer without consent from the *Chef do Posto,* now an independent FRELIMO employed officer. As per the request from the *Chef do Posto*, a government official accompanied me to all the interviews in the area. In some cases this may have further influenced the interview process, as one official who accompanied me sat in on the interviews. In addition as per protocol the chief, the *Chef do Posto* and other government officials were also interviewed. These interviews added further insight to government projects and the officials' feelings towards these and the TEBA site. It is pertinent to remember that FRELIMO played a role in closing the recruitment because it did not fit in with their socialist ideals (Crush *et al* 1991). The future

development of the TEBA site would certainly concern the Mozambiquan government, especially local government based in Pafuri.

4.2 Life in Pafuri Mozambique

4.2.1 Repatriation and dislocation

Displacement of people from their lands is a common theme of the Pafuri borderzone, both in South Africa and Mozambique. However, despite the overall similarities in this broad experience of displacement, a closer look at the details of the experiences reveals some signficant differences. These differences, as well play an integral role in the lives lived in Pafuri. As discussed in chapter 3, the Makuleke in South Africa experienced forced removals whereas the people in Mozambique experienced a more voluntary removal, as they fled from their homes into neighbouring countries (Connor 2002: 27). The experience of land repatriation has differences across the border too. In South Africa, the reclamation of the land did not mean returning to it and the Makuleke are not able to resettle on their land (see chapter 2). While, in Mozambique, people have returned back to their land and resettled on it, often returning to their original homesteads (Connor 2002: 23). These similarities and differences in these experiences have an influence on the perceptions of the site and its future.

Although most people in Mozambiquan Pafuri have managed to return to their original homes, they were not able to return to what they had left behind. People who have been displaced from their homes and have the opportunity to return often have great expectations that things will still be as they had left them. Through changes that the person has gone through while away from home and changes that have taken place at home, however, it is not possible to return to the same place twice (Bender 2001:81). These changes for the people returning to Pafuri include the experience of being a refugee in a foreign country and the changes to their home environment. Due to the Pafuri borderzone's permeability,

people in the area have always been able to move freely not only between settlements within Mozambique but across the border to South Africa and Zimbabwe (Connor 2002; Mavhunga 2004), albeit not always legally (Meskell 2006). However once they fled seeking refuge in refugee camps in South Africa and Zimbabwe, they lost not only their possessions, but also their freedom of movement and their identity by becoming a "nameless group of asylum seekers" (Connor 2002: 22). When men and women returned home, they returned to an environment very different to what they had left behind. The ravages of the civil war were still very evident with landmines and bullet shells scattering the landscape. Their homes and farming lands were heavily overgrown as well (Connor 2002:23)

However, as Connor continues to show through her paper, these displacements have only deepened the notion of Pafuri as home and so due to their resettlement on the land, it would be obvious to think that people in Pafuri generally have a stronger sense of 'being home' than the Makuleke elders. Yet the people in Pafuri are under the impression that the Limpopo National Park will be relocating them as they have done with the people along the Shingwedzi River (Maluleke 2005). Despite the fact that this is not the aim of the Park (GLTP JMB 2002) the people are once again awaiting dislocation from their lands and so are again dealing with the possibility of having to recreate 'a home' elsewhere. When discussing this, there were some participants that had embraced the idea of leaving their homes again and feel that this is a necessary evil but are hopeful that they will be moved to a more developed village. Others explained that although they have accepted the park and that they may be moved again, they do not agree with it.

4.2.2 Economic Production

Although Mozambique as a country, is still striving to recover from the economic crisis left behind by the years of brutal civil war and the destructive exodus of the Portuguese (Bowen 1992), poverty is still very rife. In Pafuri, a remote outlaying

area formal wage-earning opportunities are almost non-existent and people's dependency on the land has greatly increased. In one of the interviews, a woman complained that now that recruitment for the mines no longer takes place, they have become dependent on the rain, which at the time of the interview there had not been much of. The only formal employment evident in Pafuri is at the TEBA site in South Africa. However only two of the participants interviewed were able to secure a job there. The main form of production is through crop, cattle and goat farming, with maize as the main crop produce. The fields are usually situated along the fertile soils of the Limpopo flood plains and are tended to by women and in some cases men. In one village, almost the entire village contributed to working the fields. The participants were in fact interviewed in the fields. The fields are usually quite some distance from the homesteads of the village. This increased dependency on the land is a complete reverse of the situation before independence, when agricultural production was greatly supplemented by the earnings from the mines. In addition this subsistence farming is a reverse back to more traditional forms of farming after FRELIMO's socialist collective farming projects failed (Munslow 1984).

There is the perception, however, among the participants that agriculture could be a means of employment and poverty alleviation. According to one woman the state is providing irrigation for more productive agriculture. However, there is doubt and very little faith or confidence in the state's ability to assist with agricultural production, as one official maintained that agricultural production would never be enough to create work for everyone and would always need to be supplemented by some form of formal employment.

At present agricultural production is supplemented by family members seeking wage employment in South Africa both legally and illegally as well as through various forms of informal economic opportunities of the borderzone. Economic opportunities offered by the permeable border include vendors (spaza shops), transport schemes and other general sociable activities (Connor 2002: 13). At the time of my visit to the area, during late winter- early spring, this supplement

consisted of the selling of lala wine, a fermented drink from the lala palm (*Hyphaene coriacea).* The wine was often sold to South African relatives to take home across the border. Despite these economic opportunities, poverty in the area is still extremely high and there is little hope that the government and the Limpopo Park will help to alleviate this, as the following quote indicates:
"… It is good for the government to do that [referring to creating jobs in Mozambique]*, but we are tired of waiting because our government is failing to deliver to create jobs"*
R: … do [you] *think that* [the Limpopo National Park] *will be able to provide work for the people here?*
P: …[I] *do not believe because there is nothing they have done, no sign up to so far*

4.2.3 Essential Facilities

Essential facilities are noticeably lacking in Pafuri. Access to the area is extremely limited with only one road, which is only accessible by 4-wheel drive. Therefore all other essential facilities cannot get into the area such as trade access, health care, electricity and running water. A clinic is supposedly held regularly at Xikhumba village[1], however this does not seems to always take place. People, in need of the clinic, walk from villages, kilometres away from Xikhumba, often leaving the day before to attend the clinic - often without any success. There were two women while I was there who had walked from these further villages both carrying young babies whom they suspected had malaria. They arrived at the clinic and waited for about a day without any one arriving. The nearest permanent clinic is apparently at Chicualacuala about 100kms north of Pafuri.

The literacy rate in Mozambique is very low. The overall adult literacy rate in 2003 was slightly over 52% (http://globalis.gvu.unu.edu/indicator_detail.cfm?Country=MZ&IndicatorID=27)

[1] Xikhumba is the village closest to the border gate

Often children are needed to attend to household tasks such as collecting water and herding cattle and therefore do not always attend school. There were two schools in the area, one small one-classroomed school in Xikhumba and a larger one at Mgwabane. The school at Xikhumba was situated at the *Chef do Posto's* offices and took advantage of one of the abandoned colonial government buildings in the area. At Mgwabane numerous classrooms have been built and a rudimentary playground set aside. During my visits to Pafuri no one seemed to attend the school at Mgwabane and children were often seen attending to household tasks. At Xikhumba (which is closer to the border) about 30 children of various ages were seen walking quite some distance early in the mornings to attend the small one classroom school.



