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Community-Involved Heritage Management: The Case of Matatiele

Nthabiseng Mokoena

683215

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Abstract

What happens when a rural community expresses the need for a heritage centre? Located in the former Transkei homeland of the apartheid era, now in the Eastern Cape Province, Matatiele is one of many disadvantaged, though culturally rich, communities in South Africa. The region has received insufficient attention to its heritage concerns and has been neglected by government and by academics for decades. Motivated by the Mehloding Community Trust, a project run by the Matatiele community, this research addresses the local community's perception of heritage. This includes, amongst other things, their views on heritage management strategies and in particular the significance of rock art. One hundred and forty individuals from fifteen selected villages were interviewed to ascertain their interest in a heritage centre by way of representing and managing their own heritage. This research, therefore, addresses the nature of community involvement in heritage management and archaeology in the south-eastern part South Africa.

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Table of Contents

Abstract ..... **i**

Acknowledgements ..... **ii**

List of Figures ..... **viii**

List of Table ..... **ix**

Acronyms ..... **x**

Declaration ..... **xi**

1.0. ..... CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTORY BACKGROUND **1**

1.1. Background of the Study Area 2

1.2. The Contribution of Mehloding and MARA Programmes to the Heritage and Archaeology of Matatiele 6

1.3. Aim and Objectives 11

1.4. Rationale 11

1.5. Organization of the Dissertation 13

2.0. CHAPTER TWO- THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT: WORLDWIDE AND LOCAL PRACTICES **20**

2.1. Theorising Community Involvement and Heritage Management Through Post-processual and Postcolonial Archaeologies 20

2.2. Background to Ethical Theory in Archaeology 22

2.2.2. Why Does Ethical Practice Matter in Archaeology? 23

2.2.3. Ethical Principles in Archaeology 25

2.2.4. Transformation of Archaeology in South Africa and Elsewhere 28

2.2.5. Situating Ethical Practices of Community Involvement in Heritage Management 30

2.3. CONFLICT THEORY 33

3.0. CHAPTER THREE- WORLD VIEWS ON COMMUNITY- INVOLVED HERITAGE MANAGEMENT **35**

3.1. Characteristics of Heritage 38

3.1.1. Tangible and Intangible Heritage 38

3.2. Different Approaches to Heritage Management 40

3.2.1. Management of Heritage Sites 43

3.2.2. Exploring the Significance of Traditional Management Systems in Southern Africa 45
3.2.3. Promoting Education through Heritage Management 48
3.3. The Link to Cultural Tourism and Heritage Management 49
3.4. The Significance of Community-Involved Heritage Management 50
3.4.1. Methods of Community-involved Heritage Management 50
3.5. Discussion 52
4.0. CHAPTER FOUR- OUTCOMES OF INTERVIEWS WITH INTERPRETATIVE HERITAGE CENTRES 54
4.1. Background to CLLP 56
4.1.1. Educational Programmes as a Form of Community Involvement 58
4.1.2. Rock Art and Heritage Management in CLLP 60
4.1.3. CLLP as a Tourism Enterprise 61
4.1.4. Setbacks Experienced by CLLP Centre 61
4.2. Background to Kamberg Rock Art Centre 63
4.2.1. Rock Art Management and Presentation at Kamberg 67
4.2.2. How Kamberg Promotes Community Involvement and Participation 69
4.3. Background to Maropeng the Cradle of Humankind 72
4.3.1. The Contribution of the Maropeng Business 74
4.4. Background and Results to Didima Rock Art Centre 80
4.4.1. Rock Art Management by Didima Rock Art Centre 86
4.4.2. Didima Rock Art Centre as a Cultural Heritage Tourism Endeavour 87
4.4.3. Educational Facilities Provided by Didima Rock Art Centre 88
4.4.4. Setbacks and Challenges Faced by Didima Rock Art Centre 89
4.5. Results and Background of the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre 91
4.5.1. Promoting Education and Community Engagement in Wildebeest Rock Art Centre 93
4.5.2. Wildebeest Kuil as a Tourism Venture 94
4.5.3. Challenges Faced by Wildebeest Kuil 94
5.0. CHAPTER FIVE:RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES IN MATATIELE 98
5.1. Data Collection and Fieldwork in Matatiele 98

5.2. Ethical Clearance 98
5.3. Fieldwork in Matatiele 99
5.3.1. Phase One: Survey in Matatiele 99
5.3.2. Phase Two: Interviews 103
5.3.3.Phase Three: Community Outreach 108
5.4. Difficulties Faced During Fieldwork 116
6.0. CHAPTER SIX- DATA ANALYSIS 118
6.1. The Significance of Heritage in Matatiele 118
6.1.1. How do the Communities of Matatiele view heritage? 118
Matatiele Communities' views on their heritage 120
6.1.2. Communities' Views on the Proposed Heritage Centre 128
6.2. The Matatiele Communities' Knowledge of San Rock Art and its Significance 134
6.3. The Mehloding Community Trust's Vision for the Heritage Centre 140
6.4. Government's Role 142
6.5. Summary 143
7.0. .... CHAPTER SEVEN DISCUSSION OF COMMUNITY-INVOLVED HERITAGE MANAGEMENT 145
7.1.Community Perceptions of Heritage 145
7.2. Community Perceptions of Heritage Management and Community Involvement 150
7.2.1. Community-Involved heritage management 150
7.2.2. The Role of the Proposed Heritage Centre in Heritage Management 153
7.3. Education and Outreach 157
7.4. Considering Other Audiences 161
7.4.1. Is there a Potential for Tourism Development? 161
8.0. CHAPTER EIGHT- RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION 164
8.1. Community Participatory Recommendations for the Proposed Heritage Centre in Matatiele 164
8.2. Future Plans for Rock Art Management 170
8.3. Conclusion 173
9.0. REFERENCES 175

10. ..... APPENDICES 193

10.1. Appendix One- Questionnaires 193

10.2. Appendix Two- Posters 198

10.3. Pamphlets 201

10.4. Spread Sheet Analysis 204

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Communities of Matatiele in their traditional attire 3
Figure 1.2: A Map showing the location of Matatiele (Map Courtesy of Mcedisi Siteleki). 4
1.3 Outreach poster in English 19
Figure 3.1: Levels of heritage management structures 37
Figure 4.1: The five buildings in the Living Landscape premises (Pictures by author). 57
Figure 4.2: The Time Machine Museum (Pictures by author) 58
Figure 4.10: Maropeng Cradle of Humankind 73
Figure 4.11: Maropeng hotel 75
Figure 4.12: The Maropeng conference hall 75
Figure 4.13: A tunnel showing the different period of the earth and its species 76
Figure 4.14: Underground boat ride through the four elements 77
Figure 4.15: Display of fossils 77
Figure 4.16: One of the Sterkfontein Caves 78
Figure 4.17: Sponsors of Didima in their categories 81
Figure 4.18: Didima visitor centre 82
Figure 4.19: Accommodation chalets in Didima 82
Figure 5.1: Scratching on paintings (Picture by MARA) 101
Figure 5.10: Chief Nkau presenting posters to school representatives 112
Figure 5.11: The Community members of Nkau village looking at a poster during a pitso 114
Figure 5.13: Stakeholders meeting held in Matatiele 115
Figure 6.1: A summary of Communities' definitions of heritage and heritage components 120
Figure 6.10: Would you get involved in the planning and implementation of the heritage centre? 133
Figure 6.11: Responses to the question, "Do you know of any rock art sites in this region?" 135
Figure 6.12: Teacher's responses to "Do you know if there are rock paintings in Matatiele?" 136
Figure 6.13: Communities' responses to "Do you know who made the art?" 137

List of Table

Table 4.1: Summary of the heritage centre's information 96
Table 5.1: Summary of the villages to be covered by the study……..…….114

Table 6.1: A list of responses to the question, 'What is considered heritage?"..…..128

Acronyms

ASAPA- Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists

CLLP- Clanwilliam Living Landscapes Project

DAC- Department of Arts and Culture

DE- Department of Education

ICOMOS-International Council on Monuments and Sites

IFA- Institute of Field Archaeologists

IKS- Indigenous Knowledge Systems

MARA- Matatiele Archaeology Rock Art

MCTT- Mehloding Community Tourism Trust

NZAA- New Zealand Archaeological Association

RARI- Rock Art Research Institute

SAA- Society for American Archaeology

SADC- Southern African Development Community

SAHRA- South African Heritage Resources Agency

SOPA- Society of Professional Archaeologists

TTT- Transformation Task Team

UCT- University of Cape Town

UKZN- University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

USA- United States of America

Declaration

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

(Signature of candidate)

_____day of_____20____in_____

1.0. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTORY BACKGROUND

> Most commonly perhaps, archaeologists begin by identifying the site or sites on which they want to work and the emergence of a community with interests in those sites follows from that choice (Marshall 2002: 215).

Community involvement in heritage management and archaeological projects is rapidly gaining significance. Projects undertaken by heritage managers and archaeologists often involve living communities and therefore there is an ethical responsibility to acknowledge multiple voices involved in the protection and management of heritage. Heritage management takes different forms, but there are cases where management means community involvement because of the different heritage values imposed by living communities. The role of heritage managers and archaeologists is to acknowledge the complexities of living communities and take into account different perceptions in management of their heritage. It is crucial therefore to negotiate formal and informal community-influenced heritage management strategies conscious of the different heritage values that exist. This thesis advocates for the interrogation of the term heritage by looking at other perspectives.

It is from these views I believe that we can implement successful heritage management systems. The principle of multivocality inherent in post-processual archaeology and the archaeological practice that multivocality entails laid the foundation for a process leading to dialogue between archaeologists and communities affected by our research. This thesis therefore shows the significance of finding out the perceptions of living Matatiele Communities on a potential project that involves the presentation and management of their heritage. I show further the importance of negotiating management approaches and protection of heritage particularly where there are conflicting values and use of heritage and heritage sites.

1.1. Background of the Study Area

Located along the foothills of the Drakensberg Mountains, in the former Transkei, now Eastern Cape Province in South Africa, Matatiele is a small town in the Alfred Nzo District (See Map 1.1). For this study, the selected communities in the Alfred Nzo District (which is north of Kokstad) are referred to as the Communities of Matatiele and I specifically use a capital 'C' to refer to them. Communities of Matatiele are among the many small communities that contributed to the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa (cf. Bardsley 1982)[1]. Similar to most places in South Africa, Matatiele is a culturally diverse region where communities consist of different cultural groups. The different cultural groups found specifically in Matatiele include Sotho, Xhosa, Phuthi, Hlubi,Zulu, Griqua, Bhaca, Afrikaner, English-speakers and Asians to mention a few. The main villages in the Alfred Nzo region are separated according to the different cultural groups. The main chiefs represent different cultural groups, for instance, the four main villages selected for this study are Phuthi, Xhosa, and two main Sotho villages (see Chapter Six). Sub-villages are, however, mixed, consisting of people from different cultural groups.

The selected cultural groups for this research are from the Sotho, Xhosa, Phuthi, and Hlubi Communities. It should be noted that culture contact between these different groups has resulted in changes of certain cultural features. Culture contact between these diverse South African cultures is a dominant theme in the history of the people of Matatiele (Derricourt 1977: 195; Challis 2012). For instance, the Phuthi, Sotho and Xhosa traditional attires contain elements of similarity as reflected in elements of material culture. Figure 1.1 shows members of the Phuthi Community whose dress code has cultural elements of the Sotho and Xhosa traditional clothing.

The broader term 'community' as used in heritage studies is complex and its definition continues to be debated. Conventional definitions of what a community is are that it is a group of people living in the same area of research, who share the same

[1]N. Nyamazana interview with N. Mokoena, Alfred Nzo. 30th January 2015.

locale (Gilroy 1987: 247; Tully 2007:158; Happe 2014; Crooke 2010: 19). A community can also be bound by a common history and heritage (Crooke 2010). These definitions suggest that a community is homogenous and this is not always the case (Hall 1990; Tully 2007; 158). The Communities of Matatiele are complex and therefore cannot be defined by the same religious, ethnic, or geographical boundaries. Communities in this study have different interests in what they regard as heritage. Government officials, Mehloding representatives, traditional healers, teachers, elders, youth and the general members of the Community with their different religions, genders, cultures and histories are all affected directly or indirectly by heritage. For this study I follow Marshall's (2002:215) definition that a community (at least in the context of heritage management) is defined after the identification of the nature of an archaeological or heritage management project. I discuss the complexities of defining a community and further discuss Communities of Matatiele in Chapter Three.



Figure 1.1: Communities of Matatiele in their traditional attire

The different cultural groups mentioned have not always resided in the Alfred Nzo region. The BaPhuthi for instance were forced into the Transkei, known today as Matatiele, in the nineteenth century, following a British- and Basotho-enforced siege that occurred in Basutoland now known as Lesotho (Ambrose 2009; King 2014). The Sotho Communities, who currently reside in Matatiele, were also forced to migrate into the Transkei owing to conflicts that were taking place in the region.

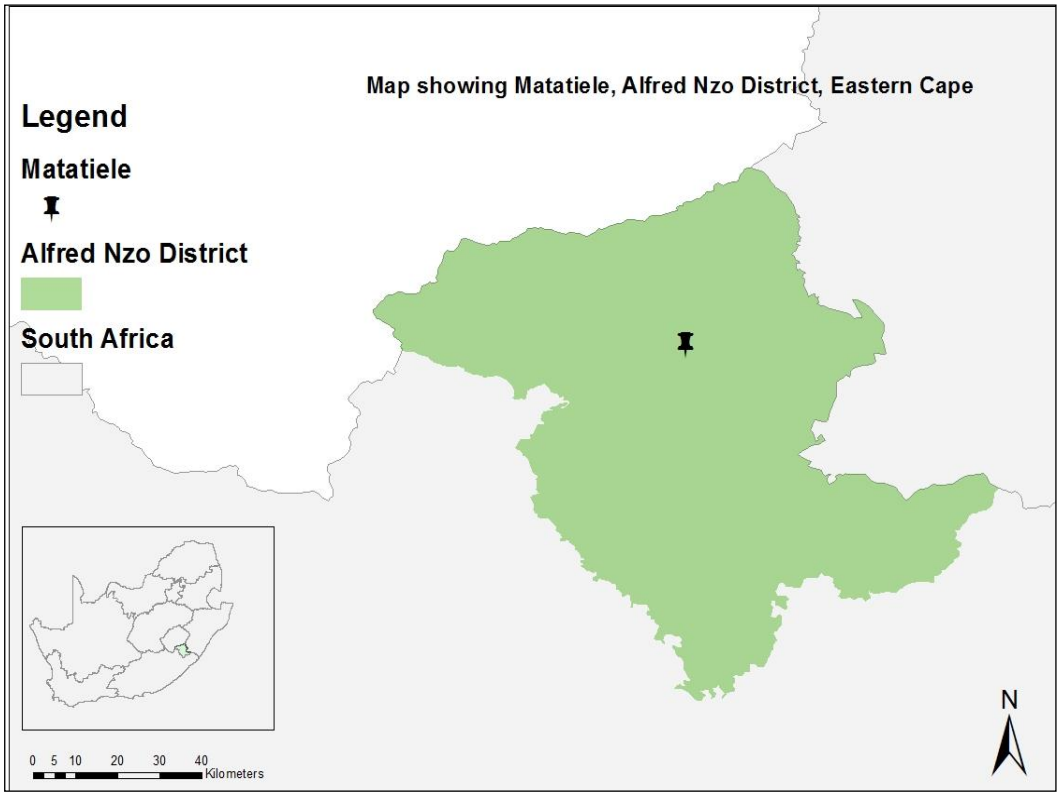

Figure 1.2: A Map showing the location of Matatiele (Map Courtesy of Mcedisi Siteleki).

Griqua and Europeans also resided in Alfred Nzo from the nineteenth century (MARA 2011). As with the whole region of southern Africa, the history of Matatiele is enriched by the first inhabitants, the San (e.g. Blundell 2004; Challis 2012). In Matatiele, there are families that claim to be San descendants. Even though the first inhabitants of the region can no longer be found in Matatiele, they have left behind

physical evidence of their existence as seen in their cultural remains and rock art. San rock paintings are found throughout the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains and in Matatiele we find a range of rock art sites along the foothills and highest parts of the mountains into the highlands of Lesotho.

San rock art has been extensively researched and the most prominent understanding of the art is that it is religiously symbolic (e.g. Orpen 1874; Vinnicombe 1967; Lewis-William 1981; Lewis-Williams 2011; Hollman 2004). The interpretation of these paintings has been highly debated in archaeology (e.g. Vinnicombe 1967; Lewis-Williams 1981; Biesele 1993; Solomon 1997; Lewis-Williams et al 2000). Debates on the interpretation of southern African San rock art can be traced from the mid-1800s to today. Early colonial interpretations argued that San rock paintings were "simple, untameable, childlike, idle and, crucially, incapable of adapting to more advanced Western ways" (Lewis-Williams 2011).Wilhelm Bleek, a philologist, working alongside his sister- in-law, Lloyd, recorded /Xam language (cf. Orpen 1874) of the meanings of the paintings and they argued that the paintings were religious (Mitchell 2002; 2009; Lewis-Williams 2011).

The period from the 1960s till present has been about re-negotiating different scholarly interpretations of the San rock art. The religious essence of the rock art was still contested and the paintings were suggested to depict everyday life activities of the makers of the art (Solomon 1997), while others employed scientific approaches where quantitative approaches to the interpretation of the paintings were suggested (Vinnicombe 1967; Maggs 1967). Presently we now know that the paintings were religious through the research initiated by Vinnicombe (1967)and Lewis-Williams (1981).

The government of South Africa has realised the importance of San rock art not only to local communities but also to the history of southern Africa as a whole (Smith 2006; Duval and Smith 2014). Presently, rock art sites are used by living communities for various reasons and spiritual ceremonies are linked to the use of

these sites. African ancestral religious activities such as thanksgiving ceremonies are carried out in rock art shelters, in addition to initiation and animal sheltering. Other activities in rock art shelters include animal sheltering/herding and initiation rites (see Chapters Three and Seven).

1.2. The Contribution of Mehloding and MARA Programmes to the Heritage and Archaeology of Matatiele

The Matatiele Archaeology and Rock Art (MARA) Programme is funded by the National Research Foundation's (NRF) African Origins Platform, hosted by the University of the Witwatersrand's (Wits) Rock Art Research Institute (RARI). It was initiated in 2009 by Dr. Sam Challis and aims to redress the under-researched history and archaeology of the former Transkei. Matatiele has been excluded, not only in archaeological research, but also by the academy in general. In archaeological terms, the neighbouring areas such as the Maclear District in the Eastern Cape Province, KwaZulu-Natal, and Lesotho, have received much more academic attention.

It is therefore MARA's mission to redress this neglect of the archaeology of Matatiele through the rock art and archaeology of the region (MARA 2011). MARA has recorded more than 200 rock art and archaeological sites along the foothills of the Drakensberg Mountains and in the lower lands of Matatiele. Excavations have also been carried out in two Middle and Later Stone Age sites. Almost all of the research area is in communal rural areas under the jurisdiction of local community chieftaincies.

MARA has worked with local Community members in the rock art surveys and excavations it undertook. A few Community members were trained and employed by the programme and their knowledge of the local landscape, histories and environment was significantly beneficial to the project. With the skills they obtained, these trained technicians have been able to work the Polihali and Sehlabathebe projects in Lesotho

as field technicians. MARA further had relations with a local tourism and heritage community project, Mehloding Community Trust (Mehloding).

Mehloding is a community organization represented by the Freedom Challenge, a corporation of members from the Matatiele Communities. The Freedom Challenge runs a mountain biking trail that runs through Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Kwa-Zulu Natal Provinces. The objectives of the Freedom Challenge are to publicise mountain biking trail activities and working with communities to promote the significance of natural and cultural heritage. The Challenge further provides a Scholarship Fund, and offers it to communities where the biking trails run through.

Mehloding was established in 2002 with the mandate of establishing a tourism venture in Matatiele. It runs three chalets spread across Matatiele and the Mehloding Adventure Trail.[2] The trail also leads to a few rock art sites and tourists visit them under the supervision of a guide from Mehloding. Having recognised the work that MARA has been involved in, and continues to undertake, in Matatiele, Mehloding (as a tourism enterprise) requested their assistance in compiling a proposal to the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) to establish and finance a rock art centre for the Matatiele Communities. MARA advised against the establishment of a rock art centre because of their experiences with the challenges rock art centres face in South Africa (see Chapters Four and Five) and proposed a heritage centre instead. Having realised that the majority of the Matatiele Communities do not have a place in which their histories and heritage could be represented, Mehloding took MARA's advice and advocated for the establishment of a heritage centre. This dissertation constitutes the first major step in establishing the heritage centre: a study of the communities' perceptions and requirements and the identification of ways in which to address these.

Mehloding has played a pivotal role in the research discussed in this thesis. The first stages of the study included meeting chiefs and other members of the community. Mehloding assisted with arranging meetings with the chiefs and gave advice on

[2]Tsepo Lesholu, Interview with Nthabiseng Mokoena.24th September 2014, Matatiele.

which villages should be considered for selection. Mehloding further provided accommodation during fieldwork, and advised on which Community members to approach for assistance with fieldwork. As a community project, Mehloding representatives therefore understood the significance of the research and have provided assistance and support throughout.

Negotiations with Mehloding about the establishment of a heritage centre are part of MARA's commitment to community involvement and, we hope, to Transformation in the field of archaeology and heritage management in southern Africa. Central to this involvement are the interactions between the various communities of the region, and their use of rock art sites identified in the survey process that MARA has been undertaking for the past five years. These interactions will form the basis for the success of both future conservation and heritage management plans, specifically for the Communities of Matatiele.

The mandate of this study is to identify heritage and archaeological management systems that are appropriate for the Communities of Matatiele. The diverse people of Matatiele have unique perspectives on what heritage is. By taking their voices into consideration the results of this study contribute to the heritage management strategies that could be employed for conservation purposes by these Communities, relevant governmental authorities, or even other interested independent stakeholders. Unfortunately, management systems practised by local communities have long been neglected by heritage and archaeological management bodies (Ndlovu 2009; Jopela 2011; Atalay 2013). Contemporary researchers advocate for the incorporation of 'Traditional Management Systems' such as Traditional Custodianship (Jopela 2010; 2011) with other management systems. Debates over management systems are discussed further in Chapters Two and Three.

Similarly, it is important to assess the successes and failures of rock art and heritage centres in South Africa. While rock art centres focus on the interpretation and the presentation of rock art and its makers, heritage centres also include interpretation of

relevant histories, archaeology, and the heritage of living communities. I introduce six heritage centres selected for comparison:

- Clanwilliam Living Landscapes Project (Western Cape)
- Kamberg Rock Art Centre (Kwa-Zulu Natal)
- Didima Rock Art Centre (Kwa-Zulu Natal)
- Maropeng Cradle of Humankind (Gauteng)
- !Khwa Ttu San and Cultural Educational Centre (Western Cape)
- Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre (Northern Cape)

All of these except for Wildebeest Kuil and !Khwa Ttu were visited as part of field research. After several unsuccessful attempts to interviews !Khwa Ttu management and staff members and being turned down, I decided to abandon it as a case study. For Wildebeest Kuil, I conducted desktop research because of logistical constraints.

All these centres were established with the intention that they would sustain themselves financially through tourism enterprise. Clanwilliam Living Landscapes Project (CLLP) is primarily an educational centre with a tourism business component. Maropeng is a purely business venture though it presents local research on human evolution. Didima is also a business that presents San rock art and the history of its makers. Kamberg and Wildebeest Kuil were established by RARI with the mandate to preserve and present rock art and the history of the makers of the art in a way that they generated their own income. All the centres present heritage in different ways and the manner in which they run their businesses differ. In Chapter Five, I discuss the management systems for each centre.

The main reasons for selecting heritage and rock art centres as part of this research are as follows:

- To identify challenges faced by the selected centres.
- To investigate and address the viability of establishing and running heritage centres

- To assess the significance of including an educational programme as part of community involvement or participation offered in the heritage centres.

Results from the centres form the basis for recommendations of future plans for the establishment of a heritage centre for the Communities of Matatiele.

Setting up a heritage centre comes with a lot of responsibilities, both administrative and financial. In the event that a small Community in an isolated region aspires to establish a heritage centre partly as a tourism business venture, they need to be aware of factors that may lead to the failure or success of such an endeavour. Developing a heritage centre also means managing heritage. A heritage or rock art centre as a tourism enterprise should not be run at the expense of the heritage being presented. As a result the assessment of the factors that may lead to the success or failure of such projects becomes necessary.

Results that came out of the assessment of the heritage centres give us an idea of what needs to be considered when venturing into similar projects. The relevance of this research is to give recommendations for future heritage management projects such as heritage centres. I recommend that the proposed heritage centre in Matatiele should take into account challenges faced by other heritage centres (See Chapter Ten). This research, therefore, highlights the main issues to be taken into account should a heritage centre be established for the Communities of Matatiele.

I further ask the reader to be conscious of two main themes that generally form the basis of this research:

a) The identification of appropriate community involvement systems is informed by the type of heritage management or archaeological project carried out.

b) Successful heritage management can be achieved through acknowledging the value and significance of the heritage in question as being action orientated.

1.3. Aim and Objectives

The main aim of this study is to investigate how a community inclusive heritage management plan can be implemented. Specifically, this study has the following objectives:

1. To assess the ways in which Matatiele Communities represent notions of their 'heritage', and also their knowledge of rock art and rock art sites.
2. To assess the need for a heritage centre as an educational programme for schools in Matatiele.
3. To identify appropriate methods of rock art conservation and protection of selected rock art sites in collaboration with the Communities of Matatiele.
4. To implement outreach educational sessions by holding community educational gatherings, and by designing school-targeted leaflets in local languages.
5. To assess factors that may lead to the success or failure of heritage management centres by exploring five case studies in the South Africa.

1.4. Rationale

Just as the Matatiele region has seen little in the way of historical, archaeological or rock art research, so too have issues of heritage management and rock art conservation received sparse attention in the area. Rock art sites are used for various reasons by the Communities of Matatiele (see Chapter Seven). The various uses of rock art sites can be seen as a threat to conservation. For the Communities, some activities carried out in the sites and the use of the actual paintings is linked to their heritage and religion. How then do we negotiate protection of the sites while, acknowledging that local Communities use them?