Figure 4.1 School Grounds at Mgwabane

4.3 Memory from the Mozambique side

The experience of the borderzone, despite the vast similarities, can be very different on either side of the border. Where the Makulekes experienced forced removals and brutal oppression (Harries 1987), people in Pafuri had the experience of the civil war and far greater poverty. These differences have played out in the construction of memory and meaning of the TEBA site. Due to the economic crisis from the civil war and the resultant poverty in Mozambique, TEBA has become synonymous with employment opportunities and prosperity more for people in Mozambique than for the Makuleke in South Africa. This will be shown through the following discussions. The experiences people have after an event takes place, the time that has lapsed since that event and their current situations influence what is remembered and the meanings they attribute to them. Memories change over time as new memory input reorganise, and in some cases replace older, memories (Vansina 1985: 161) this is especially so for events that are repeated (Connerton 1989:27). Therefore how does the experience of the civil war, becoming a refugee and the extreme poverty of today, 30 years later, influence the memories and meanings men and women of Pafuri have of the TEBA site? The following discussion will show that the memories of the civil war and a past that seemed more stable than the current insecure and unsure world are foregrounded rather than the repetitive process of recruitment.

The encounters of the TEBA site, as with many of the experiences in and around the Pafuri borderzone, have similarities and differences on either side of the border. These differences include the relationship people had with TEBA and the employment opportunities offered and made available by TEBA. The Makuleke were not considered part of the main labour source for the mines and so felt that they could voluntarily seek employment on the mines or at TEBA itself. Whereas southern Mozambique became a vital labour supply source and so employment on the mines and the subsequent recruitment was less voluntary. In fact in the beginning TEBA needed to use various forms of coercion to lure the men into

working on the mines, until time on the mines became an integral part of society (Jeeves 1985, Harries 1994). Through this integration and as fewer alternative employment options were offered, people in southern Mozambique became increasingly dependent on wages earned from the mines, and TEBA was a means of obtaining this. This dependency is still very evident today, as the following discussions will show.

In the context of the past dependency on TEBA, the devastation from the war, current poverty and government's inability reach such remote areas the colonial past is remembered in a positive light (Werbner 1998). In this atmosphere of colonial nostalgia, TEBA has been remembered as a dependable employer. TEBA and the recruitment are remembered optimistically, with the hardships of being away from home and the exploitation overshadowed by memories of wage earnings and more financial security. The hardships and exploitation were spoken about in the interviews and were generally acknowledged, but the advantages of earning wages out-weighed these negative impacts created through the recruitment. The preference most men showed for working underground, despite the dangers, reflects this. The men preferred working underground as the wages were substantially higher than for work on the surface. Many men, if given the opportunity and felt that they were still young enough, would again choose to work underground. As the following participant elaborated on how he felt about working underground, yet he would still choose it over other employment if he could:

P[2]*:…* [We] *were afraid because when* [we] *went underground it seems as if you were buried*

R[3]*: And if they had to recruit here again would you go back to the mines?*

P: yes

R: If there was another job say on the farms or something that could pay more money would [you] *rather take that work rather than going to the mines?*

P: Rather [I] *would go to the mines than going to the farm. The mines they pay more.*

[2] Participant
[3] Researcher

Through this financial security and ability to provide money, food and clothes for their families, men were able to prove their manliness. Spending time on the mines became a part of the rite of passage into manhood and men returning were highly respected for the wealth they bought back (Harries 1994: 157). This dependency also represents the gendered responsibility that fell on the men, which is still prevalent today. Women had come to depend on their husbands to earn wages in order to supplement their gendered task of agricultural production, as one mineworker elaborated on the responsibility that he felt weigh on his shoulders:

"They become, they all become worried when [I] *stay some years without coming back you see because eh they were stuck because they only depend on* [me] … [It] *felt very painful, because everybody was looking at* [me] *and then* [I] *have to strive to work for everybody there you see"*

However the experience of droughts, floods, war and bad trade terms, which are not conducive to surplus agricultural production the State had hoped for (Munslow 1984) has led to the wage earning ability of men to be desperately missed. Women therefore remember TEBA fondly, as it reminds them of a time more prosperous, despite the heartache and anxiety created by their husbands' absences. They have not, however, forgotten this heartache, nor the difficulties of coping without their husbands, however the memories of the wealth their husbands bought home were far more foregrounded, as this women remembers:

"It was good, it is good and it was good [referring to the recruitment] *because we knew when they come back they'd come with money and with clothes so that* [we] *could wear and look nice."*

Women spoke of the joy they felt when their husbands left for the mines, knowing that he was working to support her and would return with provisions. The discussions revealed that the women would often hold onto their husbands' laden return and/or letters and money sent to them periodically as a means of dealing

with his absence. They would also often draw on the support and encouragement offered to them by elder women, especially their mother in laws.

As with the Makuleke there were mixed feelings about how the men were treated during the recruitment process at TEBA. Most men felt that they were treated well because they were provided with passports, food, clothing, blankets and transport to the mines. Even the controversial medical examinations the men were forced to undergo were described to me positively, despite the documented humiliation these examinations caused (Moodie 1994: 12-13). One participant told me how he was made to believe that the injection he received by the TEBA medical doctor made him stronger on the mines Another participant appreciated the medical intervention he received at Mzilikazi, when during the medical exam they discovered some form of stomach illness.

On the one hand, some felt that, despite their overall positive memory of TEBA, that the recruits weren't always so well treated. One participant felt that the men were treated like children, while others spoke of the beatings recruits would receive. However none of the participants' related personal experience of this violence besides hearsay or observing it take place. In contrast to the Makuleke's opinion of how recruits were treated at TEBA and on the mines, these participants from Mozambique felt it was TEBA and not the mines that did not treat them well. In fact they felt that they were better treated on the mines than at TEBA.