Rock art in quite a number of sites is deteriorating. Apart from deterioration due to natural elements, the paintings have been scratched, pecked and even removed. This raises an immediate need for conservation. One step towards achieving rock art conservation in this study has been raising community awareness and holding

educational sessions at schools and the selected villages. This is because the damage to the art specifically in Matatiele is more human-induced than natural. It was important to understand the significance and value of rock art as seen by the Communities of Matatiele in order to establish alternative protection measures and negotiate the use of rock art sites. Current research consequently advocates for the inclusion of community views in heritage management.

Matatiele Communities do not have a heritage centre. The majority of Community members are more familiar with the concept of a museum than they are of a heritage centre. As it stands Matatiele has a small, one-room local museum that neither captures the diverse cultures of the region, nor acknowledges all of the various histories and archaeologies of the local Communities. Of more importance is the lack of educational materials to significantly capture both the tangible and intangible (or living) heritage of the people.

In order to minimise chances of conflict between the Communities and potential stakeholders such as the Department of Arts and Culture, local businesses, Mehloding, archaeologists, heritage managers or the National Department of Basic Education, the Community's views on issues related to their heritage and their history need to be determined and addressed. Furthermore, without community consultation, involvement and understanding, the sustainability of conservation projects is not guaranteed. This study, therefore, highlights the importance of heritage (especially rock art) conservation and management for the Communities of Matatiele.

1.5. Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter One

This chapter has introduced the background of Matatiele and its Communities. The introduction and mandate of the Mehloding Community Trust has been outlined and, further, the role and contribution it had in the plans for the establishment of a heritage centre. We saw the contribution and relationship of Mehloding with MARA. Most importantly, this chapter has addressed not only the significance of this study but also its rationale and aims.

The heritage centres selected as research case studies have been listed. This section has briefly introduced the mandate of the centres and how their assessment can help to run the proposed Matatiele heritage centre; conscious of the possible setbacks discovered by this research.

Chapter Two

Chapter two discusses theories associated with the main issues explored in the whole study. Ethical theory sets out the main principles that archaeologists can critically take into account during their practice, particularly in the field. A background to the establishment of these principles is summarized in this chapter. I additionally demonstrate how these principles have been incorporated in different archaeological organisations world-wide. These principles are, however, not without challenges, particularly when it comes to their application. In this chapter, I show how archaeological practice is able incorporate the selected principles in a way that fits into the type of practice, and the region affected.

Post-processualism and postcolonial theories generally address the significance of multivocality and involvement of multiple voices in archaeological research. In this chapter I argue for the incorporation of ethical principles in heritage and archaeological management systems in line with post-processualism and post-

colonialism. Community-involvement and the incorporation of different management strategies are therefore advocated as logical conclusions of these theories. Management systems should not only account for tangible heritage but also for intangible heritage and for multiple perspectives on these.

Motivated by ethical theoretical principles, the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA) has set up transformation strategies in all aspects of archaeological practice. I discuss their suggestions for community involvement, consultation and traditional management systems.

Chapter Three

Community involvement takes different forms and it is important to identify these in order to implement those that are appropriate for specific projects. In this section, I provide details of different community involvement projects to southern Africa and worldwide. Community involvement includes school involvement, community gatherings, and open site policies during fieldwork (especially excavation).

Heritage, as defined by local communities, is significant. Management strategies are not only those formal systems set up by government or international organizations such as UNESCO. Traditional Management Systems should also be incorporated in management plans in order to produce appropriate methodologies. Negotiating appropriate management systems with Community members is crucial.

Chapter Four

This chapter addresses the importance of identifying appropriate methodologies for assessing the sustainability of rock art and heritage centres. The outcomes of the survey of heritage centres are also highlighted. Rock art and heritage centres in South

Africa were visited and their staff interviewed to ascertain their various levels of success.

Interviews are important in sourcing information directly from staff members that are employed by the different centres researched in this study. Interviews contribute to identifying whether the centres are financially sustainable or not. Interviews with management of the different centres additionally show how the different facilities generate income for the centres in question. Challenges faced by management and other individuals running sections of the centre are highlighted through the interviews conducted.

In the case of Wildebeest Kuil, desktop research provides information on how the centre is run and the different facilities provided. Challenges faced by the centre are also highlighted.

The outcomes of the survey on heritage centres are also highlighted. The interviews show that most centres are undergoing financial challenges and thus their existence is threatened. For those centres that are doing better than others, marketing was the main investment.

The results of this study show how the centres play a role in promoting educational programmes. Two of the heritage centres examined have set up formal educational programmes for schools. In general, the centres have ways of promoting heritage in a way that it is educational to different visitors they receive. Tour guiding, for instance, is a form of education; and I show how it can also be a form of management.

Chapter Five

Another methodology chapter, Chapter Five focuses on Matatiele. Interviews, community gatherings, observation and survey were used to gather data that address

the aims of this study. Interviews were conducted in different selected villages in the Matatiele region. Potential sponsors, who include the DAC were also interviewed.

Community gatherings were useful in addressing issues related to the questions that were posed during the interviews with the Communities of Matatiele. Community gatherings (*lipitso*) elicited the Communities' perspectives on the proposed heritage centre, and the communities' use and perceptions of the rock art shelters. Most importantly, the gatherings were meant to provide a report back of the research results to the Communities of Matatiele. Posters and pamphlets that addressed the significance of heritage were also distributed during the *lipitso*.

Chapter Six

This chapter analyses data from the interviews related to the Communities of Matatiele. An important element presented in this chapter is the report on Communities' views of what heritage is. The chapter further reports on Communities' perceptions on the necessity of establishing a proposed heritage centre.

Perceptions of rock art and its management are outlined in a section of this chapter. The input of Communities of Matatiele on their knowledge of the existence, importance and meaning of San rock paintings contributes in identifying future management and conservation strategies.

Stakeholders were also interviewed and the results of their responses are summarized. The stakeholders in question include Mehloding, and the government representatives from DAC. The stakeholders have given their opinions on the importance of establishing the proposed heritage centre. This chapter additionally reports on stakeholders' views on how they would contribute in ensuring the sustained survival of the proposed heritage centre.

Chapter Seven

Chapter Seven discusses the significance of identifying and adopting relevant methodologies in community involvement and heritage management in Matatiele. Having identified several case studies in Southern Africa, I discuss the relevance of heritage management for different cases and show how these can inform the situation in Matatiele. This section advocates for the inclusion and acknowledgement of more than a single form of management in Matatiele.

The importance of community involvement and participation in rock art conservation and management is explored particularly if sites are located next to communities. I argue for acknowledgement of local communities' perceptions of the paintings and the relevance of negotiating the use of the sites. I demonstrate how approaching Communities collectively and individually in addressing heritage and rock art significance may lead to successful negotiations.

This Chapter further discusses the establishing of heritage centres as a form of heritage management. In addition to being tourist attractions, heritage centres in South Africa also serve as cultural heritage havens, though they are not museums. I discuss the contribution that heritage centres have made to the promotion of heritage in different regions of South Africa. I argue, however, that the centres as single entities cannot be sustainable without the contribution of other aspects of non-cultural tourism ventures such as accommodation and nature tourism. The problem discussed is that, in some cases, tourism is promoted at the expense of heritage management.

Heritage centres in South Africa have significantly contributed to heritage education. Following this, I critically discuss the importance of incorporating educational systems and programmes within heritage centres. Promotion of heritage education is not only beneficial for heritage management, but also for community involvement. I outline the benefits of promoting heritage centres, not only as tourist attractions, but also as educational hubs. Included in the discussion are perspectives of the Communities of Matatiele on the proposed heritage centre.

Chapter Eight

This chapter outlines recommendations for the proposed heritage centre and future heritage management plans. Among the projects recommended are community participatory programmes. I further recommended the need for an educational programme to be run at the proposed heritage centre. Results of the assessment of heritage centres show that educational programmes play a crucial part in sustaining the centres. The proposed Matatiele heritage centre should therefore double as an educational centre.



1.3 Outreach poster in English

2.0. CHAPTER TWO- THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT: WORLDWIDE AND LOCAL PRACTICES

In this chapter, I identify some theoretical underpinnings and implications of community involvement. I assess the contribution of post-processual and postcolonial archaeologies in the implementation of ethical ideologies in archaeological practice. This chapter further explores methods for how some theoretical discussions can be applied to heritage management practices. I discuss some relevant definitions of archaeological ethical standards and critically analyse on-going debates in ethical practice within southern Africa. I identify how, in some situations, turning to conflict theory provides alternative ways of predicting chances of disagreements and possible ways of addressing conflicting views in an attempt to articulate appropriate heritage management methods.

2.1. Theorising Community Involvement and Heritage Management Through Post-processual and Postcolonial Archaeologies

Post-processualism highlights the importance of including multiple voices in archaeological research, stressing the need for multi-vocality in the interpretation and protection of archaeological material (Trigger 1989; Smith 2004). Ian Hodder (2008:196) also believes that multi-vocality is a crucial element of archaeological practice. Post-processual archaeology was meant to recognize that archaeological data can be interpreted through practical social methods (Smith 2004: 49).

In addressing the significance of multi-vocality, postcolonial archaeologies also deal with different methodological approaches. In former colonial contexts, archaeology has been viewed as ‘white’ intrusion to take away people’s control over the

construction of their past (Gosden 2012: 249). The fact that archaeology did not acknowledge the importance of reconstructing one's past, resulted in the marginalization of living communities (Gosden 2012: 249).

In colonial and apartheid-era South Africa in particular, archaeology was experienced as a 'colonial enterprise' in which African pasts and African voices were marginalized or overlooked (Hall 2005; Shepherd 2005; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Ndlovu 2009b; Lane 2011; Gosden 2012). Postcolonial writers argue that mid-twentieth century research agendas did not accommodate contributions from non-archaeologists particularly community members around areas of archaeological research (Shepherd 2005; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Ndlovu 2009a; Schmidt 2009; 2012;2014; Lane 2011; Gosden 2012; Atalay 2013). Postcolonial archaeologies therefore advocate for the inclusion of descendant or indigenous communities around areas where archaeological projects are undertaken.

Postcolonial archaeology is an alternative to address problems that were brought about by colonialism in the reconstruction of African and other non- European histories and archaeology. The theory advocates for the adoption of alternative ways of addressing or interpreting archaeology such as the acknowledgement of Indigenous Knowledge Systems particularly in the case of Africa (Andah 1995: 173; Jopela 2011).

The research presented in this thesis recognizes the significance of incorporating Communities' perspectives in archaeological research. Methodologies are drawn from post-processual and postcolonial theories of archaeological practice. These theories highlight how the marginalization of certain stakeholders affects archaeological research. Alongside post-processual and postcolonial theories, archaeologists have developed ethical theories that outline the different roles played by archaeologists and interested parties in the improvement of archaeological research. Ethical theory addresses different methods and responsibilities of archaeologists in archaeological practice. For this research, I am interested in the

nature of relationships that archaeologists and heritage managers should have with the communities that are directly and indirectly affected by their projects. These relations are informed by the type of research or project and therefore through ethical theory, I highlight principles that assist in developing community-involvement in heritage management endeavours. In the sections that follow, I discuss the relevance of ethical theory in archaeological research and show how it is relevant in southern African studies and specifically to this research.

2.2. Background to Ethical Theory in Archaeology

There is no single definition or code of archaeological ethics: both in theory and in practice the concepts are fluid and defined largely by situations that archaeologists encounter both within the academy and in the field. Looking into African archaeology, Hall (2005:169), Resnik(2003:3) and Beaudry (2009:19) give a general definition of ethics as standards that guide action, or social norms that allow or forbid certain kinds of behaviour or codes of conduct. The general definitions of what ethical guidelines are have been challenged and transformed over time in different parts of the world. In this study, I articulate the importance of ethical guidelines in the transformation of southern African archaeological practices.

The definitions mentioned above are limited to a general outlook and do not specifically tell us how ethical codes or standards are relevant to the practice of archaeology. Within the discipline, ethical standards are seen as codes of conduct or rules that guide archaeologists on what to do or not do in their professional practice (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006: 116). For the purposes of this research, I acknowledge that ethical standards are a set of professional standards that guide us as archaeologists so as to improve the discipline. These standards have however been criticized (Groarke and Warrick 2006). Alternative ideologies have taken into consideration the importance of addressing social issues encountered not only by archaeologists but also by groups of individuals that are affected either directly or

indirectly by archaeological research. Although Swanepoel (2011:184) gives a much broader definition, she maintains that ethical standards are not only meant to guide archaeologists, but should encourage archaeologists to hold themselves accountable for their work, and for 'social commitment to contribute to the public good'.

For this research study, I follow Swanepoel's (2011:184) definition in acknowledging the ethical responsibility towards taking into account the perspectives of Communities towards achieving successful heritage management strategies. Ethics are a social theory and are always at work in shaping human interaction(Meskell 2005: 124). The theory therefore looks at the nature of interactions between archaeologists and different stakeholders. This statement is thoroughly articulated in the last section of this chapter. The next section (Section 2.2.2) gives a brief background to the development of ethical theory in archaeology. Specific principles of ethical practice are summarized in Section 2.2.3. Section 2.2.4 sets a platform for the introduction of Southern African archaeological practices and the debates related to the influences of ethical practice in research.

2.2.2. Why Does Ethical Practice Matter in Archaeology?

The growth of archaeology itself has to a large extent been influenced by ethical concerns within the discipline, even though ethical codes were not formally defined for a long time (Lynott 2003; Wylie 2003).

The earliest archaeological excavations from the antiquarian era (Pompeii, Herculaneum and in Mesopotamia regions) in the 18th and early 19thcenturies were largely unsystematic and conducted by antiquarians or interested amateurs out of curiosity or for personal gain (Lucas 2001: 4; Chase et al 2006). A growing market for antiquities encouraged this form of archaeology to escalate to the point where excavations became a type of business and artefacts were either sold to museums or kept in personal collections (Lynott 1997: 590; Harjo-Shown 1992: 323). Following the rapid growth of archaeological enterprise, looting and grave robbing became

increasingly common, and archaeological resources were compromised because they were plundered and introduced into the art market (Lynott 1997; 2003). Despite contemporary concerns over looting, action was not taken as soon as it might have been expected, in part because archaeology was not yet established as an independent discipline and therefore lacked an academic constituency (Pendergast 1991).

Africa especially suffered from early and widespread looting. For instance, in Egypt both local residents and foreign visitors would loot tombs and sell their finds to interested collectors (Fagan 2004:5-10). Some antiquities eventually found their way to institutions like the British Museum: the legality of these accessions and the right of the country of origin to demand their return is an on-going issue. In 1990 the United States of America took a stand against looting by introducing a law protecting heritage (archaeology) from looted sites (Riding 1992). The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 made it illegal to loot and sell Native American grave goods and any archaeological remains (Riding 1992: 32).

The ethical concerns to emerge out of this period of looting are therefore twofold: the loss of archaeological information resulting from irresponsible or inappropriate archaeological practice, and the manner in which archaeological materials are treated, mistreated, stored, sold, curated and returned after their recovery.

From the beginning of the 1960s through the1970s, sacred lands and sacred items such as grave goods began to be returned to communities affected by archaeological research in some parts of the world (Harjo-Shown 1992: 324; Lynott 2003:18). The establishment and development of archaeological associations such as the Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA), Institute of Field Archaeologists (IFA) and the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) have paved the way for acknowledgement of the need to consider ethical guidelines in archaeology (Beaudry 2009: 17). The activities of SAA and its contribution to archaeological ethical guidelines and the development of archaeology are discussed in the next section.

2.2.3. Ethical Principles in Archaeology

Development of ethical theory was enforced by different archaeological associations around the world. The Society for American Archaeology (SAA) was the first association in 1996 to actually draft guiding statements on 'Ethics', where unsatisfactory practices in archaeology were addressed and alternative measures offered (Lynott 2003: 20; Wylie 2003). Other associations such the Council of the New Zealand Archaeological Association have revised ethical principles that were passed by SAA (NZAA 2010). The Australian Archaeological Association (AAA) also drafted their own guidelines which were informed by the challenges that archaeologists in the Australian context face (AAA 2012). In southern Africa, SA3 (Southern African Archaeological Association) now known as the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA) was established to address methods of developing archaeological practices in the region. This research highlights SAA and ASAPA principles and situates them within the development of community involvement and heritage management. First I discuss SAA's role in the development of ethical principles.

The SAA's eight ethical principles are: Stewardship, Accountability, Commercialization, Public Education and Outreach, Intellectual Property, Public Reporting and Publication, Records and Preservation and Training and Resources (Bendremer and Richman 2006; Kintigh 1996; Lynott 1997). Seeing that Stewardship, Public Education and Outreach and Public Reporting and Publication are directly relevant to this research, it is useful to define them here:

1. Stewardship

   Stewardship has a major influence on ethical issues in archaeology because archaeological practices in the past were flawed. Stewardship proposes that archaeologists are responsible for the conservation and protection of the archaeological record. It is noted that 'archaeological

material, sites archaeological collections, records and reports, is irreplaceable' (Lynott 1997: 592) hence there is a need for caretaking. Archaeologists as stewards are expected to both advocate and act as caretakers of the archaeological record for the benefit of all and in the event they should promote 'public understanding and support for its long-term preservation' (Lynott 1997: 592; Bendremer and Richman 2006; Beaudry 2009: 19).

2. Public Education and Outreach

   Public Education and Outreach is a principle that encourages archaeologists to interact with the public to achieve preservation, protection and interpretation of the archaeological record. Additional responsibilities include: '1) enlist public support for the stewardship of the archaeological record; 2) explain and promote the use of archaeological methods and techniques in understanding human behavior and culture; and 3) communicate archaeological interpretations of the past. Many publics exist for archaeology including students and teachers; Indigenous people and other ethnic, religious, and cultural groups who find in the archaeological record an important aspect of their cultural heritage; lawmakers and government officials; reporters, journalists, and others involved in the media; and the general public' (Kintigh 1996; Lynott 1997: 593). In the case where an archaeologist cannot perform the listed interventions, they are encouraged to support those archaeologists who undertake the mentioned activities.

3. Public Reporting and Publication

   Public Reporting and Publication intertwines with the Public Education and Outreach principle. In the case of the former, archaeologists are expected to present and make the archaeological record accessible through publication. The archaeological record and publications in question should be kept in a permanent place for safekeeping. 'An interest in preserving and protecting in situ archaeological sites must be taken into account when publishing and distributing information about their nature and location' (Kintigh 1996; Lynott 1997: 593).

Martin Hall (2005:184) argues that these are the principles through which we 'define conventions of behaviour'. These principles not only direct archaeologists towards means of enhancing archaeological methodologies, but they also encourage reflections on aspects of archaeology as a discipline and the socio-political contexts in which archaeology operates. While formulated within the United States, archaeologists across the world have adopted these principles and tailored them to suit the needs of specific situations.

Stewardship is said to be an ethical principle in archaeology through which other archaeological principles stem (Groarke and Warrick 2003). This principle as set out by SAA suggests that archaeologists should make it their mission to protect and conserve archaeological material (Lynott 1997: 592; Bendremer and Richman 2006; Beaudry 2009: 19). The principle further emphasizes that archaeologists should act as caretakers of the archaeological record. There are, however, shortcomings to stewardship that other researchers have identified (Groarke and Warrick 2003: 164):

- The principle is vague;
- It confuses ethical and political concerns in archaeology;
- It has different implications when different groups are involved in the control of archaeological resources; and,
- The principle does not recognize other ethics that 'transcend and limit stewardship'.

Further, Stewardship does not explain who benefits from the caretaking of the archaeological record (Groarke and Warrick 2003: 165). I consider this principle for this research well aware of the limitations of its implementation. I address the problems and give alternatives (see Chapters Eight and Nine).

As stipulated by the sixth ethical principle of archaeology, archaeological records and publications should be kept in a safe place and open to the public (Kintigh 1996; Lynott 1997: 593). As explained in Chapter One, a heritage centre is required in Matatiele. One of the potentially crucial functions of this centre would be to curate

and publicise information related to historical and archaeological research carried out in Matatiele. This entails the right to veto endeavours made to reconstruct their Communities' pasts (Gosden 2012: 250). Acknowledging ethical guidelines in archaeology, this study considers the importance of practising archaeology in a way that does not impinge on local communities' ideas of how they present and protect their heritage. ASAPA has set up recommendations of community involvement in heritage archaeological management and I discuss in the next section ASAPA and its attempts to achieve transformation.

2.2.4. Transformation of Archaeology in South Africa and Elsewhere

Following the end of the apartheid regime in 1994 in South Africa, archaeologists endeavoured to confront issues of ethical practice such as racism, gender inequality and the marginalization of living communities within the discipline (Shepherd 2002). Other issues included the need for recruiting more archaeologists and the importance of exposing the general public to archaeology (Maggs 1998).

The formation of archaeological associations such as ASAPA has influenced the way archaeology is developing in Southern Africa. Recently, ASAPA members proposed a Transformation Charter to address issues such as discrimination in the contexts of race, ethnicity, gender, and religion, all concerns raised by the members of ASAPA (ASAPA 2009: 90). More than two decades after apartheid ended in South Africa, archaeology was still dominated by white archaeologists (Ndlovu 2009: 91). A recent study by Lyn Wadley (2013: 103) on disciplinary transformation in achieving equality in gender and racial representation within archaeology departments at the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town (UCT), Pretoria and Stellenbosch show that there still exists a disparity between the numbers of white archaeologists and their 'Black', 'Coloured' and 'Indian' counterparts. Statistics show an increased percentage of female students enrolling in Masters and PhD degrees when compared to years between the 1980s and 2012. Attempts to achieve Transformation still need

to be a priority for archaeology as a discipline and for the South African heritage sector as a whole (Ndlovu 2009: 91).

In order to ensure developed transformation systems, a Transformation Task Team (TTT) was elected in 2007 and this team came up with a Transformation Charter (Smith 2009: 87; Ndlovu 2009: 92). The Charter was meant to provide a 'workable transformation programme' (Ndlovu 2009: 92). Principles of this charter resulted in general goals and I mention two which I believe are related to this research and relate to SAA's Stewardship Principle. These are:

- The transformation of archaeological practice (e.g. funding, publication, professional bodies). This is meant to 'ensure equal access and participation in all levels of professional archaeology. To redress past inequalities this will require significant interventive action by ASAPA members' (ASAPA 2009: 90).
- The transformation of public information, marketing and publicity concerning archaeology. This entails the need to strive to 'provide accurate information about the archaeological past and to market and publicize archaeology to all sectors of South African society' (ASAPA 2009: 90).

While the goals listed above are certainly important, the Charter did not outline how these could be achieved and under what conditions. For instance, it is not clear how community involvement should be implemented. The implementation of such worthy ideals has often proven difficult. Community involvement in archaeological projects is often romanticized and there are challenges that come out of these attempts; in Chapter Three, I outline different case studies that show the difficulties in these projects.

The concern was that local communities were often not consulted or involved in archaeological and heritage management projects. Researchers therefore did not have information regarding the ways in which local communities represented and managed

their heritage (Ndlovu 2009: 65). Indigenous and local living communities were not acknowledged or involved in decisions that directly and indirectly affected them in heritage and archaeological projects (Shepherd 2002; Ndlovu 2009). In the present, researchers continue to discuss and act on the importance of moving away from a top-down approach and rather to incorporate communities in archaeological projects (Marshall 2002; Greer et al 2002; Tully 2007; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Atalay 2012).

Drawing from ethical theory, which states that archaeological projects are likely to be successful if all parties affected are involved, my study addresses the significance of heritage management and archaeology that is inclusive of plural voices of both local communities and other stakeholders. I additionally show how stakeholders' and Communities' views could contribute to the management of their heritage and the rock art in the region.

2.2.5. Situating Ethical Practices of Community Involvement in Heritage Management

We have established that ethical considerations generally contribute to the way archaeology is practiced today and further motivated the way archaeology is practiced today. Therefore the survival and legitimacy of archaeology lies within acceptable ethical practices (Jennbett 2004).

Theoretical approaches to the idea of defining heritage continue to be debated mainly because of the inherently ambiguous nature of the concept of 'heritage'. Defining 'heritage' becomes extremely apparent in the implementation of heritage management. Albino Jopela and Fredriksen (2015: 3) reiterated that:

> …it is problematic that in the current dominant theoretical framework and practice of heritage management there is a discontinuity between the places

considered to belong to the past and the value and aspirations of people in the present.

A trend in academia has been that heritage management is largely concerned with the protection of aspects of heritage that practitioners deem significant and in most cases these are tangible (Jopela and Fredriksen 2015). Acknowledging different facets of heritage entails identifying aspects of value and, further, tracing the communities associated with that heritage. As demonstrated in the previous discussions, post-colonial archaeologists advocate for inclusion of communities in the definition, interpretation and management of heritage. Indigenous archaeologies – ones which are formed at least in part around the importance that objects and places have for living communities – are now an unavoidable aspect of archaeology in Africa and anywhere that heritage is connected to local people. Archaeologists (CRM professionals, researchers and heritage practitioners) must be engaged with this reality; ought to recognise that indigenous archaeologies exist, and should be included in the management of archaeological and heritage resources as 'present-centred and future-oriented practice' (Giblin *et al.* 2014: 132).

What is required is nothing less than an interrogation of conventional ideologies in order that we might find, highlight and then incorporate conflicting or differing knowledges. What should be recognised is the existence of different worlds that inform values imposed by present communities. In order to ensure informed approaches to heritage management for instance we need to recognise and adopt the 'cosmopolitan philosophy' and 'inclusive ethics of recognition' (Jopela and Fredriksen 2015: 4). It is through these approaches that formal structures of heritage definitions and management are interrogated by introducing alternative measures (c.f Pétúrsdottir 2013: 47).

Cosmopolitan approaches to the interrogation of heritage feed into the idea of inclusive ethical considerations. Cosmopolitanism according to Appiah (2006:85) combines related ideologies: first that "we have obligations to those who are beyond

the people who are close to us, like our kin or compatriots.”The second is taking interest in the lives, practices and beliefs of others (Jopela and Fredriksen 2015:4). It is ideal therefore to recognise principles of living communities on heritage values (material and immaterial) and incorporate these in implementing modern formal management strategies.