4.3.1 Songs

Songs are important communication mediums in southern Africa (Vail 1983). These songs are used to freely express hardships, feeling towards oppression, fear and neglect etc without any repercussions (Vail & White 1991). David Coplan (1987; 1994) and Dunbar Moodie (1976; 1994) have extensively documented songs in Lesotho relating to mine migrant labour. These songs were used to express the mineworkers' experiences on the mines, ensuring a positive self-

concept as well as providing a tool through which to change self identities (Coplan 1987:419). Dunbar Moodie showed how during the 1970s, BaSotho men recruited from Lesotho would undergo an identity change as soon as they crossed the border into South Africa (Moodie 1976; 1994). These changes, Moodie shows, were reflected through the songs sung on the way to the mines. It was my aim to determine whether the same had happened in the Pafuri borderzone. However the only song that was remembered in Pafuri, and related to me often, was one of encouragement the men offered each other.
"Don't be afraid of the train, it is not a lion"

Although the men spoke of the excitement they felt leaving for the mines for the first time, they also spoke of the anxiety and apprehension they felt. Many were anxious because they were not sure what the work on the mines entailed and because of the unknown of the journey into a foreign country. However through the camaraderie that developed among the mineworkers (Harries 1994) the more experienced mineworkers would offer support and encouragement to the new recruits using songs and positive stories. Many of the participants found this encouragement extremely helpful. Other songs that were related during the interviews reflected the mineworkers' gratitude for either having the opportunity to go work on the mines, or to have safely reached the end of their contract and to return home laden with provisions, as this participant recalls:
"You must remain there in peace because God help us, remain in peace because God help us to get a job. When [we] *come that side* [we] *will say to those guys they must remain in peace there, God help us because we're still alive and going back home "*

4.3.2 Historical Value

Like the Makuleke, participants in Mozambique feel that the history of the recruitment and the TEBA site is important and should be passed on. However, when talking with the children of the ex-mine workers, it became apparent that it was the history of the working on the mines rather than the recruitment that was

passed down. Most were aware that their fathers had worked on the mines, and some were even told stories about the working conditions on the mines, but few knew about TEBA and the recruitment. This reflects clearly that it was not necessarily the process of being recruited that stuck in the minds of men and women in Pafuri but rather the employment opportunity the mines offered that was important to them, reflecting the notion that repetitive events are not easily remembered (Connerton 1989).

In an interview the Limpopo National Park staff expressed an interest in the site's history, however the significance of this history has been strongly sidelined by biodiversity conservation and tourism objectives. In these discussions issues around game relocation, tourism development and people living within park boundaries were prioritised over all cultural heritage management. As the park's management strategies have been modelled on those of the Kruger National Park, this raises the question of whether there have been any real lessons learnt from Kruger's management history.

4.4 Perspectives on the Mozambique side

The perceptions of the TEBA site held by people in Pafuri has been created in the context of the past memories and current poverty as well as in the context of the interview process. I will first discuss the issues of the past memories and current poverty. As with the Makuleke, the constant daily struggle against poverty and a lack of essential facilities (like primary health care) has led to the TEBA site representing a past of prosperity and promise. The memories of this past and of the dependable employment guaranteed by TEBA have created a rather positive painting of TEBA and its recruitment. Further, this positive picture of TEBA and the dependency people have on its recruitment, reflects the proletariansation of Pafuri and the changes in cultural practices this recruitment bought about (see chapter 2), which are still heavily ingrained in current society for example the change in gender tasks. Men are still depended on and expected to find wage

employment and provide financial support, while the women's tasks still revolve around agricultural production. In the interviews, women never expressed an interest in seeking out wage labour for themselves, but discussed the role agricultural practice could have in generating an income and create job. Men are still expected to find wage labour and provide financial support while women's roles still revolve around agricultural production. The men tended to focus more on the possibilities of securing some form of wage labour mainly through the return to mine employment.

Through the constant struggle against poverty and the inability to secure any form of dependable wage labour, people in Pafuri are not as empowered as the Makuleke have become through their landclaim (de Villiers 1999). It may seem as though in addition to this lack of empowerment that there is also a lack of agency and resistance against the presence and policies of the Limpopo Park and the lack of government intervention regarding poverty alleviation and essential facilities. Yet despite these feelings of powerlessness towards the Park and the government, many exercise their agency through the creation of informal income generating activities, such as making lala wine, but mostly expressing their desire for any form of wage labour. TEBA is especially looked to for this as there is far more faith in TEBA's ability to produce wage labour than the government or Limpopo park.

"… you know its not simple to believe of something that you never seen happen. Because this Limpopo whether they renew that place and that job creation you cannot say ja no its good, because we never saw them do something good for us. What we believe in is the recruitment, TEBA's recruitment and for that we can see here, because we once saw this happen. So we cannot believe on the things that have not happened yet"

In addition men feel that they will be able to empower themselves more if they were able to secure some form of employment. This was offered to them by TEBA in the past. The responsibility of supporting and providing for their families was easily resolved, knowing that they could arrive at TEBA and be

guaranteed work on the mines. However the exploitation of these men by the mines and by TEBA have certainly not been forgotten nor ignored. The men and women were very much aware of the fact that the wages on the mines were exceptionally low and that the working conditions were dangerous and oppressive. Yet despite this awareness, the wages earned on the mines was far more than anywhere else they may have been able to work. The pittance they received on the mines, as this participant reiterated to me was enough for the men to meet their responsibilities and obligations they have towards their families. *"*[The recruitment] *was good because South Africa contributed much in countries like Mozambique, this Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other countries, because many families have been supported through this"*

It must be kept in mind that the construction of these memories and perceptions are by no means neutral and are very contextual (Fontana & Frey 1994:364). My role as a researcher in these constructions cannot be sidelined either. My race, gender and cultural background would have definitely influenced these discussions around memory and perceptions of the TEBA site and the park (Darlington & Scott 2002:55; Henning *et al* 2004; Miller & Glassner 2004: 127). These characteristics of mine influenced the perceptions the participants have of me as a researcher, which in turn has influenced the knowledge that was offered (Miller & Glassner 2004:130). In an environment where my white skin denotes power and influence and by my simple interest in people's opinions about the site and its history, I was also possibly seen as having some authority in the decision making processes around the future of the site. Participants would often ask at the end of the interview if I would be able to bring the recruitment to mines back to Pafuri despite explanations in my introductions that I was a neutral independent researcher. This perception of me would have strongly influenced the interview process and perhaps the positive emphasis on the benefits of the recruitment.

4.5 Mozambiquan Wishes for the Future

The debate around the future of the TEBA site does not only involve SANParks and TEBA, but the GLTP and Limpopo Park. It is important, if the site is to be considered in its entirety, i.e. as a site that straddles the border between South Africa and Mozambique, that there is efficient and effective co-ordination. Part of that co-ordination should be the involvement of the people who would be most directly affected by the results of the debate, the men and women who live in close proximity to the site. And so as with the Makuleke in South Africa, the future of the site was discussed with the participants from Mozambique to determine what their desires and opinions were regarding the future of the site.

The opinion people in Pafuri have regarding the future of the site is once again (as with the Makuleke) influenced by the current poverty and lack of employment opportunities. The main concern people have is that the site will in some way create these formal employment opportunities again. There was not much hope expressed in the government to assist with the alleviation of poverty, as many feel that the government has not yet been able to effectively implement any form of alleviation in the area. Even the government officials living in the area live in very poor conditions. The old Portuguese colonial government official houses have been used despite their poor conditions for housing as well as offices. Solar panels are brought out every morning to charge the batteries for the radiophone; the only means of communication with people in Maputo or Chicualacuala the nearest regional government offices (about 100km north east pf Pafuri). There is no running water, sanitation or electricity. Meals are cooked over wood fires burning in a room selected as the kitchen. These government officials, themselves feel that formal employment through the site's development is crucial to the area's development.