As Ndlovu (2009: 65) and Lane (2011: 8) pointed out, there is a difference between management styles of western and African archaeologists. However, for this research, I propose the importance of community involvement in heritage management through actual dialogue with community members of all ages and other interested stakeholders. I demonstrate the significance of understanding the public's viewpoint on the proposed projects that might affect them directly or indirectly and, further, how they would tackle them. The proposed alternative forms of heritage management address (discussed in Chapter Three) ethical concerns and thus need to be considered in depth.

Recalling the earlier discussion of stewardship, rock art research and conservation present an excellent opportunity to consider how archaeologists’ and local communities’ sensibilities interact. Worldwide, indigenous communities often regard archaeological sites as sacred places that need to be respected for moral and religious purposes (Gosden 2012: 250). In the case of southern Africa rock art sites, local communities regard the sites as places of worship and thus everything in them is used for as healing and praying sanctuaries. This research takes into account the likelihood of use of rock art sites by different members of Communities.

As indicated in Chapter One, one of the major concerns of any heritage management programme in Matatiele is the deterioration of rock art and rock art sites. Most of these sites are regarded as sacred places where traditional healers communicate with their spirit world. Paint removed from the rock art surface is used for medicinal purposes (Regensberg 2013). As archaeologists, we view this as destruction of heritage. I discuss the implications of spiritual heritage management from the

standpoint of the traditional healers (Ndlovu 2009: 65). Blocking traditional healers and initiation schools from rock art shelters is equivalent to, I believe, denying them certain ways of embracing and managing their heritage. This situation therefore demonstrates contradictions within principles of archaeological ethics discussed above.

The second goal of transformation, according to ASAPA's Transformation Charter (ASAPA 2009: 90), emphasizes the need to disseminate archaeological information to not only to scholars, but also to the general public. For the purposes of achieving objective number four of this study ('to implement outreach programmes by holding community educational gatherings and by designing leaflets in local languages major target being schools'), community gatherings are crucial for introducing this type of archaeological project. The gatherings are also useful in reporting back the results to the Communities and other stakeholders. The major concern was giving information about the need to protect rock art sites and preserving them. I acknowledge that being a steward for the archaeological record and educating the public has its problems and I discuss these in the next chapters.

2.3. CONFLICT THEORY

Projects that encompass disparate social and economic interests are not easy to manage, because there are different individuals (directly and indirectly-affected stakeholders) who pursue their own interests and agendas within the project. This introduces the potential for misunderstandings and opposing aims and the need for addressing and considering conflicts. In these cases it may be profitable to turn to conflict theory (Jacob and Schreyer 1980; Porter and Salazar 2005; McKercher 2005).

In cultural tourism enterprise, investors are mainly interested in accruing profits from their investments, while local communities might (in addition to their own commercial interests in the project) also be interested in preserving their heritage and

having continuous access to places they consider sacred. In the process of achieving these goals, there are possibilities of conflict.

Conflict not only occurs in cases where there is more than one stakeholder with different goals but also in cases where stakeholders have the same goal but approaches to achieving these goals may be different (Budowski 1977; Jacob and Schreyer 1980). Such situations, as a result, require plans for conflict resolution.

As elaborated in Chapter Five, individuals who have been interviewed have opposing interests in the implementation of a heritage centre. Most want it for heritage management purposes while others for generating income and there are many who suggest the inclusion of a tourism plan within the heritage centre.

The recognition and use of conflict theory in the heritage management and cultural tourism field may, therefore, help address and recognize the possibilities of conflicting views by different stakeholders. The case of heritage management, particularly for this study, acknowledges the importance of addressing instances through which conflict may occur and thus the conflict theory may play a significant role.

As much as it is ideal to take into account various perceptions of heritage and archaeological projects, there is however a possibility of conflict that may one way or another lead to failure and shut down of such projects. In chapters five and six I discuss the challenges of multiple contradicting voices in the planning. For instance the Matatiele Communities have emphasized the significance of the heritage centre being an educational hub while other potential stakeholders have expressed economical expectations out of the heritage centre in terms of developing tourism (See Chapter Six).

3.0. CHAPTER THREE- WORLD VIEWS ON COMMUNITY- INVOLVED HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Having discussed different theoretical perspectives in community involved heritage management, I now review different methods that are put in practice. I look at different case studies in southern Africa, the rest of Africa and other parts of the world. Community involvement in this study is addressed according to the possible relationships that affected communities have with the archaeology. I discuss the relevance of community involvement in archaeology and maintain that archaeological and heritage management projects inform us of the type of communities we deal with.

Communities can encompass a tremendous range of stakeholders that may not even live in the same vicinity as the site (cf. Watson 2007:4; Fouseki 2007: 181; Chirikure *et al* 2010). There are different debates on the appropriate definition of a community. The more conventional definition is that a community is defined by geographical location (Gilroy 1987: 247; Tully 2007:158; Crooke 2010: 19; Happe 2014). Another common definition is that a community is defined by common social structures such as ethnicity, history, heritage and ancestry, race and religion (Tully 2007:158-59; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008: 468; Crooke 2010:19; Ndlovu 2011:124).

The term 'community' needs to be considered in order to understand the application of community involvement in archaeology. Since most of the heritage sites are located close to villages, it is practical and necessary to involve local communities. In this way they get a sense of ownership over the heritage (Tully 2007; Duval and Smith 2013:146). As mentioned in Chapter One, definitions of a community are highly contested for they suggest that communities are homogenous. The reality is that a community incorporates different identities and thus cannot be too restricted by the definitions adopted (Tully 2007). I have mentioned in Chapter One that I define communities emerging based on the type of archaeology(Marshall 2002:215). Stakeholders in an archaeological project cannot only include community members

but can also encompass a wider constituency. Stakeholders also include people who live near an archaeological site but have no cultural interest in it (Ndlovu 2011: 124). Stakeholders usually have conflicting ideas concerning heritage and they can include politicians, landowners, professionals, descent communities and any other interested party (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). For this research, I interacted with different stakeholders who are affected directly and indirectly by the heritage being researched. The point is that we can identify a community after an archaeological project has been proposed (Marshall 2002).

Heritage management is also an umbrella phrase that covers archaeological management. Heritage takes different forms and before I discuss them, I firstly outline how the value of heritage is taken up by different stakeholders so that we understand what makes heritage important.

How do we determine the value of heritage and heritage places? This question paves the way for managers to strategize and employ appropriate management plans for each case. Definition is not necessarily important: when identifying appropriate heritage management systems, it is important to understand how value and significance function instead of assigning them a definition.

According to Pearson and Sullivan (1995: 126), the first step is to consider elements that have made a 'heritage place' significant. This is done by determining the scale of value the place holds for a society (Pearson and Sullivan 1995:126; cf. Myers and Brenneis 1991; Pearson and Sullivan 1995; Graeber 2001). The value of rock art, for instance, is fluid. Sangomas (traditional healers), local communities, archaeologists, government and international heritage structures value rock art sites differently (see Chapters Eight and Nine for the different value systems). Figure 3.0 shows the different levels that consider the value and management concerns from different stakeholders.

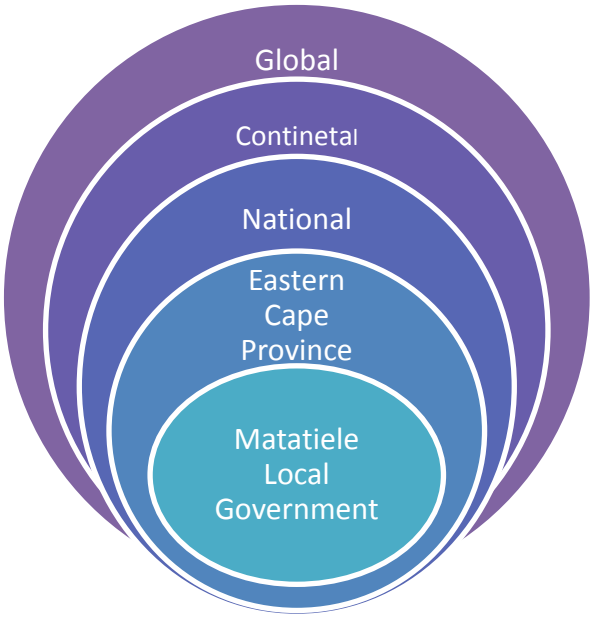

Figure 3.1: Levels of heritage management structures

Outstanding Universal Value is the core concept of UNESCO's systems of value. This concept posits that there are heritage sites and resources that have significant value to all citizens of the world (Labadi 2013: 11). These sites are said to have intrinsic value, meaning that value does not change over time. Value can be determined by use of the sites, original meaning, condition, form and function (Labadi 2013: 14). Assessing value according to UNESCO's Outstanding Universal Value concept is, however, problematic in that there are places where value is not necessarily tangible or visible, but inherent in the traditional or religious activities that are carried out in heritage places. Meeting universal and local value is not easily achievable as these are two conflicting concepts (Meskell 2002: 559). In archaeology we need a system that addresses both concepts in a way that still sustains our ethical commitment to the archaeology and communities involved.

According to Lafrenz-Samuels (2008) value is action-oriented; that is to say for a heritage place to gain value there has to be cultural or religious activities that used to

be or rather are still continued to take place. In the case of archaeological resources, value is inherent in the type of archaeological activity being carried out. The issue of multi-vocality can bring about conflicts and in the end can lead to a situation where the heritage is not protected (Schmidt 2012). Addressing issues and debates around value is relevant for this study because I came across potential stakeholders who have different perspectives on the significance and value of heritage.

3.1. Characteristics of Heritage

In order to implement appropriate heritage management strategies it is ideal to identify different features of heritage. Heritage comes in different forms, including intangible and tangible. Descriptions of these two features will assist in identifying the appropriate management systems. In particular for this study I explore the different explanations of heritage and in the last three chapters I argue for the importance of taking into account these different heritage characteristics in community involved heritage management systems. In this section I assess characteristics of heritage and show how treating them as totally separate concepts can lead to mismanagement and conflicts. It is imperative firstly to assess different descriptions of heritage.

3.1.1. Tangible and Intangible Heritage

Intangible and tangible heritage are managed in different ways, often being treated as mutually exclusive even though they are not (Nic Eoin and King 2013). Management strategies need to be all-inclusive of heritage features. I have specifically focused on intangible and tangible heritage because the case studies selected for this project reflect the dynamics inherent in these two concepts. Research in Matatiele reveals that intangible and tangible heritage are not mutually exclusive and I discuss these dynamics in Chapters Six and Seven.

The terms ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ heritage remain highly controversial and much-debated (Munjeri 2004; Ahmad 2006), but for the purpose of this study, differentiating between the two terms will help in determining appropriate management approaches.

Tangible heritage was regarded the core definition of what constitutes heritage and sites such as historical monuments, sites, buildings of historical significance, and landscapes, were all classified as tangible heritage (Ahmad 2006; Munjeri 2004). The international community through UNESCO and the International Cultural Tourism Charter developed by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has introduced additional elements to strengthen the definition (UNESCO 1972; Munjeri 2004; Ahmed 2006; Jopela 2010).

The definition of intangible heritage has been more complex and further not been entirely accepted as the term did not receive significant attention from scholars for many years (Munjeri 2004; Ahmad 2006).

> The ‘intangible cultural heritage’ means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage (UNESCO 2003:2; cf. Stefano et al 2012:13).

Intangible heritage thus includes oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, language as a vehicle for intangible heritage, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional ‘craftsmanship’ (UNESCO 2003:2). There is more to the concept than just ‘static’ and ‘monumental’ explanations: it includes ‘dynamic’ and ‘living’ understandings of heritage (Alivizatou 2008: 47). In Chapter Six, I investigate the different perceptions of heritage, taking into account that tangible or intangible are linked and that they should not be treated separately.

One example of this approach is the Metolong Dam in Lesotho. There, impacted communities expressed their concerns for the heritage they were about to lose because of the construction of a dam (Nic Eoin et al 2013; Nic Eoin and King 2013; Nic Eoin et al. 2013; cf. Arthur and Mitchell 2012; King and Arthur 2014). The communities considered their heritage as initiation, healing, worshipping, and baptism as part of their heritage (Nic Eoin and King 2013: 8). All are forms of intangible heritage. Be that as it may, all these features of heritage are carried out in rock art shelters, rivers, or any chosen physical space relevant for practicing their heritage. Material or tangible heritage therefore has intangible expressions.

Similarly, communities in New South Wales, Australia regard archaeological sites in their landscapes as places that symbolise their heritage by incorporating them in songs and mythical stories (Byrne 2008). The sites are also regarded as places associated with spirits of their deities (Byrne 2008: 259).

The conventional separation of natural and cultural heritage also poses a problem. Treating natural and cultural heritage separately takes away the broad significance and poses a possible problem in terms of conservation (UNESCO 1998; Meskell 2011; King and Nic Eoin 2014). Thus, this research considers the viability of rock art sites as natural *and* cultural heritage sites, which is how stakeholder communities view them. The interviewed members of these communities, as will be seen, explain that rock art sites are also significant in their natural state and surrounding.

3.2. Different Approaches to Heritage Management

So far, we have an idea of what heritage is and how its value and significance are considered. How then do we manage forms of heritage? This section grapples with this issue, which runs through the study as a whole.

Heritage has been defined through a set of institutional practices, such as those defined by law or regulations (Cleere 1989: 10; Carman 1996; Smith 2006; Sørensen

and Carmen 2009: 11). Worldwide, heritage management is informed by regulations provided by UNESCO. Taking into account all facets of heritage, nation states have the responsibility to setup policies that are meant to protect heritage (UNESCO 2003, 2008). Included in the principles of heritage management is community involvement and awareness. When considering management strategies for intangible heritage, for instance, nation states are expected to adopt appropriate legal measures that ensure the protection and 'access to the intangible heritage while respecting customary practices governing access to specific aspects of such heritage' (UNESCO 2003:6).

Nation-states are expected to enforce UNESCO's principles of safeguarding heritage in a way that works for individual countries. In the case of South Africa for instance, a three-tier system is adopted. Policies that promote heritage management are implemented at national, provincial and local levels (NHRA 1999).

In the context of South Africa, rules and regulations regarding the management of heritage are set out by the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 (NHRA 1999). The act stipulates that any resources of cultural significance are national property and therefore it is every citizen's responsibility to protect heritage resources. The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) is given the responsibility to enforce policies stipulated in the Act. Heritage divisions within the country are elaborated at the national, provincial, divisions, and local levels.

SAHRA defines heritage as 'a people's legacy from the past, how they live in the present, and what they pass on to future generations, to learn from, to marvel at and to enjoy' (SAHRA 2005; Jopela 2011). SAHRA is a national body responsible for identifying and advising on heritage resources management strategies under the South African National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 (NHRA 1999). SAHRA is generally responsible for managing 'the national estate and makes provision for the establishment of provincial heritage resources authorities to manage provincial and local heritage resources' (NHRA 1999).

According to SAHRA heritage resources that are regarded as part of the national estate are considered as those resources that have cultural value and significance for present and future generations (NHRA 1999). Heritage resources are additionally considered as significant because of possible association with a particular community or a cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons (NHRA 1999). Management or protection of heritage resources should be done in a way that takes into account "material or cultural value and involve the least possible alteration or loss of it" (NHRA 1999).

Management as a concept relates to the sustainability of resources (cf. Abfalter and Penchlaner 2002; George 2007: 173; Fordred 2011). In the case of archaeological and heritage resources, management encompasses the caring for and continuous development of a place 'so as to retain and disclose its significance and value for the future' (Ndoro 2001: 7). Consequently, heritage management in archaeology is mainly about safeguarding and preserving archaeological resources. According to the South African National Heritage Resources Act 25 of (1999), this type of management is concerned with conservation, presentation and improvement of a place (NHRA 1999).

Among the principles that SAHRA is meant to address is to recognize and manage heritage resources 'in a way that acknowledges the rights of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management' (NHRA 1999). This includes taking into account the histories and beliefs of local communities. In addition heritage management strategies should be set up in a way that acknowledges indigenous knowledge systems (NHRA 1999: 16). The principles and policies outlined in the legislation are not without problems mainly because it does not set out how they should be implemented on the ground. Community involvement is as a result not outlined properly. I maintain that sound management systems should be less formal and should accommodate other management structures such as the Traditional Custodianship (Jopela 2011).

The general national policy in South Africa is to ensure the protection of heritage resources for present and future generations. National policies are enforced through the application strategies set-up at provincial level. Promoting heritage management at provincial level is crucial in identifying heritage at the regional level. In order to address heritage significance of different cultural groups the provincial heritage department sets up management strategies at local level (SAHRA 1999).

3.2.1. Management of Heritage Sites

Conservation and preservation are different concepts of management: conservation is a way of safeguarding from loss while preserving means ensuring survival for a long time; preservation is about keeping the state of any aspect of heritage so that its condition is the same even in the future (Heritage 2015). Figure 3.2 shows different methods of heritage management.



Figure 3.2: Themes in heritage management

Turning first to rock art site management, the following are some events or circumstances that lead to the need for rock art management:

- Wetting of paintings,
- Chipping of paint,
- Livestock rubbing against the art,
- Smoke from fires in the sites, and
- Scratching of the rock face (Jolly 2012:258)

In the past, management of heritage resources such as rock art sites meant concealing knowledge about their existence and significance (Ndoro 2001; Keitumetse 2009; Fordred 2011). This form of management has proven problematic mainly because if people do not know the importance of rock art sites for instance, they are most likely to not care if the sites are damaged or not. In fact most sites are damaged by individuals who do not have knowledge of the significance and value of the sites (Jolly 2012).

Recently, conservation strategies include activities such as monitoring that include communities and custodians (see Section 3.2.2) in management. One of the rock art conservation and preservation strategies that has been adopted by the uKhahlamba/Drakensberg Heritage Site management is putting the custodians in charge of monitoring the state of the art while they give guiding tours to tourists (Duval and Smith 2013:146). This gave the custodians a sense of ownership and made people aware of the need to protect the heritage and heritage sites where they live. I return to discussions on guides and possible setback in tourism ventures in Chapters Four and Seven.

Engagement with different management systems does not only mean adoption of formal management systems set up by heritage bodies such as UNESCO and governmental institutions. These systems should rather be guidelines to heritage

management. In most cases, these institutions use formal legislative systems (Ndoro and Pwiti 1999) to set up guidelines informed by "philosophical orientation informed by science, technology and experts with regards to management of immovable heritage" (Jopela 2011: 7). This single method of heritage management has not been effective particularly in African communities who already have their own systems of heritage management in place. Alternative methodologies have been suggested. As shown earlier in this chapter, individuals within communities value heritage differently and these value systems have resulted in unique heritage management methodologies. Traditional Management systems are examples of these methodologies.

3.2.2. Exploring the Significance of Traditional Management Systems in Southern Africa

Having identified the limitations of formal heritage management systems set up heritage international bodies. Traditional Management systems are traditional bodies of knowledge and beliefs motivated through the acknowledgement of, and, existing relationships between different living beings and their environments (Tailor and Kaplen 2005: 1646; Jopela 2011). Traditional Custodianship is an example of Traditional Management systems that have existed from pre-colonial times till present. In some communities, these systems are still practised in order to ensure the respect and protection of places of cultural and religious significance (Pwiti and Mvenge 1996; Ndoro 2003; Manyanga 2003; Joffroy 2005; Pwiti et al 2007; Sheridan and Nyamweru 2008).

According to Jopela (2010; 2011), traditional custodianships is:

> All mechanisms and actions guided by customs and beliefs systems, carried out by local communities aimed at the continuous use and preservation of the place, its values, and its surrounding environment, including the preservation of its symbolic and cosmological significance.

Traditional custodianship as a heritage management system is now being acknowledged in the post-colonial era by the academia. This is due to state-based heritage policies and management systems that were introduced by colonial governments (Jopela 2010). Even after independence, most African states are still facing a decline in the practice or adoption of traditional custodianship as heritage management strategies (Jopela 2010).

To take one case study, the Chongoni Rock Art World Heritage Site is located in Malawi and has 127 documented rock art sites that belong to hunter gatherers who once resided in that area (Jopela 2011: 108). The value of the sites was made more significant by the living traditions of the local Chewa communities (Jopela 2010). The Chewa used rock art sites for various purposes that include initiation rites, rain making and funeral rites (Jopela 2010: 108).

The rock art sites are surrounded by a forest which also contains special shrines that are regarded by the Chewa as sacred. The sites have therefore been protected by traditional custodianship systems. There were sets of rules for how people should behave around the sites, and on access and general use of the places (Jopela 2010: cf. Smith 2005).

During the colonial and early postcolonial eras, most villages were excluded from the sites and as a result there was a gradual loss of attachment to the sites by local communities. The introduction of formal management systems in Malawi formed a gap between the new generation who no longer made use of the sites and shrines and the older generations who knew of the value of the sites (Jopela 2010: 112).

The current traditional institutions cannot operate on their own because as much as they recognize cultural significance of sites, priorities have changed. Current management systems incorporate both state-based management systems and traditional management systems (Jopela 2010: 117). Regardless of the benefits of dual management strategies, the downside is that empowerment of traditional management systems is only done to benefit the interest of the "state-based system in

terms of territory administration" (Jopela 2010: 117; cf. 2011; Burr and Kyed 2006; Kyed 2007).

Combining traditional management systems and formal modern systems is an option; however, the problem is addressing conflicting aspects of the two systems. For instance, as noted above with respect to UNESCO's mandate, formal modern conservation systems are meant to keep the heritage resources the way they were at the time they were inscribed, while Traditional Management systems' priority is to maintain the value of the heritage resources/sites even if it means their use (Burra Charter 1999; Ndlovu 2009). Heritage management strategies as dictated by the state are often meant to protect sites from the human, animal and environmental impacts. The fact that communities use rock art sites for religious or cultural purposes means that their values (as defined by the communities) are maintained. Many cases in southern Africa have faced the dilemma of balancing management according to state-based systems and traditional custodianship systems. Communities such as the Duma community in South Africa, local communities around the Matopo Hills in Zimbabwe, the !Kung communities around the Rhino Trails in Botswana and communities around the Vumba Mountains in Mozambique are among a few communities who perform rituals in rock art sites (Ndoro 2003; Ndlovu 2009; Jopela 2011).

Management of cultural and archaeological resources in most African countries is not easily achieved. In some countries, political tensions or poor governance pose as a challenge to implementing management strategies; for instance the political instabilities in Zimbabwe have led to minimal attention of the management of heritage sites (Breen 2007: 362-363). In addition, most countries in Africa lack the expertise, financial ability and political will to engage fully with developing sustainable and energetic programmes of research, management and conservation (Breen 2007: 364).

In Chapter Eight I discuss the complexities of all-inclusive heritage management strategies and the potential for conflicting views. For purposes of this study, highlighting different management systems for rock art sites is important but the approaches should be critically evaluated so as to avoid excessive conflicts.

3.2.3. Promoting Education through Heritage Management

Heritage management does not only take the form of conservation: one important aspect of it is knowledge dissemination or education (Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Mawere et al 2012; King 2012; Jolly 2012).

Education takes different forms in heritage management and one popular method is outreach programs. These programs include holding public gatherings, working with schools, use of media, books and papers, and tourism development (Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Jolly 2012; King 2012). Education is significant in promoting the following:

- Preservation
- Protection
- Promotion
- Enhancement
- Transmission (through formal and non-formal education) (UNESCO 2003).

In South Africa, the National Department of Basic Education has taken into account the significance of incorporating history and archaeology in the school curriculum (Morris 2003:195). One other form of heritage education is the inclusion of schools in heritage management projects and I discuss case studies in Section 3.4.

In Chapter Five, I show how different heritage centres have incorporated educational materials in promoting the heritage represented within the centres. Maropeng and Living Landscapes for instance have set up educational programmes that have been merged in the school curriculum (See Chapters One, Five and Seven).

3.3. The Link to Cultural Tourism and Heritage Management

Rock art conservation is often linked to tourism development, though in many cases in a negative way because conservation and tourism goals often clash, and in such clashes one or both of these can suffer. The ICOMOS, has outlined rock art conservation objectives for rock art tourism (Deacon 2006). Among the objectives is one of direct relevance to community consultation, which states that one objective of such tourism is to:

> Facilitate and encourage those involved with rock art conservation and management to make the significance of rock art accessible to the descendant community and visitors. (Deacon 2006:381).

Although tourism is more demanding in terms of management and sustainability than conservation, it has the potential to contribute to financial development. In Chapter Seven I discuss conflicting agendas that arise out of cultural tourism when compared to conservation of heritage resources.

Among the most important issues to be considered in tourism development is the carrying capacity for tourism activities, investment and tourism promotion (Rogerson 2009). By carrying capacity I mean the number of visitors allowed to be at the site and the number of visitors that a site can tolerate before it starts to suffer damage. If such issues are not properly addressed, the value and condition of heritage sites are likely to depreciate.

The success of cultural tourism in the South Africa is not consistent. Chapter Six gives an overview of the tourism situation in Didima Rock Art Centre and Wildebeest Kuil. In the Eastern Cape, cultural tourism is not common and as already outlined in the introductory chapter, this region has not received ample assistance in terms of promoting cultural and heritage developments. The sustainability of cultural tourism in the case of the Matatiele depends largely on continuous financial support for

marketing. Limited sources of capital and continuous financial support will be an immense challenge.

3.4. The Significance of Community-Involved Heritage Management

For this study, I use the concept community involvement instead of community consultation. Community consultation is important especially when seeking permission to set up a project that may directly or indirectly affect the communities. Consultation therefore has a limitation in that communities' views are not investigated on any proposed project. Fouseki (2010:181), for instance, maintains that in the case of museums, the management ends up making decisions as to communities' views they will take into consideration.

Community involvement is carried out for different reasons but the current most important reason is to avoid any possible tensions that may arise between stakeholders in archaeological and heritage management projects (Fouseki 2010). Involvement can also be in the form of public outreach programmes, the involvement of schools, and of local community members in archaeological excavations and site management or conservation (Mawere et al 2012; Jolly 2012; King 2012).

3.4.1. Methods of Community-involved Heritage Management

One of the most common methods for effecting community involvement is by the implementing outreach programmes, such as the one directed by Pieter Jolly (2006; 2013) in Lesotho. The mandate of the project was to address rock art conservation issues and designing educational posters for communities based local to rock art sites (Jolly 2013: 260). The second phase of the project was to hold public gatherings where posters were presented.