There are however mixed opinions about how the site should generate these employment opportunities. Most felt that the site should be renovated and TEBA return to recruit men for the mines again. This strongly reflects the dependency

people in the area had on the recruitment and their lack of hope in the government and Limpopo Park, as one participant explained:
"…yes [we] *were suffering working on those dangerous areas* [but] *its much better because you can not sit down and see your children dying of hunger."*

Children of the ex-mineworkers expressed their desires to follow in their fathers' footsteps and go work on the mines, despite the fact that many were born after the TEBA site closed the Pafuri recruitment station. This further demonstrates how deeply ingrained this dependency on mine wages is.

People in the area feel that in order to secure wage labour and to become financially secure, employment needs to be sought in South Africa. This is reflected in the number of illegal immigrants that risk their lives regularly crossing the border and the number of participants that have relatives working in South Africa. One government official expressed these thoughts clearly when he suggested that the recruitment should return to the area in order to provide men safe passage into South Africa. However there are others that feel that in order to create economic wealth in Pafuri, it is necessary to create jobs within the area. As one of the participants suggest, this could be done through the government's surplus agricultural projects and the assistance of wealthy organisations investing in the area.
"… [the recruitment] *was bad because a man must first make his, you must make your home king first and then maybe he can go somewhere… and if there was some work around here in Mozambique they should have worked here and make this country successful"*

Others feel that the site could generate employment and income for the area through tourism development. These people, especially the children that participated, feel that with the increased tourism traffic in the area because of the Limpopo Park that the site should be made available as tourist accommodation. The Limpopo Park, however, does not necessarily see the area as the major tourism destination it was initially hoped it would be. In the interviews, doubt

was expressed as to whether there would be any private investors interested in the area, due to the impression that as a tourist destination the area does not have much to offer. The Thulamela site in Kruger has, in addition, not turned out to be the tourism draw card both Parks had hoped for (van Wyk 2006: pers. comm.). The Limpopo Park however feels that the site could be used as a small over night stop for the tourists moving through the Pafuri border gate and possibly as a small museum.

Despite the overwhelming feeling that the site should create employment for people in the area, all participants felt that the history of the site is important and should be told both to the tourists and passed down to the next generation. Most felt that this history should be told at the TEBA site, either through interpretation from the mineworkers themselves or through a museum of sorts. Others felt that it is vital to have this history written in books and taught at school. When speaking to the children of the mineworkers, who did not know about the recruitment history, an interest in this history was expressed and that they would like to hear about it directly from their fathers.

4.6 Conclusion

As with the Makuleke, TEBA has come to represent a past where financial security was easily obtainable. The memories of the civil war and a past that seemed more stable than the current insecure and unsure world are foregrounded rather than the repetitive process of recruitment. It is a reminder of dependable employment and ease of obtaining provisions for family members. These memories are contrasted with the present situation of poverty and lack of employment options and so TEBA represents the hopes that people in Pafuri have for further developments in the area, whether this is through recruitment to mines again or from tourism development because of the park.

Through my conversations both in South Africa and Mozambique, it has become apparent that these discussions and decision-making processes need clearer co-ordination between all parties involved. And if the site is to be considered holistically this co-ordination needs to take place across the border as well and include direct participation from the people who would be most affected by the site's operations – the people living and who had lived in close proximity to the site.

Chapter 5

TEBA's Future in the GLTP

In previous chapters the perceptions and opinions people hold about the site, its history and further development were discussed. In this final chapter I would like to conclude with a discussion about the site's development in relation to its geographic location. The TEBA site in Pafuri falls within the GLTP, a Transfrontier Conservation Initiative joining three protected areas across the South African, Mozambique and Zimbabwean borders (Duffy 1997:441; Wolmer 2003: 261). The site on both sides of the border falls within areas that have been set aside for its ecological and biodiversity conservation. This physical location has fundamental impacts on the future developments of the site as the philosophy and principles on which these protected areas are based will impact on the site's presentation and interpretation. These philosophies are not significantly different to those found in many protected areas around the world (Carruthers 1995; Adams 2003; 2004; Wolmer 2004:140) and especially in Africa (Manspeizer 2004), and are usually somewhat biased against cultural and historical interpretation (Infield 2001; Mavhunga 2002; Wolmer 2003; 2004; McDonald 2004). How these philosophies relate to cultural heritage practice within the GLTP will undoubtedly influence the decisions made for the TEBA site's developments. These philosophies and principles are looked at as well as examples of cultural heritage practice in two other protected areas that help to suggest some issues that officials involved in the TEBA discussions need to bear in mind when regarding the TEBA site's future.

5.1 Conservation Philosophy in Protected Areas

In order to understand cultural heritage practice in protected areas it is necessary to have a look at the philosophies and principles on which conservation practice is based. And in order to understand these current philosophies, it is imperative to look at where these philosophies stem from. Conservation practice and national parks are deeply political and steeped in the socio-political contexts in which they were created. The trend has been to view and interpret these area's histories separate from these contexts, portrayed in a simple story of good conservators versus bad developers, hunters, indigenous people and environmental degraders (Carruthers 1995:2). In her epic work on the social and political history of the Kruger Park, Jane Carruthers (1995) clearly shows just how inaccurate and misleading these histories have been. Nature and landscapes are cultural products based on values and beliefs that are dynamic and subjective (Schama 1995; Infield 2001; MacDonald 2004). Therefore concepts of nature and its meaning vary considerably among different groups of people. The inability of conservation agencies to recognise this has led to tensions and conflicts between neighbouring or resident people and protected area managers (Infield 2001).

The concepts of nature that influenced conservation practice were based on Eurocentric notions of nature (Adams 2003; 2004). Until recently (the late 19th century), 'nature' in Europe was viewed as unruly and something to be feared. Topographical features, such as mountains for example, were seen as dangerous and perilous places. It was not until after the Renaissance, when natural sciences were taking off, that Europe's notions about nature began to change and mountains, again sticking with the same example, became sites of awe and inspiration (Nash & Chippindale 2002). Nature became an entity full of mystery and aesthetic beauty, and something that needed to be protected from encroaching agriculture and industry (Adams 2004:52). Therefore areas set aside for conservation were seen as the last

remnants of untouched pristine wilderness and offered the Eurocentric minds a romantic idea of what the landscape was like before modernisation (Carruthers 1995:1; Adams 2004:52). Part of this ideal romantic picture was that the landscape was completely untouched by humans (only prehistoric primitive human activities were acceptable). The fact that people were living and subsisting on the land posed both a conceptual and practical problem for these early colonial conservationists (Bunn & Auslander1998; Bunn 2001; Adams 2003: 35). And so people and their links to their environment were systematically erased from the landscapes through forced removals and disregard for their perceptions of the environment, their own conservation practice and their cultural and spiritual links to the land (Winkworth 1998). This led to the separation of people from their cultural links to the land as well as access to these traditionally important resources (Slater-Jones 2002). The Makuleke's experience is a case in point and is typical of the experience many African villages had that suddenly found themselves within the boundaries of protected areas. These removals, denied access to resources and marginalisation of resident and neighbouring people have led to negative attitudes towards protected areas and national parks, as well as increased tensions between people and national parks (West &Brechin 1991; Newmark *et al* 1994; Carruthers 1995)

5.2 Transformation of Conservation Philosophy

It became apparent in the 1970s that in order to ensure the survival of protected areas, these tensions needed to be resolved and so began discussions and debates concerning people's roles in protected areas and the impact these areas have on people. Numerous international treaties and agreements obliging signatories to the involvement of people in the conservation endeavours and to transform management policies and practices were passed (Adams 2004: 57). However conservation agencies

have failed in their attempts to integrate the needs of resident and neighbouring communities with their conservation objectives (see Brechin *et al* 1991; Infield 2001; Wolmer 2003, 2004; Slater-Jones 2003; Magome & Murombedzi 2003; Adams 2004; Koch 2004; Magome & Fabricius 2004; Manspeizer 2004). Many reasons have been postulated for why these have failed, all of which boil down to the lack of real transformation within conservation agencies.