Chibvumani heritage site in Zimbabwe features a programme to approach local schools to assist in managing the site (Mawere et al 2012). The Mamutse Primary School was asked to monitor the state of the site, clean the site, and report to the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) on the condition of the site (Mawere et al 2012: 12). The school management was further allowed to use the site in an educational programme experience where school children were allowed to visit the site and learn about it, a project called the 'adopt-a-site' programme (Mawere et al. 2012: 11).

In terms of tourism, community involvement can include making decisions regarding the planning or running of tourism or heritage projects (Linde and Grab 2008: 68). Community involvement in the case of the Mnweni Visitor Centre, for instance, was such that the board, which included of local community members, was to take part in the management of the centre (Linde and Grab 2008: 69).

What stands out in the above examples is that communities were actively involved in voicing their opinions on the project. The different types of involvement implemented in the cases mentioned above proceeded in such a way that communities had a sense of ownership of the resources being protected (Hodges and Watson 2000; Kigongo and Reid 2007; Linde and Grab 2008;Chirikure et al 2010; Mawere et al. 2012). Community consultation is about asking permission from community members to carryout research; community involvement, on the other hand, is about accommodating and getting people's perceptions on any project being undertaken (Atalay 2012).

A case study of the Waanyi women of north-west Queensland, Australia is a good example of a community involved heritage management project. The project was conducted by the Waanyi women in collaboration with local archaeologists (Smith et al 2003). The project was aimed at identifying appropriate heritage management and conservation factors at specific sites and places of significance to Waanyi women. The Waanyi women recommended an additional aim that project should be

documentation and research into their oral histories (Smith et al 2003). A large part of the project's management and planning was made by the Waanyi women. Archaeologists as professionals in heritage management projects were largely responsible for facilitating the project. The success of the project is seen in the case where the Waanyi were consulted in the implementation of the Boodjamulla National Park (Smith et al 2003). The Waanyi Women's History Project was further included in the management plans of the park. Another positive outcome from this project is that the Waanyi women's identities were preserved. The Waanyi Women's Project is a good example of how communities' views can be influential in heritage management projects. My research project was therefore aware of the advantages of accommodating people's perceptions in a project that affects them.

3.5. Discussion

The implementation of heritage management should firstly take into account the different values and forms of heritage. Addressing different value systems before implementing management strategies ensures all-inclusive protection and development of heritage resources. State-based and traditional management systems should therefore be critically incorporated in management systems.

Heritage and its significance should be identified through contributions of different stakeholders in order to avoid management systems that isolate heritage perceptions of others. In most cases, what communities may regard as part of their heritage may not necessarily be acknowledged by state-based heritage agencies. It is crucial therefore to firstly identify the type of communities to be involved then investigate their perceptions on what they regard as their heritage.

Heritage management should therefore involve different communities in order to ensure developed management approaches. Community involvement does not guarantee sustainability of management or conflict-free situations that may hinder the success of management endeavours. In spite of several success stories listed, there are

projects that have failed due to conflicting views and approaches to heritage management.

Despite the setbacks and challenges faced in the implementation of community-involved heritage management, this area of archaeology should still be carried out, conscious of possible impacts. Involved stakeholders including local communities should be actively involved in management endeavours to ensure informed systems.

Acknowledging the different concepts related to community involvement and heritage management will contribute to effective methodologies. For this research, I emphasise the significance of taking into account communities' perceptions of what they regard as their heritage. If communities do not recognize the value of the heritage we are trying to protect, we can introduce educational awareness programmes focusing on promoting the significance of the heritage; thereafter getting communities' views on the subject. In this study, I demonstrate how inclusion of communities' views can help us be stewards of the heritage we research and this further ensures ethically informed research.

4.0. CHAPTER FOUR- OUTCOMES OF INTERVIEWS WITH INTERPRETATIVE HERITAGE CENTRES

Drawing from the literature outlined in Chapter Three, I selected five heritage centres as tourism and heritage management projects for analysis. The three crucial aims of analysing these centres are firstly to investigate their financial sustainability; secondly to assess the ways in which they have incorporated community involvement strategies and lastly to evaluate the different methods by which they have developed heritage management. The results of this research are meant to provide information that could be useful for any future community involved heritage management project that may be set up in Matatiele.

The five selected heritage centres for this study include CLLP (Western Cape Province), Kamberg (KwaZulu-Natal Province), Maropeng Cradle of Humankind (Gauteng Province), Didima Rock Art Centre (KwaZulu-Natal Province) and Wildebeest Kuil (Northern Cape Province). The centres have different characteristics and these will inform us of the advantages and setbacks of running certain kinds of heritage centres. In this Chapter I assess the financial sustainability of the heritage centres and additionally evaluate methods of involvement and participation by local communities. A set of interview questions were designed to get a general view of how the heritage is presented and managed. Questions were further designed to identify the successes and failures of setting up and running heritage and rock art centres in different regions of South Africa. Interview questions were also designed to elicit details as to how these centres operate and are funded.

I visited CLLP, Kamberg and Didima. As I have already mentioned in Chapter One Wildebeest Kuil was not visited due insufficient funding. Desktop research was therefore carried out for Wildebeest Kuil while face-to-face interviews were carried out with representatives from Kamberg, Maropeng, Didima and CLLP.

The major reason behind these trips was to observe the centres' operations and activities. During my visits, I interviewed employees in their different levels of employment to find out what their jobs entailed and their general thoughts on the centres. I also visited rock art sites that were open to the public and those that were not. In the case of CLLP, however, site visits were cancelled due to bad weather conditions.

This section firstly gives a background of the selected case studies. In each case I assess the viability of community involvement and feasible heritage management approaches. I have additionally identified the different facilities provided by the centres as a way of assessing their different sources of income.

Results of heritage management systems within these centres will be useful not only for the proposed heritage centre in Matatiele but also for any heritage management plan in the area. There are several factors that need to be highlighted because they are likely to influence the type of management strategies relevant for the centre. These factors include:

- The type of heritage
- The value and significance of the heritage
- Beneficiaries of the heritage

These factors will provide lessons for effective community involvement or participatory strategies and heritage management systems depending on the type of the heritage centre.

4.1. Background to CLLP

CLLP is located in the town of Clanwilliam, in the Cederberg region, Western Cape Province, South Africa. Clanwilliam is located about 200km north of Cape Town. CLLP was initiated in 1996 with funding from the National Research Foundation, South African Ministries of Arts and Culture and Environmental Affairs and Tourism, National Lottery Distribution Fund, the Anglo-American Chairman's Fund and the University of Cape Town (Parkington 2003: 126)[3]. The establishment of this centre was aimed at "returning the archaeological archive to the Clanwilliam area as material for curriculum development and job creation" (Parkington 2003: 126).

The aims were meant to be achieved through engaging the Clanwilliam and general Cederberg communities in the development of the archaeological research carried out in the region. CLLP was further mandated to be an educational heritage management project for these communities (Parkington 2003:126). This was to be achieved through setting up school programmes for both local and visiting students. In this section I investigate the different ways in which the educational systems and more general attempts at community involvement have been received by the communities who do not necessarily feel a connection to the archaeology. I further assess the viability of the project in creating job opportunities for the people of the Cederberg region.

The results will be advantageous for Matatiele in that we will be aware of the benefits and challenges of running a project whose mandate is to promote archaeological significance through community engagement. Further, as education is a subset of heritage management I investigate how it is promoted and received.

CLLP's campus consists of five buildings (shown in Figure 4.1): three are for tourists and student accommodation one is a museum and one a heritage visitor's centre. The museum is themed 'The Time Machine' (see Figure 4.2) which, according to its founder Professor John Parkington, takes one back into the history of the Cederberg

[3] David van der Westerhuisen. Interview with N Mokoena. Clanwilliam. October 2013.

landscape and the history and culture of the San through rock art and archaeological artefacts.[4]



Figure 4.1: The five buildings in the Living Landscape premises (Pictures by author).

The heritage visitors' centre serves as a craft shop and an information centre. According to the Liezel Hoffman, an administrator at the centre, local craft-makers used to sell their wares through the centre.[5] However, they have mostly stopped because of the difficulty of getting supplies to make beaded necklaces, bracelets or earrings. These materials are mostly from Cape Town and craft-makers largely lack the financial capacity to buy and transport them. Currently the shop sells crafts from artists based in Cape Town. The centre gives information about rock art trails in the region and further organizes guides for these trails. CLLP has five guides who only guide on request or appointments.

[4] John Parkington. Interview with N Mokoena. Clanwilliam. 28th May 2014.
[5] Liezel Hoffman, Interview with N Mokoena. Clanwilliam. 27th May 2014.



Figure 4.2: The Time Machine Museum (Pictures by author)

4.1.1. Educational Programmes as a Form of Community Involvement

Community involvement and community participation is a crucial element that contributes to the 'sustainability' and success of heritage management and conservation programmes (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Chirikure *et al.* 2009; Deacon 2006; Morris 2003; Mawere *et al*. 2012). In the case of CLLP, I investigated the nature of community involvement or participatory programmes. According to Parkington (2003) and van der Westhuizen community involvement mainly takes the form of education.[6] A school programme was set up to promote the importance of heritage, to teach school children about their heritage and how they should protect it.[7] The education programme consisted of lessons that demonstrated how archaeology 'as an investigative process' could be used 'as a medium to teach maths, science, geography and history' (King 2012). CLLP caters primarily for the schools of non-white learners because they are a substantial demographic. The majority of children who partake in the outreach programmes are Coloured and there is a Xhosa-speaking

[6] David van der Westerhuizen. Interview with N Mokoena. October 2013.
[7] David van der Westerhuizen. Interview with N Mokoena. October 2013

minority (King 2012). Heritage in this instance is therefore incredibly diverse and thus educational programmes adopted in CLLP take this issue into account. These education programmes are carried out annually and as a result, CLLP has developed good relationships with the local schools.

The school programmes introduced by CLLP were integrated into the curriculum for level three and matric classes (King 2012;Parkington 2003:125). Different activities and exercises were introduced depending on the schools because there are White, Coloured and Black schools. According to King (2012) schools requested different activities depending on the dominating race within the school. The activities implemented for the school programmes were conscious of the historical and current racial tensions in Clanwilliam therefore archaeological education was introduced "as an investigative process" (King 2012). The modules employed to illustrate archaeological investigation included excavations, mapping and documentation. Following the technical archaeological processes, the CLLP team introduced more abstract lessons where students were introduced to debates about the past and the inhabitants of the region (King 2012).

Community involvement additionally took the form of including members of the Clanwilliam community in rock art management projects. I have mentioned earlier that rock art conservation took the form of the actual removal of graffiti from rock art sites. This form of involvement also addresses the Transformation principle that promotes the involvement of local communities and further highlights the successes achieved by participation in archaeological projects (see Chapter Two). CLLP takes pride in creating job opportunities for the Clanwilliam communities. This addresses the mandate of the centre to provide employment.

Community representatives are also board members at CLLP. The board is responsible for making decisions on the running of the centre. The board additionally addresses the challenges of running the centre and discusses alternative remedies. In

the next section I show strategies of rock art management that are also part of the board's decisions.

4.1.2. Rock Art and Heritage Management in CLLP

CLLP addresses and promotes the archaeology of mainly the pre-colonial hunter-gatherer communities who resided in the Cederberg region over the last 60 000 years ago (Parkighton 2003:22). Rock art is a large component of this and CLLP has invested greatly in conserving rock art sites in the region. Only a selected number of rock art sites are open to the public (Parkington 2003).[8] Visitors who go on rock art tours are accompanied by a trained guide form the centre. On arrival at the sites, visitors are given information on the appropriate behaviour at rock art sites.[9] The guide in this case becomes responsible for educating visitors about the importance and value of the paintings. As a result the guide becomes a steward for the rock art.

Caution over the proper conduct around rock art sites was sparked by manmade damage such as graffiti done on the rock art and CLLP had a team of representatives who assisted in removing the graffiti (Parkington 2003). Conservation and preservation of rock art and archaeological sites is therefore also a major responsibility of CLLP.

Apart from the actual presentation and promotion of rock art, CLLP also accounts for general archaeology. The Time Machine serves as a museum that presents and archives the history and archaeology of the Cederberg.[10] The general history of the Cederberg environment is also presented in the Time Machine. The museum displays pictures and artefacts of San communities that used to reside in the Cederberg region. The Time Machine therefore maintains and ensures the management of the heritage of previous communities.

[8] David van der Westerhuisen. Interview with N Mokoena. Clanwilliam. October 2013.
[9] Ibid
[10] John Parkington. Interview with N Mokoena. June 2014.

4.1.3. CLLP as a Tourism Enterprise

The main tourism experience of the centre is rock art visits. Tourists pay for the visits to rock sites and for the guide. Visitors are taken to rock art sites having been given general information about the history of rock art and its makers. The visitors' centre provides pamphlets on rock art interpretation.

As mentioned above, CLLP offers accommodation for general tourists and students. The income from the accommodation forms a large part of the centre's revenue. If the centre does not receive enough tourists that occupy the accommodation, it then suffers financially.[11]

CLLP as a tourism enterprise provides lessons on the type of tourism facilities that can contribute to the financial sustainability of a heritage centre. In the case of the proposed heritage centre in Matatiele, in Section 4.1.4, I outline the downsides of running a heritage centre as a part tourism enterprise.

4.1.4. Setbacks Experienced by CLLP Centre

CLLP has faced challenges in terms of keeping the centre financially sustainable. Currently the main challenge is lack of funding.[12] The major expenses that CLLP incurs monthly include staff salaries and maintenance. According to David van der Westhuizen the initial funding was only meant to sustain the project for 18 months[13]. The project has been sustained by a series of financial infusions from private and public sectors, with grants only meant to cover a few years at a time. In 2007 additional funding was provided by the National Lottery, Distribution Fund and UCT. Beyond that, there was no money being injected into the project other than income from tourist accommodation, and thus CLLP had to find other ways to sustain itself.

[11]Liezen Hoffman. Interview with N Mokoena. Clanwilliam. 27th May 2014.
[12] John Parkington. Interview with N Mokoena. Clanwilliam. 28th May 2014.
[13]David van der Westhuizen. Interview with N Mokoena. Clanwilliam. October 2013.

On my visit to the centre, Prof Parkington, had a meeting with Heritage Western Cape to negotiate possibilities of financial support. As Prof Parkington explained:

> There is no funding available at the moment so we have to provide a service where the project generates its own income.[14]

In this way they will continuously face financial setbacks. Tourism visits are a major part of income generation for CLLP (Parkington 2013). The visits have, however, not been as successful as expected. One major factor behind the low number of visits is lack of advertisement. On my visit [May 2014], I did not see any advertising materials (pamphlets or posters) in the shops in Clanwilliam, additionally there were no advertising boards in the town. In order to advertise, CLLP needs funding but as discussed above there is no funding. Be that as it may, there are ongoing negotiations between Heritage Western Cape and the CLLP management for possible funding.

Maintaining the quality and good experiences of any product in business is important. The whole experience of browsing through the visitors' centre, going into the Time Machine, visiting rock art sites and going back to the guest house need to be consistently sustained. However, the visitors' centre for instance did not have a wide range of products that could be attractive to a normal tourist, such as crafts for sale.

With regard to the Time Machine, the heritage is well presented; however, the rest of the museum looked like it had not been used in a long time. Maintenance of the museum also seemed to have been infrequent. For a tourist from outside the country or even local, they would not feel the significance of the museum. Apart from maintenance the museum needs an activity that will involve its visitors such as films or quiz sections.

On my visit to the centre, I had planned to explore the different rock art sites maintained by CLLP. Unfortunately we had to cancel the trip because of the bad weather conditions. This situation is surely a problem particularly for tourists who

[14]David van der Westhuizen. Interview with N Mokoena. Clanwilliam. October 2013.

visit CLLP to explore rock art sites. As weather conditions are uncontrollable, CLLP should come up with alternative ways of promoting the experience of the art should setbacks like these occur.

4.2. Background to Kamberg Rock Art Centre

Kamberg Rock Art Centre is a rock art interpretative centre that promotes the history and the value of San rock art of the Drakensburg. Kamberg is one of the two rock art centres that have been developed by RARI. Apart from ensuring sustained rock art management, Kamberg is also a tourism venture. If the plan for the proposed Matatiele heritage centre is to include visits to rock art sites, the centre's management would have to be aware of the different systems that may or may not work. Kamberg is therefore a suitable comparative case study.

Kamberg is located next to villages and there are some communities that still visit one rock art shelter that is under the management of the centre (discussed in-depth in Chapter Five). Community involvement therefore has been a crucial part in the running of the centre. I evaluate the relationships and methods of community involvement in the running of the centre. The results will be informative for Matatiele because as I show in Chapter Seven, there are Community members that use rock art sites for spiritual purposes and therefore we need to explore community involvement methodologies appropriate for Matatiele.

Kamberg Rock Art Centre is part of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg National Park, which was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site on the basis, in part, of the rock art and San history, as well as its exceptional natural beauty (Ndlovu 2009: 61). Located in Kwa-Zulu Natal Province, Kamberg Rock Art Centre (see Figures 4.3 during its construction and Figure 4.4 in the present) serves as a rock art interpretative centre within the Kamberg Nature Reserve. The centre was officially opened in 2002. Game Pass Shelter, famous in the archaeological community for the 'Rosetta Stone' panel (Figure 4.5; cf.. Lewis-Williams 1990; Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2004) is

located not far from where the centre is situated (Ndlovu 2009). The centre features interpretations of the rock art in the Drakensberg and of the region around Kamberg in particular.



Figure 4.3: The early stages of construction of the Kamberg Rock Art Centre and the complete building.



Figure 4.4: Kamberg Rock Art Centre in the present (picture by author).

The establishment of Kamberg Rock Art Centre was motivated by the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, who, visited rock art sites in the area. President Mbeki appreciated the tourism potential of the site and therefore motivated for the approach of different stakeholders to produce an implementation plan. Funding was sourced from the Poverty Relief Programme, the Department of Arts and Culture, RARI and Amafa Heritage KZN Cultural Resources.[15] Amafa is a provincial heritage conservation agency that is responsible for protecting the heritage of KwaZulu Natal (Amafa 2015). The proposed rock art centre was therefore meant to be a cultural tourism project.



Figure 4.5: Rosetta Panel at the Game Pass rock art shelter in Kamberg (Picture by author).

Among the facilities provided by Kamberg are accommodation in the form of chalets and a communal lounge (see Figure 4.6). For the proposed Matatiele heritage centre, Kamberg provides an idea not only of the type of accommodation facilities to take

[15] Raphael Mnikathi. Interview with N Mokoena. KwaZulu Natal. November 2013.

into account, but also the activities of running the facilities. The centre additionally has a space that used to be a restaurant. According to one of the administrators, the restaurant has been closed for past two years. The restaurant had stopped operating because it was not receiving visitors.



Figure 4.6: Accommodation chalets in Kamberg (Picture by author).

Kamberg presents the history of San communities who once resided in the Maloti-Drakensberg area. Similar to other modern museums and heritage centres, Kamberg features audio-visual material that facilitates the interpretations of San heritage and the meaning of rock paintings (see Figure 4.7). I studied the situation in the film room because we need to be aware of the possible methods of presenting heritage and assessing the possible challenges that they present particularly if a similar project is established in Matatiele.



Figure 4.7: Show room (Picture by author).

I conducted interviews that address the last objective of this study, to "assess factors that may lead to the success or failure of heritage management centres by exploring five case studies in the SADC region". I interviewed the former Kamberg tour guide and manager, Raphael Mnikathi, Richard Duma who is an acting tour guide for Kamberg and Miss Nomasonto who works as an office administrator. I made several attempts to interview current management but to no avail. The manager was on leave during my visit to the centre.

4.2.1. Rock Art Management and Presentation at Kamberg

Rock art is a crucial part of Kamberg and its management is a priority. Only one rock art site, Game Pass Shelter, is open for public visits. The rest of the sites are only open to researchers, particularly archaeologists.

Rock art management at Kamberg takes different forms. In order to protect rock art from human induced damage, a fence was put up to keep away people from accessing Game Pass Shelter unsupervised (see Figure 4.8). Rules of proper conduct around rock art sites are that visitors to sites are not allowed to go to visit these sites

unsupervised. Kamberg monitors movement in and out of the rock shelters. I discuss setbacks of this management strategy later on in this chapter.



Figure 4.8: A path leading to the gate (Picture by Author)

Management further takes the form of displaying educational material about rock art at the visitors centre, including showing a film that provides information on the interpretation of San rock paintings.

4.2.2. How Kamberg Promotes Community Involvement and Participation

During the establishment of the Kamberg Nature Reserve, a number of villages were informed about the plans to establish a centre. The communities were consulted because the proposed project affected a rock art shelter which the communities use for religious purposes. Consequently, a steering committee of four community members was formed: two landowners, one chief and one traditional healer.[16] Most of the decisions that needed to be made covered the presentation of cultural artefacts in the rock art centre, as well as the potential to sell crafts by local community members. Involvement of the rest of the community takes different forms. An outreach programme was introduced where communities were informed about the rock art sites, their management, meaning and importance.[17]

The introduction of outreach awareness campaigns was additionally due to the realisation that rock art sites were used by some local community members. Some members of the community (the Duma clan community) made use of the rock art sites by performing ceremonies such as the Eland Ceremony (Ndlovu 2009).[18]Conservation of rock art sites was therefore a necessity. A concern was over conflicting views of the community members and heritage conservators. The local Duma Clan community members were initially restrained from holding private religious ceremonies inside Game Pass shelter without the supervision one of the Amafa officials (Ndlovu 2009: 61). The tension resulted in a strong need for a dialogue between the local communities among all stakeholders. Heritage management projects thus had to incorporate community involvement.

Community involvement further took the form of schools participation. School visits were regarded as a crucial part of the centre's educational programme. Kamberg Interpretative Centre receives visits from local primary and high schools, and

[16] Raphael Mnikathi. Interview with N Mokoena. October 2013
[17] Ibid
[18] Richard Duma. Interview with N Mokoena. 22nd November 2014.

universities such as the Universities of Kwa-Zulu Natal and the Witwatersrand. Visits to rock art sites are supervised by tour guides who give the history of the makers of the art and also the interpretation of the art. Learners are also shown a film that highlights the significance of rock paintings and their makers. However, there are no set programmes that learners and teachers can interact with.

4.2.3. Challenges of Running Kamberg Rock Art Centre

The biggest challenge currently facing Kamberg Interpretative Centre is keeping it sustainable and economically independent. The centre no longer receives funding from its initial funding. From the outset plan was that the project will be sustainable without continuous outside funding, but it did not prevail. Sourcing funding for the centre is a huge problem and the centre has not generated sufficient income from tourism and school visits.

Among challenges faced by Kamberg management was poor staff performance.[19] At the commencement of the centre some community members were trained in tour guiding and rock art interpretation. Training was facilitated by among others Janette Deacon, Benjamin Smith, Len van Schalkwyk and Justine Oliphant, who provided a training course on rock art interpretation and tourist guiding at Mapungubwe in 2006.[20] A training course on rock art recording, coordinated by David Morris was also held in Kimberley. Guides were well-trained, however, due to lack of financial incentive maintaining their salaries without a significant number of tourist visits and external financial support proved to be a challenge..[21]

In Kamberg, a guide is not always available to give tours and often visitors do not go to the sites due to the unavailability of the guides. The guided tours to the three sites I visited were rushed and this is a problem particularly for tourists who specifically

[19] Raphael Mnikathi. Interview with N Mokoena. KwaZulu-Natal. October 2013.
[20] Ibid
[21] Raphael Mnikathi. Interview with N Mokoena. KwaZulu-Natal. October 2013.

visit the centre to experience rock art sites. The centre therefore faces a great challenge of providing high-quality guided tours. Maintaining trained guides as full-time staff is a constant problem mainly because guides earn very little income and in most cases they are only paid when they have clients to take to the sites. Given the low number of visits that the centre receives per year, most guides seek work elsewhere.[22] The Kamberg centre, therefore, for much of the time now does not have trained guides available for tours. My informant, for instance, resigned in 2010, along with many others.

At present, there are no tour guides on call and on staff. Richard Duma is one of the members of the Duma Clan and he often takes visitors to shelters. He occasionally helps out at Kamberg when the official guide is not around. We were fortunate that he was willing to take us because he mentioned that he already had private matters to attend to on that day.

The centre does not have practical and interactive educational impact on the schools that visit. Learners are just given information through word of mouth and there are no activities that could enhance their understanding such as those provided by CLLP. There are no reading materials provided to learners. Kamberg therefore does not have effective educational programmes and should consider improving them in the future.

My observation is that Kamberg is failing to create employment opportunities for local communities. As a heritage management and tourism endeavour, the centre failed to involve communities in an active economically beneficial way. Additionally the centre currently does not have local crafters and artists selling their products on the premises.

[22] Raphael Mnikathi. Interview with N Mokoena. KwaZulu-Natal. October 2013

4.3. Background to Maropeng the Cradle of Humankind

Maropeng is an example of a financially successful heritage centre in South Africa. This centre is located within the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site, and serves as an interpretative centre for the research that is being carried out in the Sterkfontein Caves. Figures 4.9 and 4.10 show Maropeng's premises, the Tumulus Building. Maropeng visitors centre started operation in December 2005 and was funded by the government through the Tourism department and the University of the Witwatersrand.[23] The centre is located in the Gauteng Province, about an hour northwest of Johannesburg. Unlike other centres, Maropeng is a heritage centre while the rest of the centres selected for this research are primarily rock art centres. The rationale for selecting Maropeng in this study is to find out how the centre operates as a business and if it is financially sustainable. I wish further to find out if the centre has community involvement or participatory programmes.

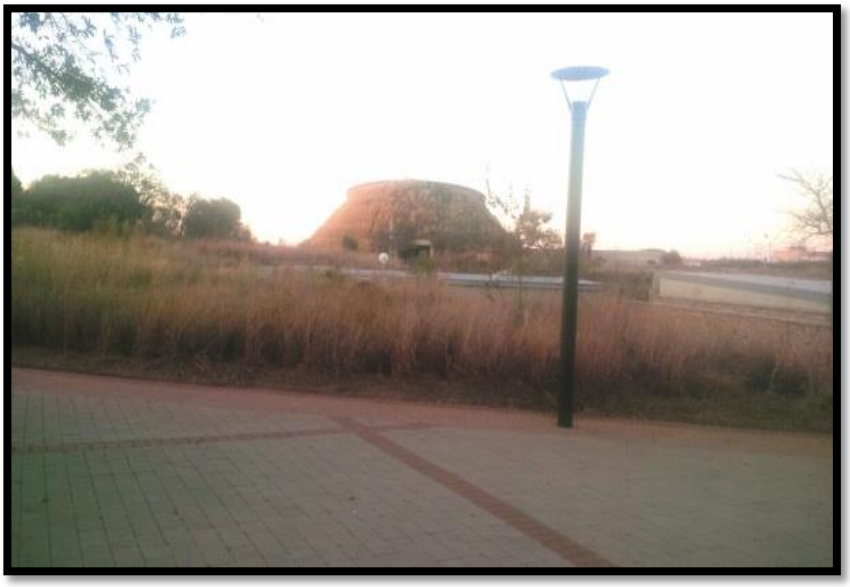

Figure 4.9: Picture of Maropeng Cradle of Humankind premises

[23] Lindsay Marshall. Interview with N Mokoena. Johannesburg. 25th August2014.

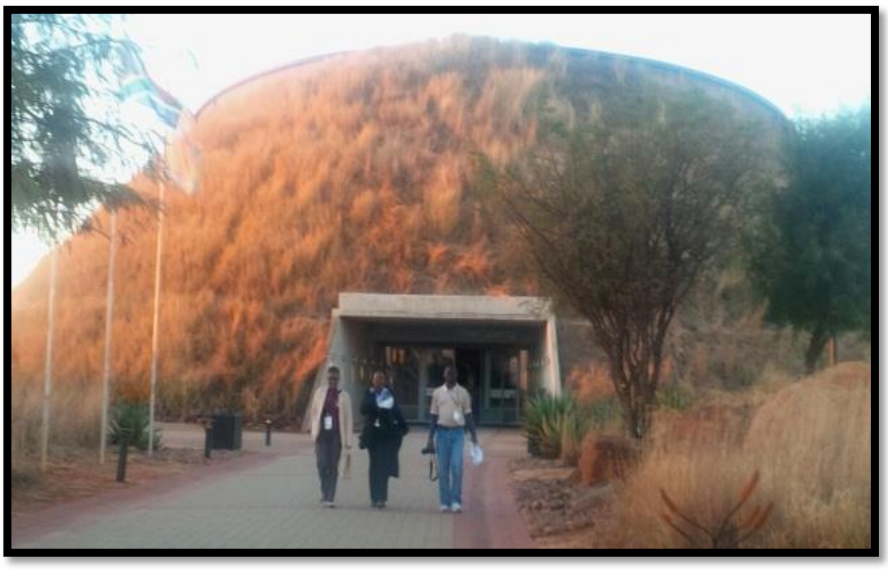

Figure 4.10: Maropeng Cradle of Humankind

Maropeng is unique when compared to other heritage centres in South Africa: its primary mandate is to generate money. Maropeng is therefore a business. Most heritage centres in South Africa are meant to curate the heritage of a certain group of a people and also at the same time sustain themselves financially. The four other centres selected in this study are located far from South Africa's major cities. Maropeng on the other hand, is located next to Johannesburg, one of the biggest cities in South Africa. I use Maropeng as a comparative study because it is positioned in an area which is not far from infrastructure, especially an airport and tourist attractions. I investigate the pros and cons of locating a heritage centre next to central infrastructure. The results will inform us of the best approaches for establishing a heritage centre for Matatiele, aware of the implications of its isolated location.

In gathering information about the centre I visited their website and interviewed the centre's Marketing and Communications Manager, Lindsay Marshall. In order to fully experience the centre, I visited Maropeng and toured the centre for a day. I also held an informal interview with one of the guides. The methodologies employed helped to get the history of the centre, the facilities and activities it offers, its previous and challenges and its future plans. In this section I show how the interviews were

conducted, how Maropeng runs the business, and how they have incorporated educational systems for the public.

4.3.1. The Contribution of the Maropeng Business

As mentioned above, Maropeng is a business venture and all the activities and facilities it manages are meant to bring in income for the business. The education programmes are part of their responsibility as a business and a way to communicate research results with the public. Apart from the original funding that started up the business, Maropeng has since introduced multiple sources of income to sustain the centre. According to Lindsay Marshall, the visitor centre does not bring in sufficient income to cover salaries and general expenditure.[24]

The centre accrues additional funding from hosting different events and from the facilities it manages. Conferences (see Figure 4.11), government and private sector events, weddings, and birthday parties are some of the many events that Maropeng hosts. According to one of the guides, the centre is most busy in summer when they hold conferences. Additional funding for the centre is therefore sourced from these events. Accommodation also generates additional income for the centre. The hotel and hostels provide extra income for the centre (See Figure 4.12). School visits from across the country and outside of South Africa bring in extra income for Maropeng.

[24]Lindsay Marshall. Interview with N Mokoena. Johannesburg. 25th August 2014.



Figure 4.11: Maropeng hotel



Figure 4.12: The Maropeng conference hall

4.3.2. Research and Educational Facilities Provided by Maropeng

Maropeng runs an exhibition of the research results from the Sterkfontein Caves. The visitor centre further exhibits different elements of the history and development of

humankind (Maropeng 2015). The presentation of the history of the earth is made in such a way that one goes through the different time frames and changes of environments (see Figures 4.13 and 4.14), and this includes a display of fossils from all over South Africa and within the Cradle of Humankind (see Figure 4.15).Research findings include some of most famous hominin fossils in the world excavated from Sterkfontein, the *Australopithecus* skeletons 'Mrs Ples' and 'Little Foot' (unique for their completeness (Clarke 2008; Maropeng 2014).



Figure 4.13: A tunnel showing the different period of the earth and its species



Figure 4.14: Underground boat ride through the four elements



Figure 4.15: Display of fossils

The centre does not curate heritage resources like museums do.[25] Rather, it describes archaeological research in a way that involves the visitor in the Cradle of Humankind. For instance the visitor can experience the climatic changes and also quizzes that visitors can tackle.

[25] Lindsay Marshall. Interview with N. Mokoena. 25th August 2014.

In addition to providing information on hominin fossils, the centre offers an experience of global environmental and climatic changes over the last four million years through audiovisual and narrative descriptions. Visitors to the centre do not only experience the different activities provided by the centre, they are also educated on the significance of human evolution.



Figure 4.16: One of the Sterkfontein Caves

Maropeng does not have all-inclusive community participation or involvement projects in place. The centre has instead set up educational programmes for local schools. Subsequent to approaching the Department of Education, Maropeng established educational activities that correspond to the school curriculum. Educational programmes include visits to schools and special activities for schools within the premises of Maropeng and in the local communities. Educational projects within the Maropeng premises have had a positive impact in generating income and profit for the centre. Lindsay Marshall stated that they receive more school visits from all across South Africa and outside the country.[26]All schools visiting the centre

[26] Lindsay Marshall. Interview with N. Mokoena. 25th August 2014.

pay, it does not matter whether the schools are from close proximity with the centre. Maropeng thus receives substantial income.

5.3.3. Downsides of the Business Side of Maropeng

Maropeng is located next to tourism facilities and thus it is forced to compete with other businesses.[27] Tourism schemes such as the Johannesburg Zoo, Kruger National Park, museums, and nearby adventure tourism enterprises are among many competitors of Maropeng as an enterprise. Maropeng is a type of business that needs constant innovative activities in order to continuously and sustainably attracts tourists. One of the biggest challenges that Maropeng is facing is that of maintaining the quality of activities and experiences it provides.[28]

Accessibility of tourist facilities plays a big role in determining the number of individuals that can reach Maropeng. Maropeng is about 17km from Krugersdorp, the nearest town. There is no public transportation between Krugersdorp and Maropeng and the centre is therefore not easily accessible for even the closest local communities. Marshall believes that the location of Maropeng negatively affects the number of tourists visiting at the centre because only those who have arranged private transport can visit the centre.[29] She added that their staff members are also affected by the lack of transport issue.

It should be noted that as much as Maropeng is relatively far from local communities and Krugersdorp, it is also close to Johannesburg and Pretoria which have international airports. Compared to the rest of the centres selected in this research, Maropeng is still at an advantage of receiving more tourists. As much as there is local competition with other tourism enterprises, Maropeng still receives visitors, particularly because it is near Magaliesburg, a popular tourist destination.

[27] Lindsay Marshal. Interview with N Mokoena. Johannesburg. 25th August 2014.
[28] Lindsay Marshal. Interview with N Mokoena. Johannesburg. 25th August 2014
[29] Ibid

4.4. Background and Results to Didima Rock Art Centre

Didima Rock Art Centre is located in Kwa-Zulu Natal, 45km from the nearest town of Winterton. The centre is located in the Cathedral Peak valley of the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park. Didima is five hours from Johannesburg and four hours from Durban and is under the management of the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park. Officially opened in 2001 by Minister Valli Moosa, Didima Rock Art Centre fell under the overall government vision of promoting heritage through tourism and management (Ndlovu 2013: 282). Didima is a rock art interpretative centre.

Institutions including RARI, Amafa, Natal Museum and Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife played a role in the establishment of the centre (Storey 2006: 17).

Didima Rock Art Centre was initiated with the following intentions:

- To educate the public through publicising and promoting cultural heritage and rock art.
- To teach the value of cultural heritage.
- To generate income and jobs for local communities
- "For the identity of the San of the region to be revealed and their descendants acknowledged" (Storey 2006: 17).

Funding is an important part of any project. From the list of funders shown below (see Figure 4.17), Didima's main funders were the KZN Government, KZN Rock Art Trust, National Lottery Fund Anglo American Chairman's Fund, First Rand Foundation and de Beers Chairman's Fund. The investment is meant to cover education through visual audio and general management plans. Ninety percent of the centre's employees are from the local villages.



Figure 4.17: Sponsors of Didima in their categories

The Didima Rock art centre consists of chalets, a visitor centre, craft shop, a restaurant, (see Figure 4.18), conference building and a hotel (Cathederal Peak). Bookings for accommodation at the chalets are done through the Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife. Ezemvelo Wildlife is a government body that is tasked with conserving and generally maintaining the wilderness (public nature reserves) of all of the KwaZulu-Natal Province (JayWay 2014). Ezemvelo is additionally a custodian of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site and thus has contributed substantially in promoting heritage tourism and management in KZN.

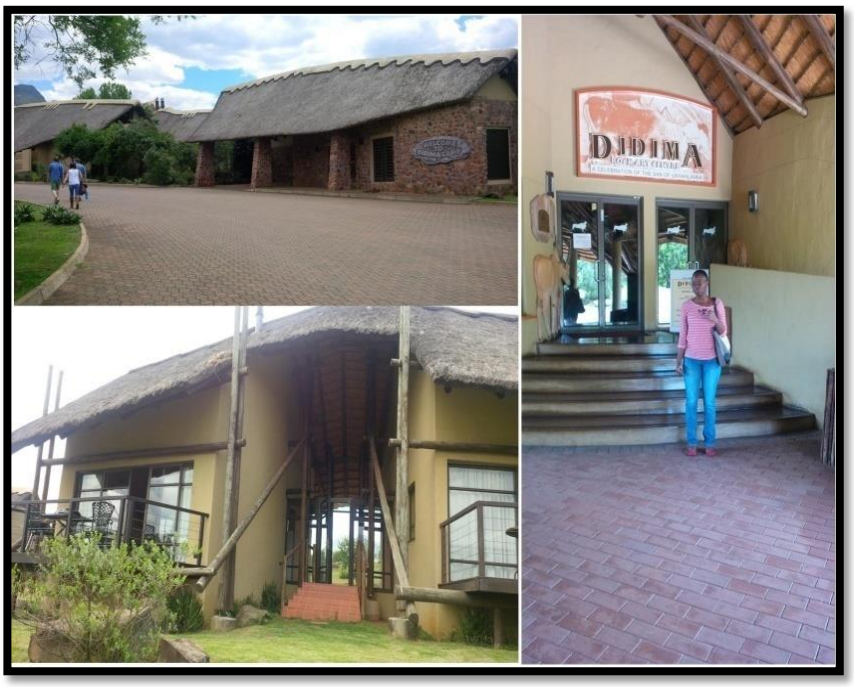

Figure 4.18: Didima visitor centre



Figure 4.19: Accommodation chalets in Didima

Didima Rock Art Centre has a museum that showcases the history of San rock art and San communities who used to reside in the Drakensberg (see Figure 4.20). The rock art centre also has a theatre or show hall with a film about the Drakensberg San and their religion.



Figure 4.20: The visitor centre and the theatre room

Next to the centre is a coffee shop which is now closed and the craft centre originally built for local crafters to make and sell their goods (see Figure 4.21). A few crafters still use the craft centre.



Figure 4.20: The Ndumeni Craft Centre

Didima has several trails to rock art sites, which are directed by a guide. I discuss in the next section the contribution of and limitations of guides in heritage presentation and management.



Figure 4.22: Rock art panel in one of the shelters in Didima

In addition to having a pool and tennis court, Didima also hosts conferences and weddings and the restaurant provides culinary services for the events. The months of April, November and December are popular for hosting theses events and on our visit to the centre there was a conference taking place. According to Nonhlanhla Nhlapo 95% of their accommodation is booked over this period.[30] Figure 4.23 shows a picture of the picture of the conference area with cars parked outside the venue.

[30] Nonhlanhla Nhlapo, Interview with N Mokoena. KwaZulu- Natal. November 2014.



Figure 4.23: Conference and wedding venue

The aim for selecting Didima for this study is to find out if the centre is sustainable rock art management within a rock art tourism centre. Equally important, I investigate if there are any community inclusive systems run by the centre. The analysis of Didima will provide input to the identification of best approaches to running a similar centre, as the initial plan by Mehloding of establishing a rock art centre should not be implemented before assessing the best approaches to running a rock art centre.

4.4.1. Rock Art Management by Didima Rock Art Centre

Didima is in charge of the protection and management of rock art sites in the Cathedral Peak valley of the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park. Rock art sites within the valley are open to the public and tourists can go to the sites without the company of a guide, except for three that cannot be visited without a guide being present. The guide is supposed to communicate with tourists about the appropriate behaviour around rock art sites. According to Bhekisisa (Bheki) Radebe, one of the guides in Didima,

guides are also responsible for monitoring the condition of paintings and rock art sites themselves.[31]

According Didima management, Amafa KwaZulu- Natal is also responsible for the management and conservation of rock art. Amafa visits Didima every month to examine the different rock art sites in the Cathedral Peak. The role of Amafa is also to train guides in the appropriate ways of dealing with tourists in rock art sites. Amafa additionally provides guides with information in interpreting San rock paintings. Of course, the role of Amafa in rock art management is crucial, however, it is important to evaluate the impact of their contribution. In Section 4.4.4 I outline the limitations of not introducing tour guiding in rock art management and tourism.

As outlined in Chapter Three, heritage management takes different forms. In the case of Didima, management also entails presentation of rock art in an accessible central location. The rock art centre exhibits Drakensberg San heritage and the archaeology of the region. A film on San rock art interpretation is shown in the theatre hall of the centre.

4.4.2. Didima Rock Art Centre as a Cultural Heritage Tourism Endeavour

I have mentioned that one of the objectives for the establishment of Didima was not only to create employment for locals, but also to promote heritage tourism through presentation of San rock art similar to Kamberg. Didima's income is derived from its accommodation, rock art centre, restaurant, gift shop and different events. Income received from tour guiding goes to the guides.

The rock art centre forms the core of cultural heritage tourism facilities. The centre has a marketing officer based in Pietermaritzburg who deals with international travel agencies. Both local and international schools visit the centre and, tourists(mainly foreign) also visit the centre. According to Nonhlanhla Nhlapo, a Front Desk Office

[31] Bhekisisa Radebe. Interview with N Mokoena. 21st November 2014.

Manager at Didima, in order to attract more visits, Didima has put in an inclusive offer of a visit to the rock art centre.[32] Income generated by the rock art centre is, however, not sufficient to sustain the whole establishment.[33]

Accommodation and other facilities mentioned above provide extra income for the centre. The major income generating facilities are the chalets.[34] For spring and summer seasons the visitor centre makes more revenue. When the rock art centre does not make sufficient income, profits made from the accommodation and other facilities cover for the visitor centre's expenses. The restaurant is rented out to a private investor therefore the centre sources additional revenue from the restaurant. Didima also offers guided tours to different rock art sites.

4.4.3. Educational Facilities Provided by Didima Rock Art Centre

Didima does not run formal archaeological and rock art educational programmes for schools. Instead they offer environmental awareness campaigns to local schools. Through their community consultation officer, Didima negotiates that not only local schools but also those outside the resort visit the centre.[35]Didima does not charge schools that are neighbouring to the resort. They rather charge half price to local schools in the neighbouring communities. The centre has received students of schools from New Castle and Pietermaritzburg.

School visits also include universities such as the Universities of Pretoria, KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) and Further Education Training College (EFT). According to management, they are guaranteed to receive UKZN students every year.

[32] Nonhlanhla Nhlapo. Interview with Nthabiseng Mokoena. KwaZulu-Natal. 21 November 2014.
[33] Nonhlanhla Nhlapo. Interview with Nthabiseng Mokoena. KwaZulu-Natal. 21 November 2014.
[34] Ibid
[35] Ibid

> We hosted eighty students. They come early in the morning for the day they take a walk and go back to the rock art centre. But we know every year they come. And those that do conservation, they come every year.[36]

The Rock Art centre offers a film watching session where students learn about rock paintings and their makers. Depending on the season Didima usually receives up to around 300 students, figures corroborated by Didima management records.[37] I discuss the implication and importance of school visits to centres in Chapter Seven. Rock art tours are also provided for schools and because Didima is located within a nature resort, environmental or nature conservation lectures are also provided to schools.

4.4.4. Setbacks and Challenges Faced by Didima Rock Art Centre

One crucial challenge faced by Didima is attracting tourists during the winter season. In the winter season, Didima does not receive large numbers of tourists. The centre management has alternatively come up with an alternative solution where the centre gets a cut of the revenue generated from other facilities particularly accommodation:

> Even if they do not have visitors during the day, they know that they will get a split from the guests staying at the accommodation. When the guests check in, we tell them that it is inclusive of the rock art centre. We organise a package for them. Accommodation helps generate revenue for the rock art centre.[38]

Specific to the Rock Art visitor Centre, Didima has received a lot of complaints about the film shown. Nhlapo explained that during summer when there is a lot of lightning, the film technology is damaged.[39] Specialists who can fix the film system normally arrive two to three days following the report, meaning the film is unavailable for tourists as recorded in the visitor centre book (shown in Figure 4.24).

[36] Nonhlanhla Nhlapo, Interview with N Mokoena. KwaZulu- Natal. 21st November 2014.
[37] Nonhlanhla Nhlapo, Interview with N Mokoena. KwaZulu- Natal. 21st November 2014
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid

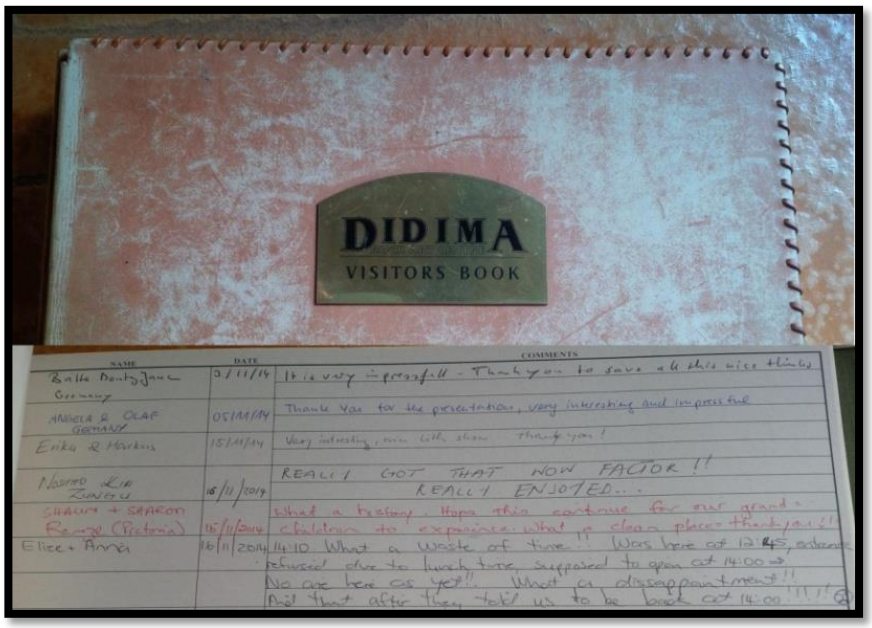

Figure 4.24: The Didima Rock Art Visitor Centre book

Revenue generated from the centre gets 're-invested into the management of cultural heritage' by improving the heritage experiences (Storey 2006: 21). The issue however is to keep the centre financially sustainable and the challenge is to continuously generate revenue (Storey 2006).

The guide, Bheki has been working for Didima as a guide for 6 months. However, it was not the first time that Bheki worked as a guide in the Drakensberg. Didima has given him a three year contract to be a full time tour guide. He mentioned that their busiest time is the Summer Holidays, especially November and December.[40] The rest of the seasons are not as busy as he mainly has clients once in a week or two weeks.

[40] Bhekisia Radebe. Interview with N Mokoena. 21st November 2014.

4.5. Results and Background of the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre

Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre was established in 2001 and was supported by RARI regarded as a rock art management and interpretative initiative to disseminate information to the general public and to create jobs for local people (Smith 2006). The centre is located on land owned by the !Xun and Khwe San refugees of the 'Angolan and Namibian wars' (Laue *et al*2002: 6; Morris 2003:198; Smith 2006).



Figure 4.25: The Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre

Wildebeest Kuil was funded by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd, and RARI in partnership with the local stakeholders (Morris 2003: 197; Parkington 2003:126). Currently the centre is under the management of the Northern Cape Rock Art Trust which is a community project. Additional management support is by the Provincial Department of Sport, Arts and Culture through the McGregor Museum (Parkington 2003:126). Funding was used for training custodians, and improving and development site experiences and infrastructure (Laue et al 2002: 6). RARI and the McGregor Museum generously assisted with their vehicles and equipment (Laue et al 2002: 6). The centre is under the management of a steering committee that comprises of local community

representatives the ‘local civil society’, the McGregor Museum and other public institutions (Morris 2003: 198).

As part of the tourism experience, a visitors’ centre showcases the history and archaeology of the region, in part through a twenty-minute film (Morris 2012:234). The film showcases history and interpretation of rock engravings, their makers and living KhoeSan communities from the perspectives of the indigenous community and academics (Morris 2003; 2012; Barnabas 2014). The information provided by the film and the rest of the museum prepares tourists for the rest of the heritage experience which include a walking tour and visit to rock engravings site (see Figure 4.26).

Audio tours used to be part of the tourism experience during tours. These tours were stopped mainly because of the damage that tourists caused when they went on walking tours unsupervised (Barnabas 2014:128). Recently, walking tours are facilitated by a guide (Morris 2003: 198, 2012: 236; Barnabas 2014).

> The narrative leads visitors progressively further back in time, peeling away the layers, as it were (Morris 2012: 236).



Figure 4.26: A picture of one a rock engraving

Following the walking tour to the rock engraving site, tourists or school groups walk back to the visitors' centre. Visitors can then explore rock art literature and other arts and crafts sold in a shop which is part of the centre (Morris 2003: 198).

The reason for selecting Wildebeest Kuil is to find out if the centre is financially sustainable and also how it promotes rock art management. I assess the nature of relationships between the centre management and the communities. Further, Wildebeest Kuil is among a few rock art centres collaborating with the descendants of indigenous communities who have a spiritual and cultural links to the heritage. This study assesses the pros and cons of how collaboration is carried out.

4.5.1. Promoting Education and Community Engagement in Wildebeest Rock Art Centre

Like CLLP, Wildebeest Kuil is also a heritage educational endeavour for both the local communities and also for the public in general. Wildebeest Kuil also hosts schools from different local areas. The centre additionally provides educational experiences for tourists and researchers.

Community involvement and participation are a crucial part of maintaining the value and importance of the centre. The !Xun and Khwe communities play a vital role in the running and management of the centre. Four representatives from these communities form part of the board of trustees of the Northern Cape Rock Art Trust (Morris 2012: 234). The board is also made up of different stakeholders such as the heritage and tourism authorities and museums (Morris 2012: 234). Representation of such a variety of stakeholders is beneficial in acquiring different perspectives on different ways of developing and managing heritage.

Involvement of indigenous and local communities within the decision making structures addresses the long-time issue of marginalization of communities in archaeological and heritage projects. Inclusion of the perceptions of such

communities promotes pride and a sense of ownership especially for those who believe they have a direct link to the heritage and the people who made it (Morris 2012 239).

Wildebeest Kuil has additionally created job opportunities in the for the !Xun and Khwe communities. These communities have been trained in tour guiding and different artistic ventures such as craft making. The local guides are also responsible for the maintenance of the sites and further to ensure the smooth running of the centre (Morris 2012:239).

4.5.2. Wildebeest Kuil as a Tourism Venture

Tourists can visit rock engraving sites and different archaeological sites predate the engravings. There are sites dating to the Earlier and Middle Stone Age sites and the historical twentieth century (Morris 2012: 239; cf. Morris and Beaumont 2004). Visitors therefore have a variety of places they can visit. The centre brings in income through guided tours to different sites particularly engraving sites and through a craft shop.

4.5.3. Challenges Faced by Wildebeest Kuil

Despite the fact that the centre receives tourists and schools, the income generated is not sufficient to cover the costs of running the centre. According to David Morris (2012), tourists that visit the centre are mainly academics and people from South Africa's Northern Cape Province. Wildebeest Kuil therefore does not receive a wide spectrum of tourists (Morris 2009; 2012). The centre is therefore in need of strategies to attract more visitors so as to promote its financial sustainability.

While creating job opportunities for local communities was one of the Wildebeest Kuil's objectives (Smith 2006; Parkington 2013), very few jobs have been created, meaning that few community members are employed. The centre is therefore

understaffed. The centre does not have reliable guides and caretakers(Barnabas 2014). Past employees from the!Xun and Khwe were not reliable in terms of staying on the job or actually doing the job they were assigned(Barnabas 2014: 118). A few employees from outside communities were therefore employed. The two current employees are not from the !Xun and Khwe communities and therefore their employment has caused tensions from the these communities(Barnabas 2014: 118).