One of the main issues is that the colonial mindset upon which modern conservation practice was based is still very evident and presents an "enduring power" (Adams 2003: 19), including the preference for rational scientific knowledge rather than traditional knowledge systems (Masuku van Damme & Neluvhalani 2004: 363- 364), the continued separation of people from the natural landscape and restricted access to resources (Adams 2003: 43). The land restitution model within SANParks is a clear indication of this. Consider the Makuleke landclaim that has become the blueprint for all landclaims within protected areas in South Africa. Despite their ownership of the land, the Makuleke are still restricted in their activities and access to resources on their land due to the continued conservation status of the area and it remaining part of the Kruger Park (de Villiers 1999; Steenkamp 2001; Mail & Guardian 2005)

Another issue is that community conservation initiatives focus on economic benefits protected areas can offer, with ecotourism touted as the cash cow. However, it is uncertain whether protected areas actually have the ability to do this (Brechin *et al* 1991; Maluleke 1998; Infield 2001; Draper *et al* 2004; van Ameron & Büscher 2005). The nature of the ecotourism industry is somewhat undesirable for poverty alleviation as it is both fickle and highly competitive (Tanner *et al* 2004: 173). In addition the focus on economic benefits assumes a trickle down affect of the benefits and is once again reminiscent of the top-down approach (Brechin *et al* 1991: 14). This focus misses the boat entirely. Communities do not simply want compensation

and handouts; they want to be real partners sharing in the responsibility, decision-making and profits of the protected area (Wolmer 2004). This includes an acknowledgement, respect and sensitive reflection of people's cultural values in all spheres of park management (Infield 2001; Meskell & Masuku van Damme 2008: 147). Although Kruger recognises the importance of cultural values, having it incorporated into its mission statement, there is very little evidence of this having been taken seriously in available policies, but, more importantly, through any action (Meskell & Masuku van Damme 2008). It was hoped that, through the new dispensation in South Africa, these issues would get resolved (Carruthers 1995). The organisation set out ambitious goals for transformation including hosting a high calibre workshop to determine how best to incorporate and reflect the cultural values of neighbouring communities (Fourie 1994; Dladla 1998). However, the lack of action has perpetuated in spite of these efforts. In the six years that I worked for the department responsible for facilitating this transformation, very few of these objectives were reached, perpetuating the lack of real cultural incorporation and transformation.

5.3 The Great Limpopo National Park: a brief introduction

As the TEBA site is both an historical site and falls within the GLTP, understanding the transfrontier park's policy and attitude towards cultural heritage and how it is managed assists in understanding the possible developments of the site.

In 2002 the heads of states from South Africa, Zimbabwe and Mozambique signed an international treaty establishing the Great Limpopo National Park (GLTP) (http://www.peaceparks.org/tfca.php?pid=1&mid=147#current_projects). The GLTP signals a flagship of a number of Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCA) planned for southern Africa) (van Ameron

2005). According to the SADC[1] Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement of 1999, a Transfrontier Conservation Area is an area (or a part of a larger ecological region) that straddles the boundaries of two or more countries and encompasses one or more protected areas and a variety of resource uses (SADC 1999: 3). The concept first came to the southern African region with a meeting between the Mozambique government and the Peace Parks Foundation (http://www.peaceparks.org/story.php?mid=173&pid=147&m=1_5_5) in 1990. The plan was to join a hunting concession (Coutada 16, which became the LNP) in Mozambique to the Kruger Park in South Africa and link the area to the Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe. Political situations such as the end of civil war and oppressive apartheid regimes have allowed for developments to take place in South Africa and Mozambique (About the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park and Conservation Area 2004). In Mozambique, the Limpopo National Park was declared in 2001 for the purposes of the GLTP (http://www.peaceparks.org/story.php?mid=173&pid=147&m=1_5_5). In addition the area in Pafuri reclaimed by the Makuleke through the national programme of land restitution remained under conservation, according to the agreement signed. Both parties jointly manage the area. The continued conservation status of Pafuri was important for reasons other than keeping the KNP intact, it has also allowed for the formation of GLTP (Steenkamp 2001).

Transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) are primarily set out to achieve biodiversity conservation objectives and are based on bioregional thinking of scale (Duffy 1997; Ramutsindela 2003; Wolmer 2003). The larger the area the more biodiversity is preserved through larger genetic pools (Ramutsindela 2003: 63) and the reestablishment of migration routes of the larger animals (Wolmer 2003: 263). It is on these biodiversity conservation objectives, jointly managed by the countries involved, that these parks make claims to numerous regional benefits, including the improved socio-economic conditions of rural people living in or near the park. Community

[1] Southern African Development Community

involvement in the process of development and other decision making processes has also been acclaimed as one the TFCAs benefits and ethos. This involvement of communities has been stipulated in a number of international declarations, such as Agenda 21 (1992), The SADC treaty (1992) and NEPAD[2] (2004), to which all signatory countries are held accountable. However this is not clearly set out and there is little consensus on what exactly community involvement entails (Duffy 1997; Tanner et al 2004). The direct flow of benefits people in and around the park stand to achieve, through their involvement remain elusive because these socio-economic objectives are blocked through relocation and conflict over land use, differences in value systems and missed socio-economic opportunities (Slater- Jones 2003).

The GLTP has certainly proclaimed such involvement in their mission statement (GLTP JMB 2002), but to what extent it has actually taken place has been widely criticised (Duffy 1997; Slater-Jones 2002; 2003; Wolmer 2003; Tanner et al 2004; Maluleke 2005; Spenceley 2005). The incident of removing about 6000 people living in the core of the Limpopo Park along the Shingwedzi River against their will (Maluleke 2005) is a clear example of the continued top-down approach. The presence of the people living in the core of the park conflicted with the idealised romantic notions of a "pristine" people-less wilderness offered to tourists (Meskell 2006: 106). This further indicates the absolute lack of consideration and sensitivity to the cultural landscape so prevalent in the biodiversity premised thinking of TFCAs (Wolmer 2004).