Table 4.1: Summary of the heritage centre's information

Name of Centre	Mission	Main facilities and achievements	Setbacks
CLLP	To create jobs by interpreting previous archaeological work that was carried out in the area through cultural heritage tourism To promote and educate communities and about the archaeology of the Cederberg	Development of school curriculum incorporating archaeological material Training local individuals in tour guiding, crafting and heritage management. Craft shop Time Machine Museum Rock art trails Accommodation	Lack of funding to sustain the centre. A decline of the number of tourists visiting the centre. Hindered production of crafts by local community members. Limited number of trained guides.
Kamberg Rock Art Centre	Serves to promote cultural tourism Interpretation of San rock art and history	Education programmes Community involvement Craft making Game Pass rock art shelter visits.	Low profile of rock art in the tourism sector (Duval & Smith 2014:43). Limited number of tourists. Insufficient funds for marketing the centre. Improving the quality of staff performance. Guides not fluent in English.
Maropeng Cradle of Human Kind	Interpreting archaeological and paleontological research that has been carried out in the area.	Education programmes Museum/interpretative centre.	Stiff competition with other tourism business. Challenge of maintaining service value. Accessibility of Maropeng facilities for tourists and

		Accommodation facilities for schools and tourists. Events halls Restaurant Visits to the Sterkfontein Caves. Exhibitions	Maropeng staff.
Wildebeest Kuil	Poverty alleviation through cultural heritage and tourism.	Public rock engraving sites Crafts shop Information on the interpretation of rock engravings. Audio tour of the rock engravings. Educational information of the history of the makers of the rock engravings.	Insufficient continuous funding. Insufficient visitors. Insufficient funds for marketing.
Didima Rock Art Centre	Educating the public and tourists about San's cultural heritage. Rock art management. Celebrating San community's Rock Art and cultural heritage.	Visual communication Accommodation Hiking tour guides Craft shop	Financially sufficient. Fluctuation of the number of tourists.

5.0. CHAPTER FIVE:RESEARCH METHODOLOGIESIN MATATIELE

5.1. Data Collection and Fieldwork in Matatiele

In this and the following chapter I show how different facets of interviews, communal dialogue discussions and desktop research can contribute to a better understanding of the value of heritage, specifically archaeological resources, by communities.

In order to assess the ways in which the Matatiele Communities present their heritage, I set questions and held interviews with individuals in selected villages. I employed structured and semi-structured interview questions so as to get a general idea of Communities' perceptions of heritage and possible means of its management in Matatiele.

Representatives from the Department of Arts and Culture at Provincial Level and Mehloding Community Trust were interviewed in order to get their views on the proposed heritage centre. Different approaches were employed in collecting data and I discuss them in this chapter.

5.2. Ethical Clearance

This research was approved by the Wits University Ethics Committee in order to address any possible ethical concerns. I designed a Participation Information Sheet which was a form of invitation to my informants to take part in my research. The sheet gave details of my research and contact details. I also designed a Consent Form which was a declaration form for my informants that they understood what my project was about and whether they agreed to be recorded. These forms were written in English and Sesotho (see appendices). For Xhosa-speaking Communities, my research assistant helped with the translation.

5.3. Fieldwork in Matatiele

This research was divided into three phases:

- Phase One was to familiarize myself with the different areas by taking part in rock art surveys organized by the MARA team and to meet with Community members within the Alfred Nzo region.
- Phase Two included interviews in selected villages.
- Phase Three involved reporting the results of this study to the Communities.

5.3.1. Phase One: Survey in Matatiele

During Phase One, the survey team was made up of Wits staff members, students and local Mehloding guides who are also residents of Matatiele. I met with chiefs of the selected villages this is an important step because chiefs are regarded as protectors of the community and its environment. Chief Nkau, a headman[41] of the Nkau village said:

> In our Communities, chiefs are very important. They are responsible for the protection of every individual in the village.[42]

I held meetings with different chiefs where I introduced myself and the team. I further informed them of my project and asked for permission to move about the different villages to interview members of their Community. A special request was also made for holding community gatherings (*lipitso*-Sesotho plural for Community gatherings/meetings) to give feedback on the results of the study. The chiefs and their headmen further helped me to identify different schools, and the traditional healers of the selected areas. It was then easy for me to set up appointments when I began conducting interviews.

[41] Headmen are also referred to as chiefs by the local people but they are not the main chiefs.
[42] Chief Nkau. Interview with N Mokoena. Matatiele. 21st November 2013.

During the survey, we visited several rock art sites, mainly those close to the selected villages. One of the reasons behind the visits to these sites was to assess their condition in terms of damage. I observed and identified any signs that may be proof of previous occupation on the sites. The presence of some of the Community members during the site surveys was helpful because they gave an insight into some of the questions I had about the different conditions on site. For example, there was evidence of recent hearths and animal waste in a few sites. *Ntate* Puseletso Lecheko explained that most of these sites are used as shelters for animals and herders in winter, hence evidence of animal occupation. *Ntate* Puseletso has played a crucial role in this study: he knows the Matatiele region (environmentally and socially).*Ntate* Puseletso Lecheko was born and raised in Matatiele in the Machekong village of Nkauand he is fluent in both of major languages in Matatiele, Sesotho and isiXhosa. He works as a guide and caretaker for the Mehloding Tourism Trust. He has further worked with MARA from the beginning of the project and has been trained in rock art surveying, digital recording and excavations. In the next section I discuss the technical methods I employed during the interviews.

Among the most prominent of the causes of damage was graffiti and scratching of the paintings. Similar to the results that Regensberg (2013) discovered most of the sites in Matatiele have been defaced by graffitti and scratched by traditional healers for medicinal purposes (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). The main reason for identifying these problems was so that whatever future heritage management plans made, they should be informed by the current conditions of the sites.



Figure 5.1: Scratching on paintings (Picture by MARA)



Figure 5.2: Graffiti on paintings (Picture by MARA)

Damaged sites are mainly those that are located in close proximity to the villages. Figure 5.3 is a picture showing the distance of rock art sites from villages and the households encircled in blue are part of Nkau village.



Figure 5.3: Picture of Nkau village taken from a rock art site, with the houses circled in blue

The type of rock art found in Matatiele is mainly of the San. In the region we find different traditions. Figure 5.4 and 5.5 is an example of rock art traditions that depict materials that are not of the San but have influences of the recent communities' living in Matatiele. Figure 5.4 below shows a shield similar to those of the Xhosa's, while Figure 5.5 is image of human figures in European dress.



Figure 5.4: San rock art image made after contact with Iron Age Farmers.



Figure 5.5: Finger painted image possibly made by mixed-race people of Khoe descent during historical period

In the case of Matatiele, the local communities have given ideas on what should be represented in the proposed heritage centre. The Communities were vocal on the importance of representing items that define their heritage in the proposed heritage centre. Among these are the different types of food, clothing and other cultural items that could be used to show the heritage of the people of Matatiele; it is important to note, however, that all of the people interviewed in the rural villages in proximity to the Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains were of African farmer or Bantu-speaker descent. A rock art interpretation element similar to the other rock art centres should be incorporated. In this way heritage management does not only accommodate one group of people. The community as a whole gets to appreciate and respect every component of heritage regardless if it is theirs or not.

5.3.2. Phase Two: Interviews

The second phase of conducting interviews was initiated on my second visit to Matatiele. I selected three main villages where I conducted interviews. In order to analyse the knowledge of and the potential for rock art conservation and management by Communities, the choice of villages was made according to the distance of rock art sites from the villages. Interviews were both formal and informal, that is, some

were conducted according to the prepared sequence of questions, while other interviews developed in a free-form. Interviews were conducted in schools and in people's households in different villages, and in isiXhosa and Southern Sotho (Sesotho). I had the company of one Sesotho-speaking tourism graduate from Lesotho. I am also a native Sesotho speaker, which helped during the interviews. Assistance of a Sesotho-speaking assistant was particularly helpful in creating a comfortable, recognizable environment for my informants particularly. For instance, most of the Sesotho-speaking informants recognized my colleague's names from the royal clan in Lesotho. This put them at ease because, as I have mentioned in the introductory chapter, there are Sotho and Phuthi Communities who migrated from Lesotho into Matatiele during the nineteenth century and therefore they were familiar with the Sesotho clan names. They would, further, narrate their clan poems and challenge my colleague to narrate his. Consequently, and in line with findings by Jopela (2010) and Atalay (2007), involving individuals who understood the language had a beneficial impact on a community involved research.

I do not understand isiXhosa and therefore in this case I requested the assistance of *Ntate* Puseletso. In villages where isiXhosa was the main language, *Ntate* Puseletso assisted in interpreting most of the interviews. In the Hlubi (Xhosa-speaking) Community of Madlangala, *Ntate* Nkosinathi, also a resident of Matatiele, assisted in interpretations. *Ntate* Nkosinathi was also trained by MARA in excavations and rock art surveys. In order to minimize chances of miscommunication or misinterpretations of interviews, I recorded some the conversations using an audio recorder and at a later stage asked a colleague from Wits University whose first language is isiXhosa to help me interpret and translate them. I then compared the interpreted data from the field with the ones given by my colleague. Changes were made (either omissions or additions of information) following the comparisons between the two sets of data. In other interviews, I used long-hand note-taking and at the end of every day, my two colleagues and I met and discussed our observations and possible information that might have been missed.

I am aware that conducting interviews as a form of data collection is not without limitations. For this research, both qualitative and quantitative methods as well as open-ended and short-answer questions were used in data collection. Semi-structured interviews were also used for this study because they are flexible and allow the respondent to have freedom to respond freely (Creswell 1994: Jopela 2010).

Interviews in Matatiele were carried out in three main selected villages. Alfred Nzo is a large area and for this study, I selected three main villages which are as follows:

- Masakala (mainly Phuthi and Xhosa Communities),
- Queen's Mercy (mainly Basotho, Xhosa and Hlubi Communities) and
- Ha-Ramohlakoana (mainly Basotho Community).

These villages are composed of between three and ten sub-villages that are close to the mountains where most rock art sites are located. Figure 5.6 is map showing tracks along the different sub-villages. The main villages are defined by an autonomous structure headed by the main chief and sub-villages are headed by headmen who owe allegiance to the main chief. Villages headed by the headmen are mostly big therefore the headmen allocate responsibilities to their assistants (sub-headmen). As mentioned in the introduction, Matatiele is occupied by different cultural groups. I conducted more interviews in Queens Mercy because it has a wide representation of the main cultural groups. As a result, I conducted this research conscious of these differences and the results are discussed in the data analysis section.

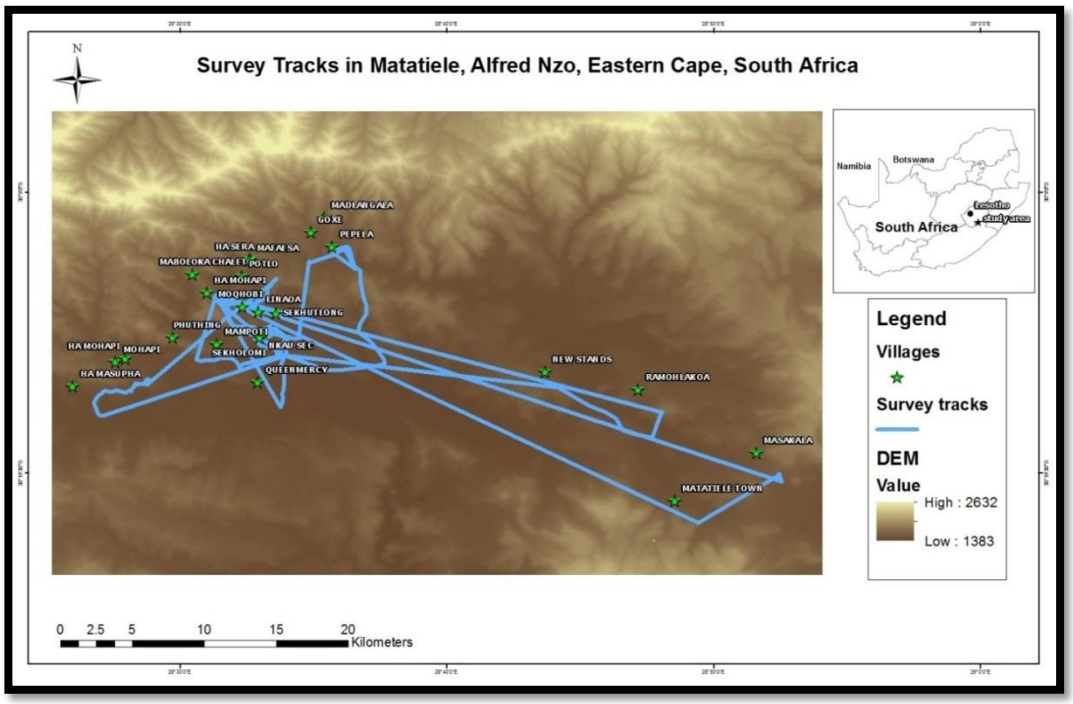

Figure 5.6: Map showing tracks across Alfred Nzo during fieldwork

My informants were between the ages of 18 and 97. I divided informants into age groups defined as between 18-25, 26-35, 36-44, 45-60, 61-70, and 70 and above. I took into consideration these age groups because I wanted to see if the responses would be affected by age differences. I assessed the possibility that the responses I got might be affected by gender. Representatives from the Department of Arts and Culture and Mehloding Community Tourism Trust (MCTT) were also interviewed. A questionnaire was sent to a representative from the Department of Basic Education; however, she never returned the questionnaire even after constant communication.

I initially intended to interview 120 informants. This number was divided between the above mentioned four main villages. My scope was, however, widened and the final total of individuals interviewed was 140. Table 5.1 shows a summary of the number of people interviewed and the villages they are from.

Table 5.1: Summary of the villages to be covered by the study

Main Village	Names of Chiefs	Number of selected sub- villages	Number of Informants per sub-village
Queens Mercy	Chief Jerry Moshoeshoe	13	Between 5 and 10
Masakala	Chief Masakala	4	Between 5 and 10
Ramohlakoana	Chief Lepheane	3	Between 5 and 10
Total		20	140

In each sub-village, I interviewed between five and ten individuals. This choice of a variety of informants gives wide spectrum of perspectives on heritage and the need for an educational heritage centre as viewed by different individuals.

Many of the interviews were conducted in people's homes but in one instance, I interviewed individuals within the premises of the chief's office. The main reason for this choice of venue was that these individuals had to be called in advance because of their occupation. Meetings with healers for instance were organised through the assistance of the chief and his assistants. There is a possibility, however, that the chiefs might have selected individuals with whom they have good relations with or are interested in. I conducted interviews in a private space away from the chief so that the informants would not feel intimidated by the chief's presence.

I preferred carrying out interviews in places where informants would be comfortable in disseminating information that some regarded as private or sacred. Interviews were conducted individually and in cases where we found more than one individual, we requested that each person be interviewed separately. The downside of this strategy was that people might feel uncomfortable when an unfamiliar individual was not

present during interviews. I carried out a group discussion in one case and this group consisted of both men and women.

Interviews with other independent institutions (heritage centres) were done mainly over the phone. In one case I sent the interview questions in a questionnaire form. Participation information sheets and consent forms were exchanged via email and before the actual interviews I personally explained the aims of my project. The most problematic issue with phone interviews was that I could not read certain reactions to some of the questions.

On the second field trip I was accompanied by one of my colleagues, Mncedisi Siteleki, whose research involved talking to traditional healers and asking them to show us where they gathered their traditional medicine. I took the opportunity to have informal conversations with some of the healers. According to the healer, shelters are home to different special medicines he uses.[43] Experiencing the landscape was therefore also a form of collecting information regarding the use of shelters.

5.3.3.Phase Three: Community Outreach

The second goal of ASAPA's Transformation Charter (ASAPA 2009: 90) emphasizes the need to disseminate archaeological information not only to scholars, but also to the general public (see Chapter Two). For the purposes of achieving objective number four of this study, which is, "to implement outreach sessions by holding community educational gatherings and by designing leaflets in local languages major target being schools", I held community gatherings whereby the intention was to introduce the type of archaeological projects that were, and are still, being carried out in Matatiele. The aim was to report further on the Community's views on the establishment of a heritage centre for their region. The major concern was giving information about the need to protect rock art sites and preserving them.

[43]Thabo Molefe. Interview with N Mokoena. Matatiele. 12th February 2014.

In the last phase of this research I reported the results of my study back to the Communities. This involved carrying out Community gatherings (*lipitso* in isiXhosa referred to as *indibano*) where the different Communities were given the opportunity to discuss the importance of heritage. During the meetings Community members expressed different concerns over heritage and emphasized which aspects of heritage they were willing to negotiate and those they were not.

The Communities of Matatiele consisted of chiefs, traditional healers, herders, teachers, elders, the youth and randomly selected members of the community. As agreed to in the Wits ethical clearance programme, I did not interview persons younger than 18. I chose the groups listed above so that I have a variety of responses from those who work with heritage and who do not have a link or association with the heritage.

During this phase I reported back to the Communities of Matatiele the results of this study and further communicated the objectives of the MARA Project in collaboration with the Mehloding for the proposal of a heritage centre. The gatherings were arranged with the assistance of the chiefs and their headmen.

The *lipitso* were held in three main villages Queens Mercy, Ha Ramohlakoana and Masakala. The latter had more attendees when compared to the other two villages. The first *pitso* was held in Nkau (a sub-village of Queen's Mercy), and it is one of the main Sesotho and Xhosa-speaking (Basotho) villages. The attendance at the Nkau *pitso* was not satisfactory but we found out that most Community members were at their respective work places particularly because it was during the days of the week. Regardless of the situation, there was adequate representation of both men and women in comparison (possibly between twenty and thirty individuals). At Ha-Ramohlakoana, attendance was also poor because the pitso was not well organised. Only around twenty people attended. Masakala is the only one which had a big attendance of plus or minus seventy people. The impressive thing about the Masakala

pitso was that the youth also attended and thus a wide spectrum of Community members were present.

The *lipitso* also included heritage value and conservation educational outreach sessions. I presented posters and pamphlets that I designed with the help of the members of the MARA team. The posters, which promoted rock art conservation awareness, were a form of an outreach strategy meant to bring to the attention of the Communities of Matatiele the importance of protecting and respecting their heritage. The posters, pamphlets and other merchandise donated by the South African Rock Art Digital Archive (SARADA) were presented to the chiefs on behalf of the Communities. Figure 5.7 is a picture of Chief Lepheane receiving a poster on behalf of the Ramohlakoana Community. Figure 5.8 shows Chief Masakala of Masakala village receiving posters, pamphlets and other merchandise on the behalf on his Community; while Figure 5.9 shows presentation of posters to Chief Nkau who represented Queens Mercy and Nkau Communities. It is worth noting that during the *lipitso* all the Chiefs immediately presented posters, pamphlets and other reading material to school representatives and other Community organisations that were present during the *lipitso*. A positive outcome is that the posters and pamphlets ended up in the hands of different community groups and not single individuals.



Figure 5.7: Handing out of posters to Chief Lepheane of Ha Ramohlakoana during a pitso



Figure 5.8: Pitso at Masakala village



Figure 5.9: Presentation of posters and pamphlets to the Community of Masakala



Figure 5.10: Chief Nkau presenting posters to school representatives

The posters and pamphlets were written in Sesotho, Xhosa and English. In addition to conveying the message of the need to protect the heritage of those who are no longer

residents in our Communities, the posters and pamphlets addressed the significance of heritage and archaeology in Matatiele. In the next chapter I outline the different aspects of heritage as defined by the Communities of Matatiele. The posters were designed to present the importance of heritage as understood by the Communities. I also expressed the significance and value of the heritage of those who used to live in their region. I used heritage as that of the Communities of Matatiele from the interviews I conducted. For instance, I presented the importance of protecting initiation and associated spaces such as shelters. The results showed that Communities regarded initiation as their heritage. The posters as seen in Appendices articulated the different uses of rock shelters by Community members. I also emphasized the importance of protecting rock paintings. The poster and pamphlet approach was motivated by work that was done in Lesotho by Jolly (2013) where he presented posters to the communities in Lesotho. The posters were a form of awareness sessions and according to Jolly (2014) people understood the message being shown.



Figure 5.11: The Community members of Nkau village looking at a poster during a pitso

As part of the outreach strategy for this study a stakeholders' meeting was arranged. Attendees included chief representatives, representatives of the local accommodation businesses in Matatiele, representatives from the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority and other district government officials. Figure 5.12 shows some of the delegates who attended the stakeholder meeting. During the meeting, I presented the results of my study and gave recommendations of possible working approaches to the establishment of a heritage centre based on the work I did in Matatiele and with the heritage centres in South Africa.



Figure 5.13: Stakeholders meeting held in Matatiele

Recommendations of the appropriate methods of managing their heritage were presented. Among the recommendations was that Communities could use the proposed heritage centre as a place to present and represent the Communities' heritage. I further communicated the significance of rock art preservation management as part of the rich heritage of the Alfred Nzo region. Following the presentation was a discussion based on both my research and the future plans for the proposed Matatiele heritage centre. By the close of the meeting, different responsibilities were delegated to different representatives present. A dialogue paved the way for fruitful discussions of the pros and cons of establishing a heritage centre in Matatiele.

5.4. Difficulties Faced During Fieldwork

Conducting fieldwork comes with challenges. There were cases where some meetings with potential informants had to be cancelled as they did not attend. Some meetings had to be rescheduled as a result. In order to make up for meetings that did not happen, I made phone calls.

Despite the fact that the study was introduced as a University project and that it was not a government project, some informants were not entirely convinced that the research was purely academic and as a result they were either reluctant to respond to questions or they were vocal about job opportunities. They were persistent and emphasized that the centre should create jobs. Such attitudes were presumably because the national elections of South Africa were imminent during the time I carried out interviews and there were a lot of campaigns going at during that period.

Communication is a big factor when conducting interviews and language could either be a barrier towards getting required results or it could possibly contribute towards achieving goals of a project. In the case of Matatiele, the issue of language needed to be approached cautiously. The term 'heritage' in Sesotho is *letlotlo* and it is used mainly by the Sesotho-speaking Communities based in Lesotho. *Letlotlo* translates directly to inheritance. *Bochaba* is 'culture' in Sesotho and the word is incorporated with *letlotlo* to represent heritage. Heritage in Sesotho can therefore either be *letlotlolabochaba* or *letlotlo*. In the case of Matatiele, most of the community members did not understand me immediately when I said *letlotlo,* at least not immediately. A word used for 'heritage' in Matatiele is *bochaba*, which is used interchangeably in Lesotho's Sotho as cultural heritage. A direct translation into English is 'culture'.

For Xhosa-speaking Communities, heritage is used interchangeably as *ilifa* and *isinto*. *Isinto* is closer to Seotho's *bochaba*. For interviews in Matatiele, *Ntate* Puseletso, who is a first language Sotho speaker and also understands and speaks Xhosa fluently, used *isinto* because people could immediately recognise the word. *Isinto*

also means culture and it is used interchangeably with heritage. According to my colleague Mncedisi Siteleki from Wits University who is a first language speaker, heritage in isiXhosa does not have a single direct term. He provided a few phrases that are used in isiXhosa to represent culture, traditions and customs. These phrases are *isinto, amasiko* and *ilifa,* respectively. As with any research that involves communities that are not first language speakers, interpretation and translation of phrases such as 'cultural heritage' and 'heritage' is very sensitive and thus should be critically approached. As with the case of Matatiele, I had to interrogate the use of the word heritage in Sesotho speaking communities of South Africa. I submit that the use of the word 'heritage' in these two languages might affect the results of this research.

As specified in this Chapter, the population selected for this study included traditional healers. One of the traditional healers interviewed in this study was forthcoming with information during our first interview with her. I carried out the first interview with the assistant of *Ntate* Puseletso for translation purposes. On the initial interview, the informant said that she was willing take us to a rock art site she uses for healing and praying. On the second visit, she did not take us to the site. I presume she became reluctant as my four other colleagues were present. On our second visit we were expecting her to take us to this site, but instead she took us to a spot where she says she goes to pray.

It should be noted that responses from the Communities of Matatiele and from other potential stakeholders are likely to have been coloured by the knowledge that my research is related to questions on the proposed heritage centre. Responses to questions on heritage particularly might be influenced by their knowledge of the proposed heritage centre. It is possible for instance that the Communities mentioned aspects of heritage that could be presented in the proposed heritage centre. In the next chapter note the responses were mainly tangible heritage artefacts that could possibly be presented in the centre.

6.0. CHAPTER SIX- DATA ANALYSIS

Following the preceding discussion on theoretical frameworks, literature and methodologies related to heritage management and community involvement, this chapter outlines data collected in Matatiele. The results fall under the following three themes:

6.1. Heritage values and their significance

This section forms core of the overall question for this studyand presents the Communities' views of what they regard as heritage and how they would present it. This section addresses the ideas of how any project related to heritage would be best sustained.

6.2. Matatiele heritage centre feasibility

I outline the Communities' views on the significance of a heritage centre for Matatiele and what kind of activities they would use the centre for.

6.3. Knowledge of rock art and its significance

This section presents Communities' knowledge of the existence of rock paintings and rock art sites in their areas, including the significance and value of these sites.

6.1. The Significance of Heritage in Matatiele

6.1.1. How do the Communities of Matatiele view heritage?

As mentioned earlier, in order to address heritage management issues in Matatiele, it is necessary to have an idea of what Communities regard not only as heritage in general but rather, their own heritage. I further assessed the Communities' views of how they present their heritage. I therefore designed questions that covered the above mentioned issues. For instance, people were asked what they generally understood as heritage. For all questions, please see appendices.

A summary of the Communities' responses of what they regarded as heritage is shown in Figure 6.1 below and Table 6.1 shows a list of responses that show what Communities regard as their heritage. Each individual had more than one phrase or word to describe heritage and the most common response on the list was that heritage is inclusive of culture and that it is seen as a way of life. Initiation was also regarded as part of heritage.

As mentioned in the previous chapter initial responses to what heritage was were more abstract and a lot of respondents found the question tricky because most had studied certain aspects of heritage in school and so they had to try and remember most of the names in their different languages. The initial responses to the question of what their heritage was, were mainly the universal-type of responses to heritage, for instance, traditional food, clothing or traditional games. Eventually the most common response that particularly forms the core issues of management for this research was initiation. The general Communities of Matatiele regard initiation as part of their heritage. Religion is also connected to issues of heritage management and I will explain later in this chapter and the next chapter the implications of these responses in relation to the dilemma between heritage management and community's heritage.

Traditional healers regarded healing, initiation, cultural practices and traditional rituals as heritage. Healers further outlined that personal conduct and respectful behaviour are aspects of heritage that should be passed from one generation to another.

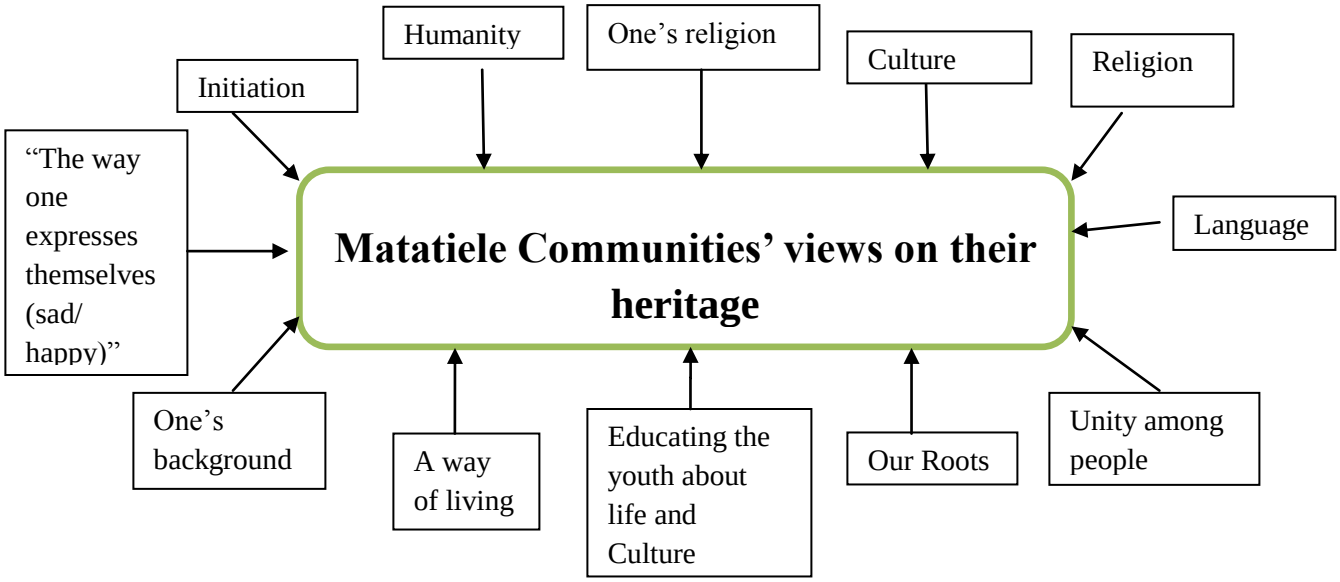

Figure 6.1: A summary of Communities' definitions of heritage and heritage components

Chiefs expressed the significance and value of initiation to their Communities. Chief Lepheane (2014) who is a principal chief of Ha-Ramohlakoana said:

> Male initiation is a very important and a big part of our community. It is our heritage and as you can see part of my job is to check and approve that any young male who goes to the initiation school is of accepted age.[44]

On arrival to chief Lepheane's place, he was checking and signing off documents of a young man who was scheduled to go to initiation school that year. In that moment they stressed the importance of initiation.

The chiefs regarded their heritage as:

- Initiation (especially male initiation from all the different cultural groups)

[44] Chief Lepheane. Interview with N. Mokoena. Matatiele. 26th March 2014.

- Traditional ceremonies
- Language
- Clothing
- Agriculture (ploughing crops such as beans sorghum, maize; and cattle rearing)

The older generation (50-89) in particular stressed the importance of knowing one's heritage and of educating younger generations about their heritage. Although some of the younger Community members found the question of what they regarded as part of their heritage difficult to answer at first, they eventually related details they leant from school and a few from their individual homes and villages. The younger generations (18-35) also expressed the importance of knowing their heritage. Responses from the younger Communities were mainly influenced by what they were taught in schools. They often referred to what they were taught in class such as different traditional foods, clothing, dances and history.

The youth and middle age groups did not respond to the heritage question as quickly and easily as expected. The question seemed trickier for middle aged groups, they took a few minutes before they responded. There was once instance where a mother called her daughter to respond because she said she could not think of anything at that particular moment. For younger people they also thought about the question and most of the responses were influenced by what they were taught at school.

Table 6.1: A list of responses to the question, 'What is considered heritage?"

What is heritage?	Description [45]	Traditional names
Initiation	Mainly Sotho, Xhosa, Phuthi male initiation	*Lebollo la Sesotho, isiXhosa, SePhuthi, AmaHlubi*
Behaviour/Conduct	Instructions as to good behavior passed from generation to generation, especially discipline.	Ho ila.
Ceremonies	Coming-of-age for men and women naming children, prayers to the ancestors, traditional dances, mourning ceremonies.	Traditional dances: Sotho (*mokhibo, litolobonya), Xhosa(ndlamo*), *lepheke)* Ancestral ceremonies (*LijotsaBalimo*)
Healing	Use of traditional medicine.	
Clothing	Different traditional attire specific to gender and age groups, sekh'akh'a.	Sotho- *thethana, tsheha* Xhoza- (*Skh'akh'a*),
Food	Traditional food from all groups. Wild vegetation, different dishes.	*Motoho, (polokoe, likhobe*; wild traditional vegetation such as *seruoe, thepe, lihaba, bobatsi*).
Language	*Sesotho, IsiXhoza, SePhuthi, SeHlubi*	
My ethnicity*	*Mosotho, UmXhosa, Phuthi, Hlubi*	
Agriculture	Keeping domestic animals, ploughing different crops such as sorghum, beans, maize.	
Traditional games	Games for girls and boys	*Mantloane, liketo*.

[45] A breakdown of the main themes derived from the interviews.

Different traditional rituals	Cutting hair during funerals	
Rain making	Some of the traditional herbalists and *sangomas* mentioned that they make rain. There is also a traditional game by the younger people which is said to bring rain. The game is called *lesokoana*. It is a sotho game.	*Lesokoana*
History	The history of Matatiele is enriched by the different 'ethnic' groups found in the area.	

*Ethnicity: People sharing a common ancestors and culture.

As mentioned above, there are various aspects of heritage. Among these, initiation is regarded as the most significant and 77% of the Communities mentioned its importance in heritage (see Figure 6.2). Fifty seven percent of males and 43% of females regarded male initiation particularly of their Communities as their heritage (see Figure 6.3). Initiation in Matatiele is carried out by males and rock art shelters are used as spaces for such occasions. I highlight the responses pertaining to initiation mainly because there are some rock shelters which also have rock paintings in them. These sites are therefore regarded valuable by the Communities with implications for management and particularly protecting rock art sites and I discuss these implications in Chapter Seven.

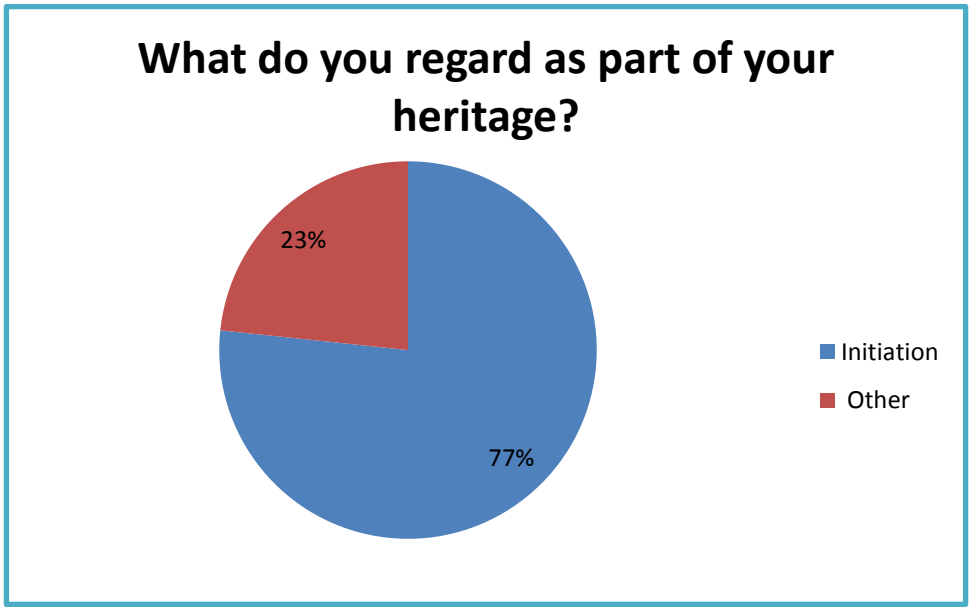

Figure 6.2: Initiation as heritage

The last period of fieldwork in Matatiele was during the summer holidays (November-December), significant because that is when initiation occurs. I found this period most difficult to get a significant number of Community members during *lipitso* and stakeholder meetings. All the chiefs made it clear that they were very busy preparing for initiation.

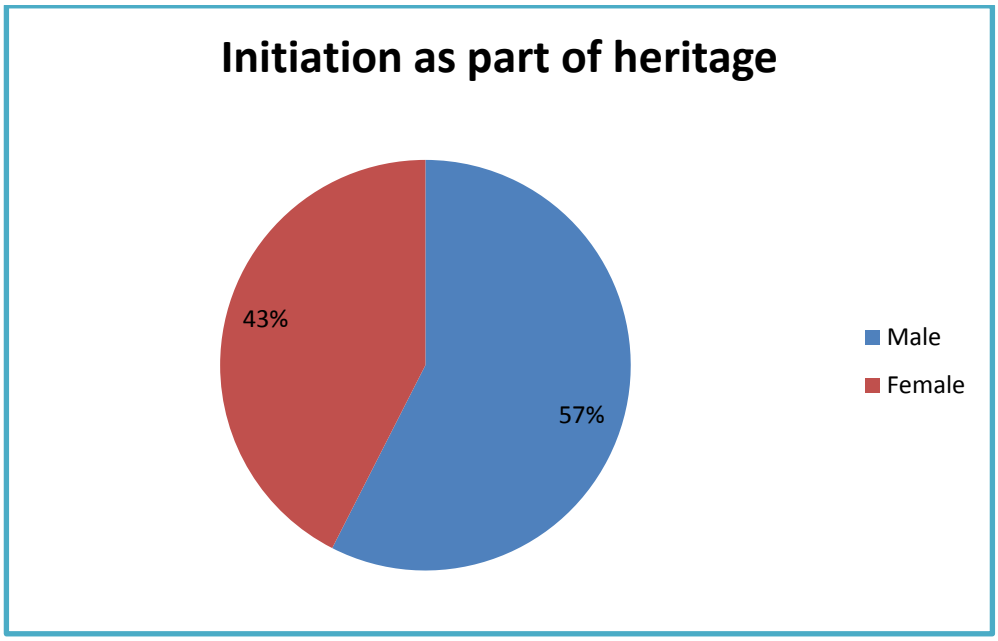

Figure 6.3: Males and female responses on initiation as heritage

The Communities' response to the question 'do you think there is a need to protect your heritage?' are as follows, 98% said 'yes'; 1% said 'no'; and 1% responded 'I do not know'. Figure 6.5 below summarizes the responses. The 1% that responded 'no' is of the ages between 18 and 25. The reasons given for the importance of protecting heritage are as follows:

- It defines who we are
- So we know where we come from
- It promotes good behaviour
- It teaches survival
- So that the youth learn about their culture

One important aspect of understanding community heritage management is exploring people's views on how they present their heritage.

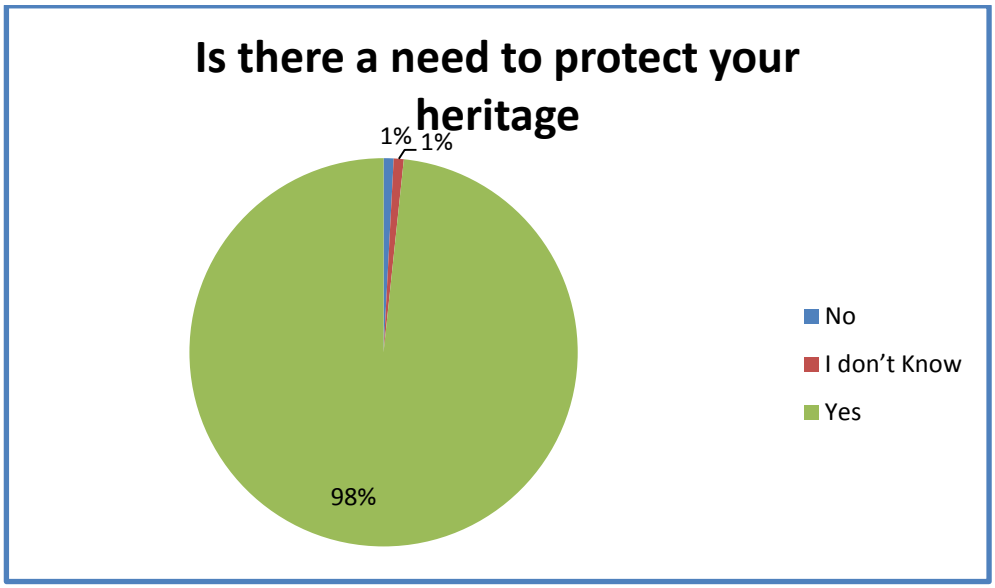

Figure 6.4: Communities' responses to "Is there a need to protect your heritage?"

When asked how they would contribute to the preservation of their heritage, 65% of the respondents expressed that they would adopt practical strategies such as passing knowledge from one generation to another. In particular, teaching as a way of preserving heritage included story-telling and teaching traditional activities and behaviours; this means that they would teach and pass knowledge from generation to generation. Teaching is a big aspect of preserving their heritage. The notion of 'teaching' is still important to the general heritage management scholarship and thus needs to be expanded.

Twelve percent of the Communities further regarded the act of partaking in cultural practices such as games, ceremonies, and preparing traditional food as among many ways of preserving one's heritage. Respecting heritage sites and acknowledging their significance and value is one of the ways of preserving heritage. The informants gave an example of initiation sites and places that are regarded to be sacred as ancestral shrines. Seven percent of the informants recommended writing of books as a way of preserving one's heritage while 8% regarding the notion of promoting and maintaining respect for oneself and others as another way of preserving heritage (see Figure 6.6). The last 4% did not know how they would present their heritage. In

Chapter Seven, I discuss the implications of 'teaching' as a tool through which Communities can present their heritage as a form of heritage management.

Taking into consideration the fact that a heritage management project proposed by the Mehloding Community Trust has a great deal to do with the Communities themselves, it was important to get an idea of how Communities managed and practiced their heritage. When asked how they would present their heritage, Community members offered the following responses:

- Teaching
- Speaking my language
- Writing and publishing my stories
- Practising my traditions
- Healing
- Teaching or telling history

Chief Lepheane's brother, Thabang Lepheane, mentioned that a person's history is important. Thabang gave a brief history of their clan that they migrated from Lesotho and settled in Matatiele. As he put it,

> A person's history is their heritage. The fact that Basotho are found Matatiele takes us back to our history and that is our heritage.[46]

[46]Chief Lepheane, Interview with N. Mokoena. Matatiele. 23rd November 2013.

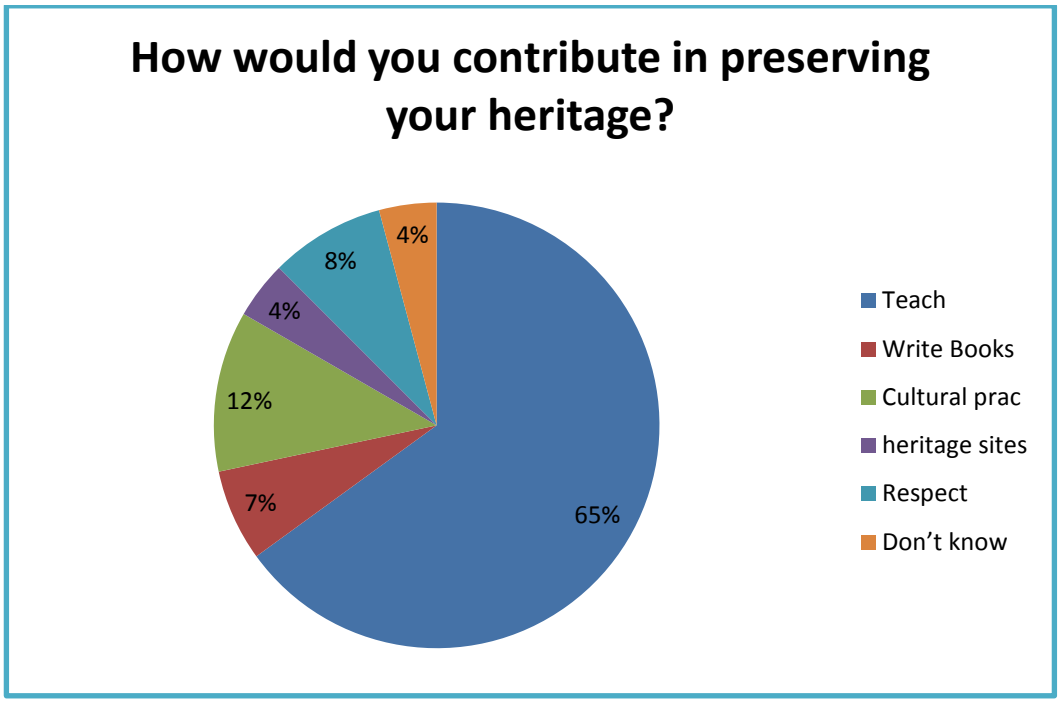

Figure 6.5: Responses to the question "How would you contribute in preserving your heritage?"

As mentioned, among people interviewed, traditional healers were interviewed. One of the healers mentioned that heritage as advising on health, life issues and healing.[47]

6.1.2. Communities' Views on the Proposed Heritage Centre

In order to get a general idea of what the community regards or pictures as a heritage centre, I asked whether there is a heritage centre in Matatiele. As shown in Figure 6.7 below, 75% of individuals said 'no', 22% said 'yes' and 3% did not know. According to the 22% that replied 'yes', what they regarded as a heritage centre as one of the chalets run by the Mehloding Community Trust. Figure 6.8is a picture of the Machekong Chalet, one of accommodation buildings on the Mehloding Adventure Trail that is most commonly used by tourists. There is a general view among Community members that the chalet is a 'heritage place/centre' and a 'tourism place/centre'. Heritage centres are therefore regarded as tourist centres. There seems

[47]Traditional healer.Interview with N. Mokoena.Matatiele. 23rd November 2013.

to be general view that a heritage centre is similar to a tourist centre. Thirty percent of teachers who were asked about the existence of a centre also referred to the chalet.

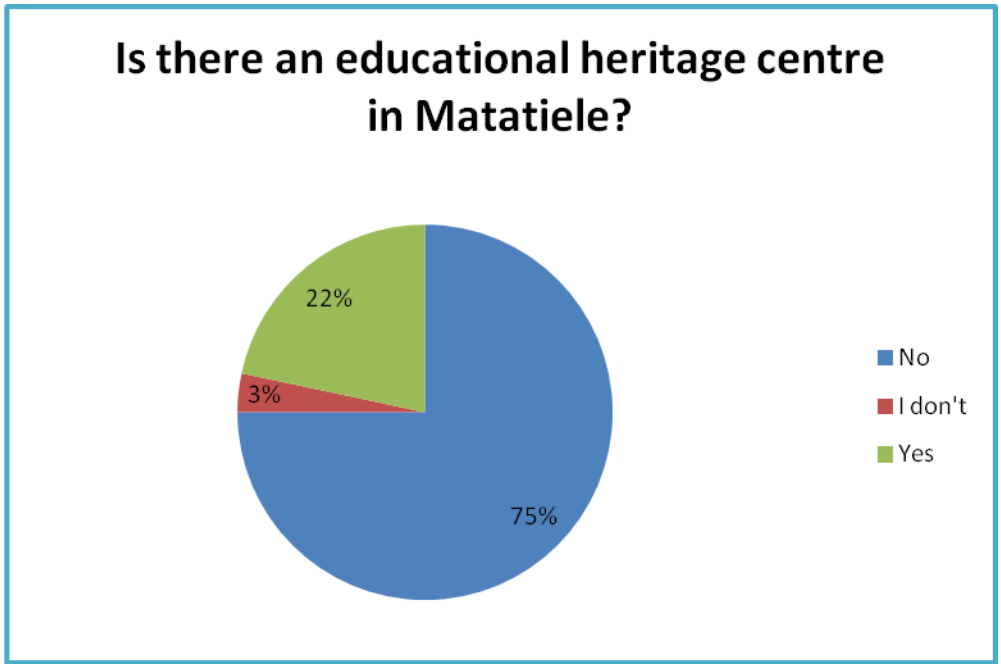

Figure 6.6: Responses to the question "Is there a heritage centre in Matatiele?"



Figure 6.7: This is a picture of the Machekong Chalet, one of the Mehloding Community Trust accommodation projects

A central concern during the investigation into the Community's perceptions of a heritage centre was that many informants were generally not familiar with the concept of a 'heritage centre'. I had to be careful of how I explained what a heritage centre was in order to avoid asking leading questions or producing confused responses. I therefore described a heritage centre as "a place that could be used to present, represent and manage a people's heritage".

I assessed the potential importance of any prospective heritage centre in Matatiele particularly if it has an educational aspect by communicating with the Communities of Matatiele and the potential stakeholders. I asked Community members if they regarded a future heritage centre (based on the above definition) as important. Ninety seven percent replied 'yes', 1% said 'no' and 2% said they didn't know (see Figure 6.9).

When asked to list significant functions of a heritage centre, common responses included:

- A place to unite the Matatiele community
- For our community to learn about their heritage
- To teach the youth about the importance of heritage and culture
- To represent different cultures present in Matatiele
- To record history
- To introduce tourism ventures

Teachers were asked if there was a place that they considered important in teaching about heritage and history. Thirty percent said 'yes' and 70% said 'no'. The 30% that said 'yes' were referring to the chalet shown in Figure 6.10. Be that as it may, none of the schools had gone to the chalets or even had full details of what the buildings were. There seems to be a general belief that the chalets were museum-like centres which were meant to promote heritage.

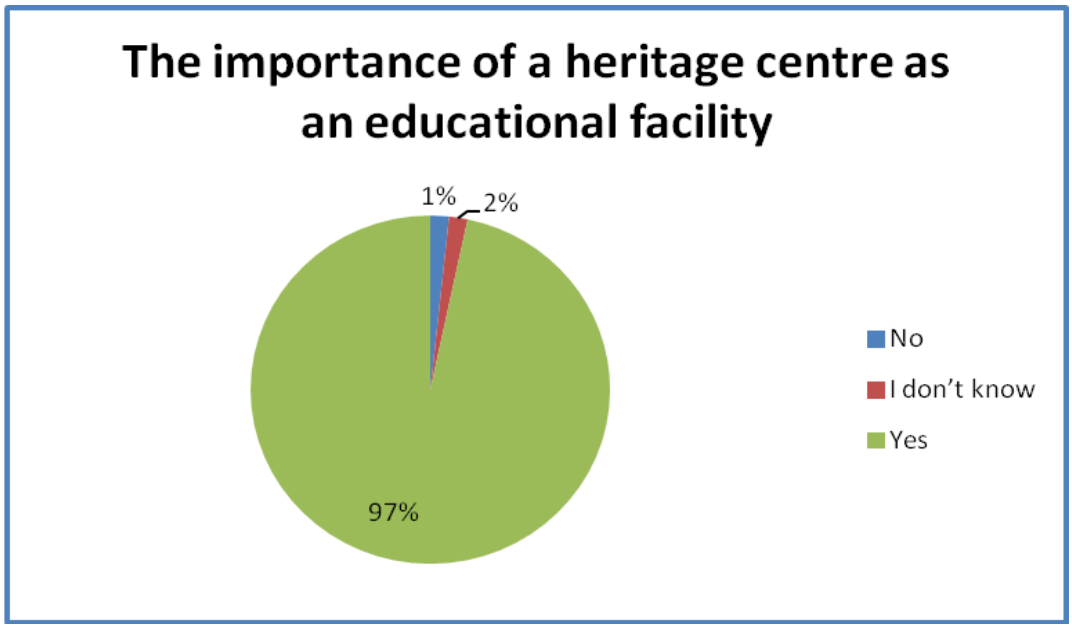

Figure 6.8: Heritage centre as an educational facility

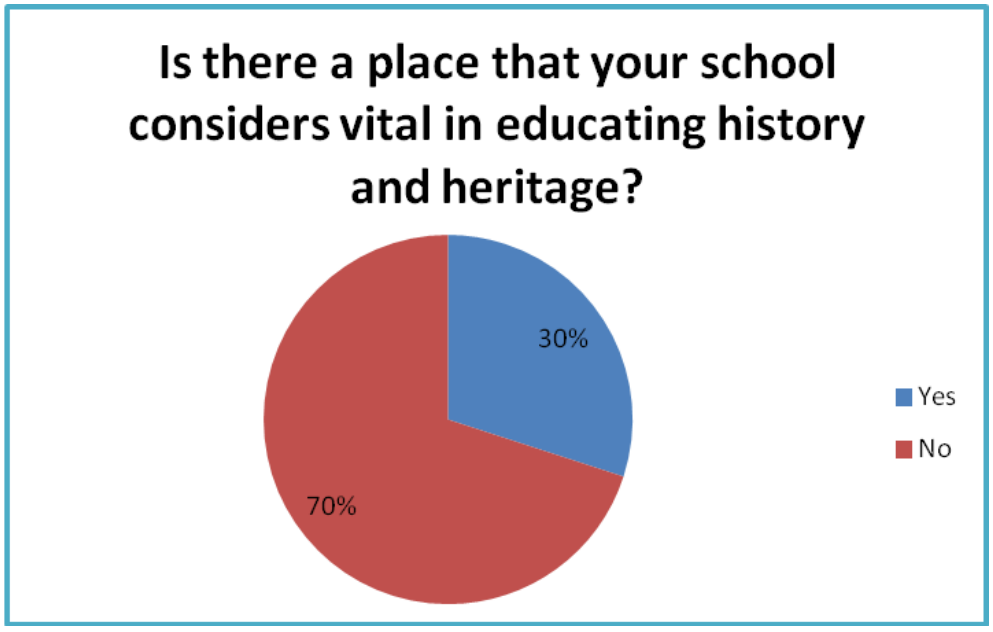

Figure 6.9: Teacher's responses to the question "Is there a place that your school considers vital in educating history and heritage?"