The Makuleke themselves are not sure how they are benefiting from the GLTP's existence stating the continued isolation of communities in the development processes (Maluleke 1998; Spencely 2005). During my visit to Pafuri discussions regarding the GLTP further revealed mixed feelings. Despite the uncertainty of what benefits there are for them, people from the

[2] New Partnership for Africa's Development

Makuleke were somewhat accepting of the idea, stating that animals were now free to move as they had done in the past. They felt that people in Mozambique would welcome the idea and issues of wild animals were resolved due to the fact that when they were living in Pafuri they lived with the wild animals:

R: What does he think about [the GLTP], *what is his opinion of it?*

P: He said it's good because it's nature, let the animals be free to have their free movement.

R: What about the people living there? Are they going to have to take them out the park like they did with the Makuleke? What does he think will happen?

P: He said he heard that those people did not like to move from that place, they will stay there and then they will stay with those animals

R: Are they not scared?

P: He said even us we stayed with those animals for a long time and they were not protected

However in Mozambique people generally did not approve of the GLTP's existence. Their concerns were related to the presence of these wild animals and the security of their livestock and crops, lack of socio-economic assistance and possible relocation. Of concern, however, were the participants who did not know about the GLTP or the newly established Limpopo Park, questioning the adequacy of the park's communication and community involvement.

5.4 Two world examples

I would like to now have a look at two other protected areas, dealing with cultural heritage practice. Both Parks have been declared national parks and declared world heritage sites. The Kakadu National Park in northern Australia, famous for its joint management and integration of cultural and

natural heritage (Lane 2001: 663), and the Mapungubwe National Park, in northern South Africa at the corner where South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana meet. Mapungubwe is South Africa's first national park to be declared based primarily on its cultural heritage value (Verhoef 2006: Pers. comm). and has been established to assist in the creation of another TFCA – the Limpopo–Shashe Transfrontier Park. Due to restrictions of this study, primary research and analysis of both these parks was not possible, so no ethnographic on the ground fieldwork has been conducted in either parks. For this reason, I focus my research on their management plans to gain a better understanding of their cultural heritage objectives.

The two parks' stance on cultural heritage practice and management is very different. Kakadu has taken a more on the ground, culturally sensitive approach (Weaver 1991; Lane 2001; Palmer 2004) whereas Mapungubwe acknowledges the importance of the cultural value of the area but still manages cultural heritage within the biodiversity management framework of the SANParks. The language used in both management plans is indicative of their approaches to issues. Kakadu continuously work on the premise of cultural relevance and real joint management with the traditional Aboriginal landowners to the point of using Aboriginal terminology to describe themselves and the park management. There is a strong emphasis and need expressed in the management plan on the cultural importance and obligation Aboriginal landowners have towards looking after their country. An example of this is the formal structures put in place to ensure joint management. A board of management has been established with a majority of the members nominated by the traditional landowners, 10 out of 15 members represent the Aboriginal groups of Kakadu (Director National Parks 2007). However not all these formal structures set in place are recognised by Aboriginal cultural law, therefore in order to ensure the landowners' involvement in decision making process, there is regular interaction and consultation with them. Weaver shows through her ethnographic work in the park that informal and regular guidance,

consultation and advice are sought from the Aboriginal owners, and so a positive working relationship has been established between the two parties (Weaver 1991) and has set the basis for real joint management to take place. This respect and acknowledgement of the cultural significance and the sharing of responsibility is also strongly reflected in the park's definition of joint management:

"*Joint management is about Bininj (*Aboriginal landowner*) and Balanda* (non-aboriginal person) *working together, solving problems together, sharing decision making responsibility and exchanging knowledge, skills and information. Important objectives of joint management are to make sure traditional skills and knowledge associated with looking after culture and country, and Bininj cultural rules regarding how decisions should be made, continue to be respected and maintained. It is also important that contemporary park management skills are available to enable joint management partners to look after Kakadu in line with current best management practices"*(Director National Parks 2007: 7)

An example of combining both traditional Aboriginal land management practices with those of science is the park's approach to fire management (Anderson 1999). In an extensive fire management experiment in the park traditional Aboriginal practices as well as a range of European methods of burning have been tested. A management committee, on which senior Aboriginal traditional custodians sit along with the park rangers, oversee these experiments (Anderson 1999).

To further acknowledge Aboriginal links with the land, human presence in the area of the park has not been ignored to create a pristine landscape untouched by humans nature, but has rather been promoted as an integral feature of the park in their visitor guide (http://www.environment.gov.au/parks/publications/Kakadu/pubs/visitor-guide-oct07.pdf)

Despite recognition of the cultural heritage value of the Mapungubwe National Park, the management plan is still written within the biodiversity conservation ethos and mindset. As one reads through the management plan it becomes very obvious that although the cultural value is acknowledged, biodiversity and natural values are again accentuated:
"Although SANParks recognise and accepts [the importance of cultural aspects of the park], *it will become clear in this management plan that there are also unique biodiversity attributes which need concerted attention"* (SANParks 2006: 1)

This has set the tone for the language used in the management plan. Unlike Kakadu National Park, there is no talk of exchange of knowledge and recognition of present cultural links and values to the land. Instead it seems that only the historic, archaeological cultural heritage has value in the park's management. These historic cultural resources have become just another resource or aspect to the park that needs management and is added to the list in the Park's mission statement:
"Mapungubwe National Park and Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape will be developed by SANParks to maintain the faunal and floral assemblages, ecological processes, cultural resources and landscape characteristics representative of the area, to foster international co-operation for the establishment of a transfrontier conservation area, and offer long-term benefit to the people of the area" (SANParks 2006: 7).

Yet despite the lack of transformation in creating a cultural mindset within conservation thinking, the park has made progress in that detailed cultural heritage management plans have been incorporated in the overall park management plan. In addition the organisation has recently embarked on reconstituting the Park's community forums (Meskell & Masuku van Damme 2008: 145). Ironically the stakeholder community was initially acknowledged as an Afrikaner community, who had previously forcefully removed the original black occupants. Through the reconstitution of the

park forum, previously sidelined local people will be given a voice and have the opportunity to influence management. This is certainly a step in the right direction towards protected areas in South Africa taking more responsibility towards the management of the cultural heritage resources linked to the landscape.

5.5 Cultural Heritage Management in the GLTP

It is clear from the concern raised by people living along the Limpopo River in the GLTP (mentioned earlier) that community participation and consultation have not only remained inadequate but are offered really only as lip service with no real action. This points to the notion that community upliftment and involvement, as well as cultural heritage (Infield 2001) have become empty catch phrases used to generate state, civil society, local community and funder support (Ramutsindela 2003) and further raises questions about cultural sensitivity. If people and their livelihoods are so marginalized in and around the GLTP, respectful representation, understanding and acknowledgement of cultural links to the land are therefore questionable.

The TEBA site falls within both the Kruger National Park and Limpopo National Park and therefore the philosophy and attitude towards cultural heritage in each park is of high significance to the development, interpretation and community representation of the site. As stated before the GLTP's social responsibility is not only limited to community involvement, socio-economic benefits, but to also culturally to represent neighbouring and resident people (Infield 2001; Adams 2003; Wolmer 2003). It is sadly clear that cultural heritage in the GLTP is simply just not a priority, despite the role that sensitive cultural acknowledgement and respect would have in the establishment of improved relations and support from resident and neighbouring communities.

Kruger has an extensive management history that has evolved over its 100 years or so existence and is seen as a success (du Toit et al 2003) with SANParks labelling it as the flagship national park for South Africa. However, this management has been based on the prioritising of natural heritage, which is based on the romanticised colonial ideals of an African landscape and the perpetuation of a 'fences and fines' approach (Meskell 2006). The recent shootings of poachers attributes to this continued approach. One poacher was killed in the south of the park (http://www.sanparks.org/about/news/default.php?id=814) and two killed just out the Pafuri gate in the north (http://www.sabcnews.com/south_africa/crimeljustice/0.2172.161739.00.html). With the need for transformation in 1994, Kruger set out ambitious strategies to include cultural heritage (Fourie 1994; Dladla 1998) and through a revision of the management plan acknowledged the importance of the cultural heritage by including it in their revised mission statement: *"In keeping with the SANParks mission, to maintain biodiversity in all its natural facets and fluxes, to provide human benefits and build a strong constituency; and to preserve as far as possible the wilderness qualities and cultural resources associated with the Park"* (http://www.sanparks.org/parks/kruger/conservation/scientific/mission/managementplan.php).

However, this acknowledgement seldom translates into policies or actions across the broad spectrum of employees, especially those involved in day-to-day biodiversity management. While I worked in the Park as a cultural heritage officer there were numerous cases of insensitive actions regarding traditionally sacred sites and disruption to archaeological records. There are numerous examples these including archaeological remains from an iron age smelting site near Phalaborwa gate that were removed from their historical contexts when they were collected by field rangers. There was also the removal of stones demarcating a graves. These stones were removed from

the gravesites and used for a fireplace on a 4x4 trail. There are continuous complaints by neighbouring communities that gravesites and other sacred sites are insensitively destroyed for further park tourism developments (see Meskell 2006:106). Neither the rangers nor trail guides would have known any better, but these incidences point to the consequences of the lack of policies and on the ground guidance in terms of cultural heritage practice has. Still to this date there are no effective cultural heritage policies guiding staff about the management of cultural heritage sites or integrating the cultural values of neighbouring communities.

The Limpopo National Park in Mozambique, unfortunately does not offer much greater hope in terms of cultural heritage management. The Limpopo National Park's management principles are based on those of Kruger's with the same sort of structures and policies put in place, such as field rangers and anti-poaching pickets, wilderness trails, private tourism concessions, recreational opportunity zoning, community forums as a communication channels with resident and neighbouring communities as well as removing people from the core of the park (GLTP JMB 2002; van Wyk 2006). Therefore in the same light, cultural heritage is sidelined in the park's management, with attention focusing on the development of tourism facilities, removing resident people and restocking with wildlife. In a discussion with a park official about cultural heritage management plans the park may have, it was made clear that only once the tourism facilities were complete, game relocated and people removed would the park only start thinking about cultural heritage. Lack of manpower and finances were given to me as reasons for sidelining cultural heritage issues.

5.6 TEBA in the GLTP

This lack of priority for cultural heritage in both parks certainly raises concerns regarding developments of the TEBA site within the GLTP. The lack of any sort of guidance in terms of sensitive and respectful cultural heritage management is troublesome. This lack of guidance has played out in the management of the Thulamela site situated just south of Pafuri in the Kruger National Park (Meskell 2005b; 2007). While I was working in the Park this Iron Age site was often referred to as the flagship cultural heritage site for the Park. However, the management of the site leaves much to be desired. While I worked in the park as cultural heritage officer, a second round of funds was obtained from NORAD, a Norwegian government-funding agency, and allocated to the development of a site museum. This was after funds from the initial excavation and site development project ran out before the museum/ environmental education centre was developed. Yet again after the second round of funds have reached the end there is still no museum. The site for the museum was incorporated into the new Punda Maria gate developments (part of the tourism upgrade in the region for the GLTP). However, when I last visited Pafuri, the building earmarked for the museum was being used as an office. This is despite the obligations the park has to house the collection and the communities' desires to do this near the actual site (Küsel & Nkatini 2002).

So far the attitudes expressed by both parks in the discussions and debates about the site have pointed to the consequences of a deficiency in cultural heritage guidance. The lack of full community participation in these debates by resident and neighbouring communities, the blatant privileging of biodiversity conservation aims for the site, exclusive tourism and the degradation of the site's historical significance points to Kruger's inability to translate its cultural heritage protection aims stated in its mission statement into reality. In addition, the Limpopo National Park has expressed explicit disinterest in the site and its historical and cultural

heritage developments. Cultural heritage is simply not an objective of the park at the moment and there is little hope of tourism investment in the Pafuri area (van Wyk. 2006: pers.comm). This has led to the marginalisation of the Pafuri area. Pafuri, in the view of the Limpopo official interviewed, does not have much to offer the tourism industry and so is not seen as an essential issue. Efforts and funds in the Limpopo Park have been focused on the removal of people from the core of the park, tourism infrastructure development (concentrated in the south of the park) and the relocation of game. This is due to the lodge operators unwillingness to invest in the park until the tourism product (namely roads and game in a pristine untouched people less landscape) are fully developed (Magome & Murombedzi 2003: 127)

The lack of cultural heritage guidance and sensitivity displayed by both of the parks has detrimental impacts for the TEBA site's historical value as shown by the example of Kruger repainting TEBA buildings (see chapter 3). It is imperative that the development of the site is centred around the historical value and the meanings resident and neighbouring communities have about the site. It is these people that will be most affected by the developments and so their meanings need to form part of the site's ongoing significance.

5.7 Recommendations

The developments of the site, which have been continuously pointed out in this study, will greatly affect the people living in close proximity to the site. Ironically it is these very people who have been completely sidelined from the debates and discussions. This study aimed to incorporate their voices through documenting their experienced memory and most importantly the contemporary meaning of the site and its history. From these I would like to

conclude with a list of issues that need to be considered by all those involved in the debates and discussions about the site.

TEBA, to both the Makuleke and communities in Mozambique, played a significant role in the income generation of families and households. It is therefore remembered as a dependable employer and a means to gain economic income, as has been shown in the previous chapters. In today's situation of poverty, it is these wage earning opportunities presented by TEBA that are at the foreground of people's memories. Due to this, people look to TEBA in the hope of some relief from their daily struggles against poverty. Therefore, the developments at TEBA need to generate sustainable economic opportunities for the residents in Pafuri. This, in addition, offers the GLTP the opportunity to realistically achieve its socio-economic objectives. However, as raised earlier, protected areas may not be able to ensure sustainable economic upliftment, especially through the current philosophies and top-down approaches. The GLTP will therefore need to revisit its approach to community involvement. This will include complete and real participation from the communities, including their active participation and the incorporation of their values and voices in all decision-making processes. Communities were consulted and talked to during the 2002 feasibility study. However not only were communities in Mozambique sidelined in the study, but only one brief paragraph was awarded to their concerns (Küsel & Nkatini 2002). This in no way has constituted any real participation from communities.

Both the Makuleke and the people in Mozambique should be offered the opportunity to establish community institutions which would represent them and their values and responsibilities in the debates around the site's developments. These could take the form of formal committees such as the joint management board at Kakadu National Park. However it is crucial that the parks and TEBA acknowledge, respect and represent the desires and values raised. This offers yet another opportunity for the GLTP to achieve

another claimed objective - the ability to reunite communities divided by political borders and so reuniting an artificially divided Africa (Tanner et al 2004). Policies of cross border movement of people and goods could help improve socio-economic situations border people find themselves in, yet ironically it has been the movement of animals and tourists that have been given priority (Wolmer 2003).

TEBA offers a unique opportunity not only for reuniting people through socio-economic activities, but also through representing the region's diverse history and cultural values. The similarities and differences in the experience of the borderzone can be clearly presented in a reuniting of its history at TEBA. It is through the communities' incorporation into the debates that their histories and the meanings and values attached to these histories will be intrinsically included and can be ethically presented by the Makuleke and people in Mozambique. In addition to the significance the site holds for these communities, its significance in terms of the region's as well as mining labour history should also be central to the debates. The developments need to preserve this historical significance as well as allow for current meanings of its history to be depicted. In the discussions with participants about the site's history, all felt that the history was important and should be made available to the public. As people from Mozambique and the Makuleke felt a personal connection to this history through their experience of the site, they felt it best if they interpreted the history themselves. This would allow for their experienced memories and current meanings to be ethically represented.

In the spirit of reconciliation in South Africa, many sites of restitution for the wrongs committed in the past have been developed, such as the Apartheid Museum, Robben Island and Constitutional Hill. These sites have mainly dealt with the brutal oppression and the struggle against the apartheid government. However the exploitations of men from across the southern African region by the mining industry has yet to be conclusively

dealt with. The TEBA developments present a perfect opportunity to allow for restitution to the men and their families that were exploited, through ethical and inclusive representation of the mining labour history and people's stories. The inclusion of individual histories will further address the issues of loss of individualism the men went through in the recruitment process. In the interviews, especially with the Mozambiquan participants, no one revealed a more personal experience of the recruitment that was hoped for. When I asked about the recruitment, they would tell me the process of being recruited rather than how they felt and experienced it. This is a clear indication of the loss of individualism.

It is imperative according to the South African National Heritage Resources Act that the TEBA developments take the site's cultural and historical value into consideration. As the site is older than sixty years it is imperative that these values are preserved. Therefore the developments need to be centred around the historical value of the site. This would allow the GLTP to make a real transformation regarding its cultural heritage management stance. And, as this would need full participation from the communities involved, real joint management could develop, along with improved relations between the GLTP and its resident and neighbouring people.

5.8 Conclusion

Terence Ranger questions the unintended implicit privileging of the colonial past (Ranger 1996). I have done exactly this (privilege the colonial past) by describing the unstable low employment present in contrast to a time when employment, albeit exploitative, was more readily available. But it is in the notion of "the good old days" that such a positive reflection of TEBA is created. The past was not necessarily that much more stable than present, the instability created by the employment through TEBA, the disruption to family life, diseases bought back from the mines etc, has been sidelined in favour the wealth that the employment bought due the current poverty. It is

in this notion of nostalgia for the past that threatens the memory of recruitment at TEBA (Werbner 1998). Therefore there is a real responsibility to all parties involved in the debate around the developments to further interrogate the experiences people had and have of the site.

The TEBA site offers opportunities to deal with these numerous issues, such as the restitution of the recruitment memory, however this can only become a possibility through a real cultural heritage sensitive led process of full community and other stakeholder participation. This will mean a shift in the balance between the prioritising of biodiversity conservation and cultural and historical values. Pafuri is rich with a diversity of human history, from Earlier Stone Age tools (Gibbon 2004) to the current residents. It is through closed frameworks and thinking that the opportunities for an enriched experience of a protected area can be missed (Winkworth 1998). It is suggested that the GLTP open its framework to the cultural and historical richness of the Pafuri region when debating the developments at TEBA. Only then will all the opportunities the site offers the GLTP to achieve its social, economic and political objective be taken advantage of.

Appendix A

Questionnaire Guidelines

The following was used only as a guide during the interviews. It was the aim to have a conversation with the participants rather than a formal questioning and answering session. The questions are not placed in any particular order either and were not necessarily how they were phrased in the interview either.

Ex-mineworkers

1) You have spent time on the mines in South Africa, did you go through TEBA/WNLA to get there?
2) Can you tell about what happened at TEBA/ Please take me through what you would do at TEBA?
3) Please tell me about the work you did on the mines, did you work underground? What did you do at the mines? How many times did you go? Did you go to the same mines?
4) Tell about the first time you went to the mines? How did you feel?
5) Were you married when you went to the mines the first time? Did you have any children? How do you think they felt when you left for the mines
6) What do you think about the history of TEBA?
7) Should this history be told to tourists, children etc? How and whose history should be told?
8) Did you sing songs going to the mines? Do you remember any of them?
9) Do you know about the GLTP/ Limpopo National Park? Please tell me about it? How do you feel about it?
10) What do you think should happen at TEBA, now that the GLTP is here?

Ex-mineworkers' wives

1) Do you know about TEBA? What do you know about it?
2) When your husband went to the mines, were you married to him yet, did you have children?
3) How did you feel when your husband left for the mines?
4) What did you do while he was gone? Who helped you? Where did you stay?
5) What do you think about the history of TEBA?
6) Should this history be told to tourists, children etc? How and whose history should be told?
7) Do you know about the GLTP/ Limpopo National Park? Please tell me about it? How do you feel about it?
8) What do you think should happen at TEBA, now that the GLTP is here?

Ex-mineworkers' children

1) Do you know about TEBA? What do you know about it?
2) Where did you hear/ Where would you like to hear about TEBA from?
3) What do you know about your father going to the mines?
4) For male participants: would you like to go work on the mines?
5) What do you think about the history of TEBA?
6) Should this history be told to tourists, children etc? How and whose history should be told?
7) Do you know about the GLTP/ Limpopo National Park? Please tell me about it? How do you feel about it?
8) What do you think should happen at TEBA, now that the GLTP is here?

Makuleke Elders

1) Tell me about life in Pafuri
2) Did you work at TEBA? Please tell me about the work you did?
3) Did you go to the mines as well? How did you get to the mines? What was it like working on the mines?
4) What do you think about the history of TEBA?
5) Should this history be told to tourists, children etc? How and whose history should be told?
6) Do you know about the GLTP/ Limpopo National Park? Please tell me about it? How do you feel about it?
7) What do you think should happen at TEBA, now that the GLTP is here?
8) How do you feel about Kruger taking over TEBA in Pafuri?

Officials (SANParks, Limopop National Park, Mozambique Government Officials)

1) What do you know about TEBA?
2) What is your opinion about the relationship between TEBA and the Kruger Park?
3) What do you think about the history of TEBA?
4) Should this history be told to tourists, children etc? How and whose history should be told?
5) Do you know about the GLTP/ Limpopo National Park? Please tell me about it? How do you feel about it?
6) What do you think should happen at TEBA, now that the GLTP is here?

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