Different age groups offered different descriptions of why these functions were important. Middle age and older respondents emphasised the importance of having a heritage centre as a place where their children will learn about their heritage and history. Teachers were particularly supportive of the establishment of a heritage centre as an educational facility because it could be used to curate heritage materials or artefacts about which their students have been taught in the classroom. Two of the chiefs interviewed, Chief Lepheane and Chief Nkau, mentioned that the centre would a useful place to host the annual celebrations on Heritage Day by the whole Alfred Nzo area. Heritage Day celebrations are held every year for the Communities on Matatiele where they celebrate their heritage through traditional performances, food and clothing among others. Activities done during the event also include horse riding (Verasamy 2014).

Chief Nkau explained further that their Community does not have a set venue used for communal events and that a heritage centre could fill this role. Younger respondents (between 18 and 26) also had the same sentiments as the chief. The youth believe that the centre would be useful particularly as a sanctuary to steer them away from criminal acts and alcohol. It would additionally be a place to learn to appreciate their heritage.

It is important to include communities in projects that affect them (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Chirikure *et al* 2009; Deacon 2006; Morris 2003; Mawere *et al*. 2012), and so I asked if the Communities of Matatiele would get involved in the planning and implementation of a heritage centre and if so how. Eighty-eight percent of the interviewed individuals said they would; 8% said they would not get involved while 4% said they did not know.

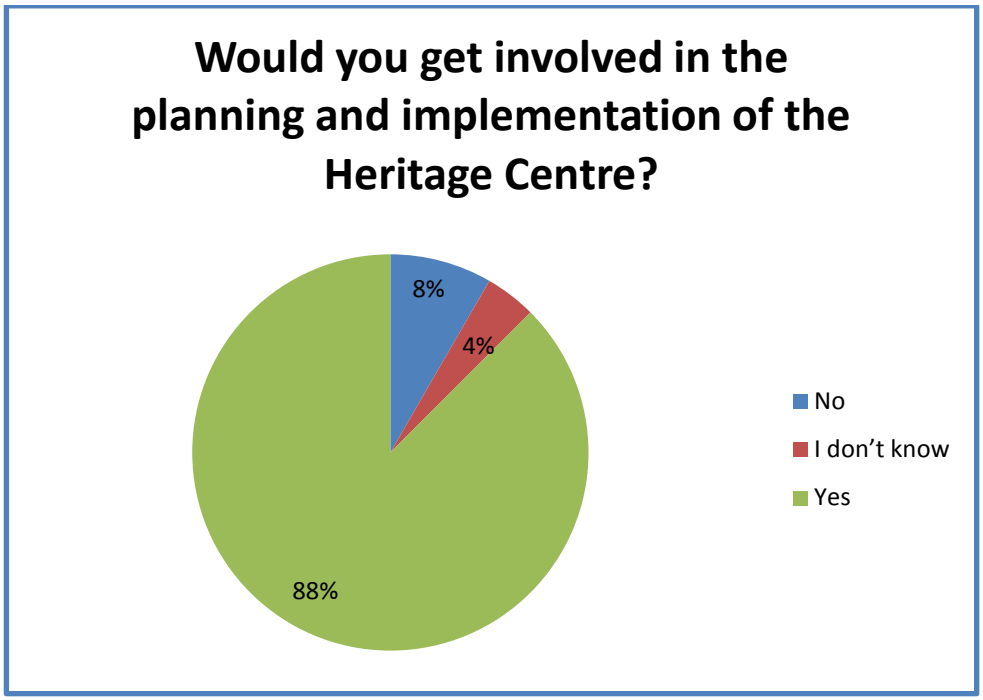

Figure 6.10: Would you get involved in the planning and implementation of the heritage centre?

A follow-up question for community members was, 'how would you get involved in the implementation of the centre?' People gave different responses and they include among others:

- Teaching different aspects of heritage
- Serving as security to protect the centre (to guard the centre).[48]
- Helping with research on different aspects of heritage for all cultural groups in Matatiele
- Providing ideas for presenting the history of the area
- Motivating the Communities to sustain and protect the centre
- Regularly teaching about the importance of the centre
- Providing funds[49]

[48] Young males were the ones who gave this response.

Some of the Community members were particularly vocal about the type of information they would contribute towards the implementation of the centre. A gentleman from Masakala, a Phuthi village, said that the heritage centre should be run part by the Community and that stakeholders should include chiefs and teachers.

> School kids should constantly visit the centre.[50]

He also suggested that the heritage centre have a tourism section so that the centre has an additional source of income.

6.2. The Matatiele Communities' Knowledge of San Rock Art and its Significance

As shown in Chapter Five the management and protection rock art as a heritage resource is required in Matatiele. I therefore designed questions that investigated the Communities' knowledge of the rock art and their views on its importance. I had to firstly establish whether and which community members knew about some of rock art sites in the area. Seventy-two percent responded that they knew about the existence of some of the rock art sites and of this 72% percent, only 15% had actually seen the art. Twenty eight percent did not know about the existence of rock art. Figure 6.12 below shows these results. Some of the individuals who responded 'no' were not raised in Matatiele. Others moved to Matatiele because of work and most women because of marriage. Despite the fact that she had lived in Matatiele for almost 20 years, one woman mentioned that she had only heard of rock paintings in Ficksburg (which is about 190km from Matatiele in South Africa's Free State Province).

[49]A small scale business man in Ha Tlakanelo/Mpharane said he would make a small financial contribution; and one man in Nkau said he would donate a goat.
[50] Thabo Theko. Interview with N Mokoena.Matatiele. 21st November 2013.

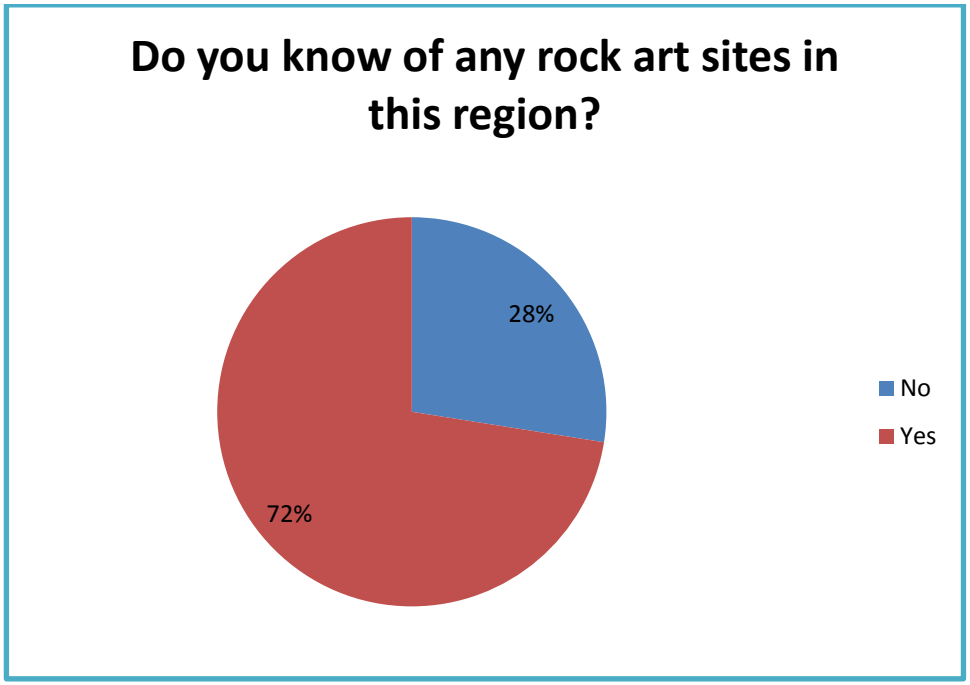

Figure 6.11: Responses to the question, "Do you know of any rock art sites in this region?"

Only two teachers had actually seen rock art sites while the rest had heard about their existence. Ten percent did not know about the existence of rock paintings while 90% knew that there were paintings in the area but had not actually seen them (See Figure 6.13).

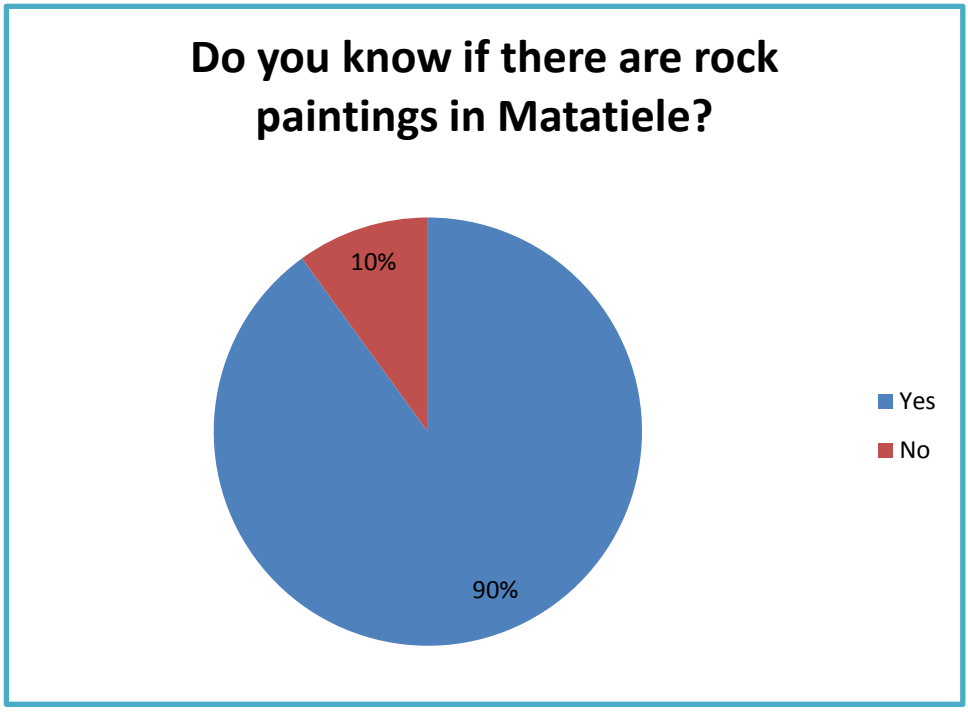

Figure 6.12: Teacher's responses to "Do you know if there are rock paintings in Matatiele?"

To understand the extent of Communities' knowledge about the region's rock art, I asked whether they knew who made the art. Seventy-four percent said 'yes' and believed the rock art was painted by '*Baroa*', a Sesotho name for the San or Bushman communities. Thirteen percent did not know and 14% did not respond because they did not know about the rock paintings (see Figure 6.14).

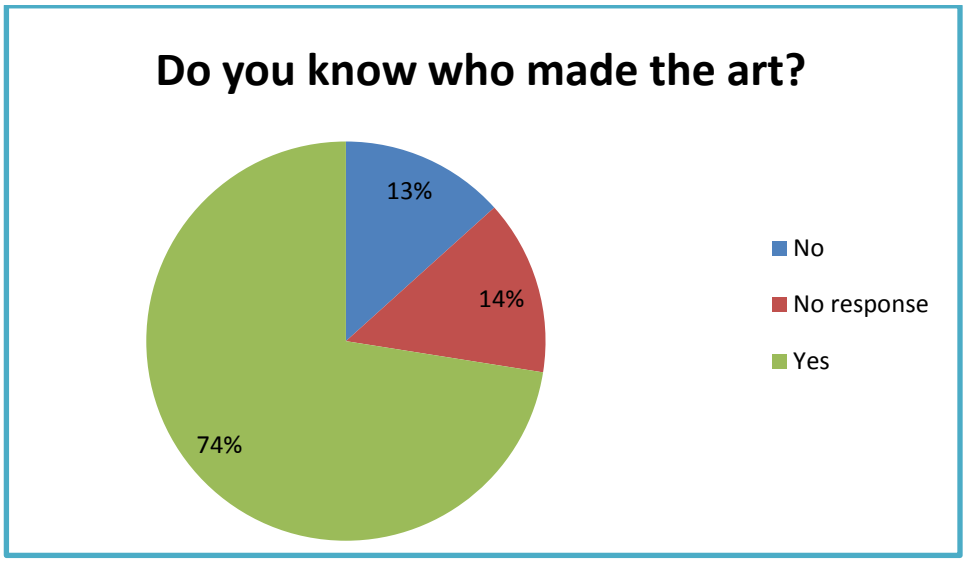

Figure 6.13: Communities' responses to "Do you know who made the art?"

Results to the question, 'Do you know what the rock art means?' are presented in Figure 6.15. Seventy four percent said 'No' and the 26% replied 'Yes'. Respondents who said they knew what the rock art means elaborated that the paintings depicted a story of the life of the San. That is, depictions of hunting events tell a story of what the San used to eat and the animals that existed at that time.

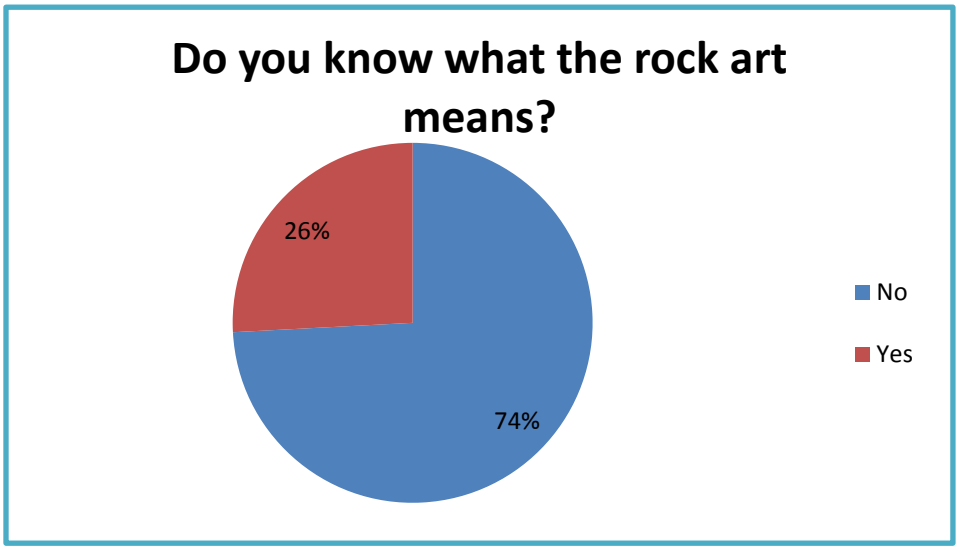

Figure 6.14: Community's responses to "Do you know what the rock art means?"

As shown in Chapter Two communities identify and embody their heritage in different ways including archaeological sites such as rock art sites for different purposes (Deacon 2006; Ndlovu 2009; Jopela 2011). Where these heritage sites are being managed for financial profit, for educational purposes, or as museums or monuments, it is essential to investigate specifically how these sites are use by communities. In southern Africa, most rock art sites are considered sacred places for both religious and traditional purposes, an example being the Matobo Hills (Pwiti and Mvenge 1996; Jopela 2009; Maradze 2003; Pwiti 1999; Ndoro 2003).

In the case of Matatiele, I therefore enquired about people's views on rock art shelters. I asked whether they regarded rock art sites as sacred. There is no single phrase that directly translates 'sacred' into Sesotho and isiXhosa. For the purpose of this study, I defined sacred places as either religious sanctuaries or important places used or associated with cultural purposes. Fifty two percent of Community members said yes they were sacred places; 24% said no and 24% said they did not know (see Figure 6.16).

A follow-up question was 'Why are rock art sites sacred?' Listed below are some common responses:

- They hold a significant part of the history of this region and the first people who used to live here.
- They are used as places for Initiation schools
- They are historical places
- They are used as healing sanctuaries

Respondents further stated that rock art shelters are important mainly for reasons such as places that shelter animals and herders.

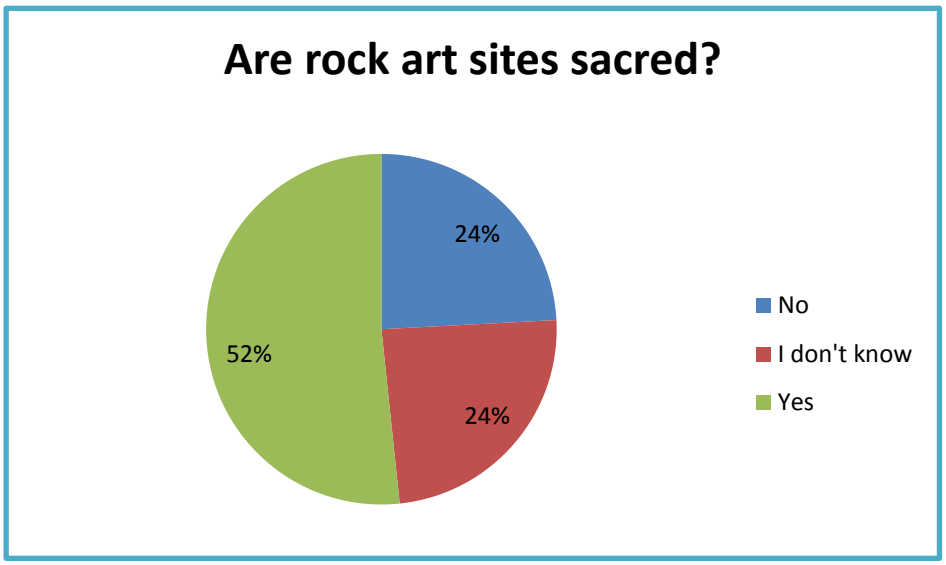

Figure 6.15: Community's responses to "Are rock art sites sacred?"

In the case where rock art sites are regarded as healing places, four of the interviewed traditional healers mentioned that they use rock art sites for praying and seeking healing for their clients. These traditional healers regard rock art sites as sacred places to strengthen their ancestral ties with San communities.

These healers said that they have San ancestors and therefore have inherited San healing knowledge. Part of the healing process entails obtaining traditional medicine. When interviewed by my colleague Mcedisi Siteleki (2014) on her use of rock art and connection to rock art sites, Mrs Matolo said:[51]

> I recognise the San as people who lived a harmonious and healthy life by using, exploring and exploiting all that was in their environment and surroundings. They are now our ancestors. So I chip off the paint to use for healing purposes. I also use stone tools found within the rock art sites.

[51] Mrs Matolo, Interview with M Siteleki. Matatiele. 2014.

6.3. The Mehloding Community Trust's Vision for the Heritage Centre

The idea of introducing a heritage centre in Matatiele was largely motivated by the *Mehloding* Community Tourism Trust (MCTT) who initially wanted a rock art centre. As mentioned in Chapter One, MCTT is an organizational body run by representatives from the Matatiele Communities. MCTT approached MARA seeking advice on the best approach to developing a rock art centre. Having experienced and studied the sustainability of different rock art centres in South Africa, MARA was against the idea mainly because such endeavours have failed in the past.

Eventually MCTT expressed a need to have what they called a 'Centre for Heritage and Development' for the Communities of Matatiele. I therefore asked *Mehloding* representatives questions related to the idea of a heritage centre.[52] In order to understand the intentions of *Mehloding* regarding a heritage centre, I set up a list of questions that were sent to one of the representatives of MCTT, Mr. Tsepo Lesholu. The questions were designed in a way that would elicit a brief outline and rationale of how the Trust operates. Additionally, other questions addressed the intentions of *Mehloding* should the heritage centre succeed. This section therefore outlines the Trust's ideas of how the proposed centre should be run.

I asked Mr. Lesholu why Mehloding proposed a heritage centre for Matatiele. Mr. Lesholu explained that they were motivated by the fact that their offices are located inside a museum.[53] The Matatiele museum relates the history of the region largely from the perspective of white settlers. Mr Lesholu mentioned that there is little to nothing about the histories and cultures of black Communities. The fact that Mehloding offices are located inside the non-functional museum that does not reflect the interests of the Communities it is supposed to represent.[54]Mr Lesholu further stated that as a trust, they saw the need to propose for a place that will provide the

[52] Tsepo Lesholu. Interview with N Mokoena.Matatiele. October 2014.
[53] Tsepo Lesholu. Interview with N Mokoena.Matatiele. October 2014
[54] Tsepo Lesholu. Interview with N Mokoena.Matatiele. October 2014

youth with Matatiele history, the different cultures, where they came from before settling in Matatiele in the 1800s and also to learn about rock art along the area and also exposing the hidden treasures of the town.

In order for a 'Centre for Heritage and Development' to be introduced in Matatiele, there needs to be clarity on who benefits from the centre and how it will be run. I therefore asked Mr. Lesholu who will benefit from the centre. He replied that the community of Matatiele, in particular the youth and schools, would benefit from the centre. According to Mr. Lesholu, tourists would also benefit from the centre for recreational purposes. From the point of view of Mehloding, the centre is meant to be part a tourism business and thus the income would largely be dependent on the number of tourists or visitors it receives.

The plan is to work very closely with the District Education Department as they already have close relations in terms of attending career exhibitions and to incorporate the heritage centre's educational facilities into the school curriculum.[55]

The sustainability of any project is not guaranteed, and the initial stages of planning any project need to involve a feasibility assessment. I asked Mr. Lesholu if there were any sustainability plans for the proposed heritage centre. He explained that, in addition to the tourism section that is expected to contribute to the centre's income, the centre would charge schools for their use of the centre. Matatiele Community members would enter for free.[56] A potential but difficult strategy is to also source funding from government offices such as the Department of Education and the Department of Arts and Culture.

[55] Ibid
[56] Tsepo Lesholu. Interview with N Mokoena.Matatiele. October 2014

6.4. Government's Role

In order to get perspectives of other potential stakeholders on the issue of having a heritage centre, I designed questions for the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) at the district level. Other questions were sent to the Department of Basic Education (DBE) in Matatiele but I received no response after constant communication. The questions were set up to address government's role in heritage management and most importantly how they support heritage management endeavours. This section therefore gives an account of responses from the DAC.

A representative who was interviewed from the DAC was the assistance manager of the Museums and Heritage division at provincial level. When asked why she believed it was essential for the Communities of Matatiele to have a heritage centre, Ms Nyamazana responded:

> Matatiele Community played a vital role in the liberation struggle to such an extent that some were ambushed outside the country. Other cadres left for Lesotho through Matatiele. Other liberation veterans such as Alfred Nzo, Maggie Resha and many more are from there. We also find a lot of rock paintings of which some are spiritual sites.[57]

It is important to understand the role of government in heritage management and in the case of the proposed heritage centre, I enquired about the role of the DAC should the centre be established. Nyamazana additionally mentioned that the plan was to help with consultations and drafting of conservation management plans. She further explained that they will help provide staff members with relevant expertise to the centre. She did stress though the centre should mainly be a Community project.

To address the possibility of the centre possibly having an educational programme, I asked the DAC what their views were on the idea. The DAC are willing to participate

[57] Miss N Nyamazana. Interview with N Mokoena. Alfred Nzo. 12th December 2014.

in the running of the centre as a part-educational project for the Communities of Matatiele because the whole project will have a mandate for preserving the heritage.[58]

Participation and involvement of different stakeholders is crucial in order to make sure that all affected parties are involved (see Chapters Two and Three). In the case of Matatiele, there are many potential stakeholders. The DAC suggested the participation of the Government Department of Education, Environmental Affairs, Traditional leaders, the Alfred Nzo District municipality, the Matatiele Local Municipality, Tourism organisations and the business sector in order to ensure the centre's success.

6.5. Summary

The first section of this chapter addressed the heritage, its significance and value as perceived by the Matatiele Communities. The consensus is that the Communities of Matatiele mentioned both tangible and intangible aspects of culture as their heritage. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, responses on what they regard as heritage were initially mainly universally tangible aspects of heritage. It was after a short while that they began to mention initiation as part of their heritage. Most importantly initiation is a crucial element of their heritage that defines their identity. The Communities also expressed the need to teach about heritage and its importance. They mentioned that the best ways to present their heritage was to pass knowledge from one generation to another.

On the idea of having a heritage centre the Communities were generally supportive. The expectations on the heritage centre are that a centre acts as an educational hub to teach Communities, specifically the youth about the value and different aspects of heritage. The centre is also expected (mainly by Mehloding) to partly be a tourism facility, where Community members would guide visitors to rock art sites and sell their traditional goods.

[58] Miss N Nyamazana, 12 December 2014, Alfred Nzo.

The Communities' knowledge of rock art sites is minimal. Most have heard of the existence of rock art sites but not seen them. Individuals who know of and have seen rock art sites are herders, traditional healers, and initiation teachers. Various individuals have different views about the importance of these sites. Herdsmen and farmers in the area, for instance, claimed that rock art sites provide shelter for animals. They do not believe that the paintings have any significance except that they could be viewed as historical places where the San once resided. Traditional healers on the other hand regard rock art sites as sacred places. Healers treat these sites as sanctuaries for healing and praying, hence, they kept the sites sacred in a sense that they did not publicise their use of the shelters or take everyone to the sites. As for initiation teachers (who were mostly healers) and many of the male populations of Matatiele, some rock art shelters are used as initiation sites. In one of the community gatherings, Communities stated that for those sites used for initiation, no one is allowed entry without the consent of the chief and his board members. In the next chapter, I discuss the implications of these results and show how they have addressed the main aim of this study.

Involving different stakeholders in heritage projects is crucial and in the case of Matatiele, we have seen how different perspectives of what heritage is can be beneficial. The perception of the DAC representative to what heritage is different from the general perceptions of the local Communities. The Communities' definitions of heritage are related to their lifestyles (food, clothing, initiation) while the government representative's views accounts for national identity and history such as the anti-apartheid liberation struggle and honouring those who were involved. These different perceptions are crucial when establishing heritage projects of a certain region.

7.0. CHAPTER SEVEN DISCUSSION OF COMMUNITY-INVOLVED HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

7.1.Community Perceptions of Heritage

As mentioned in Chapter Three, community involvement takes different forms depending on the context (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008: 469).For this research, it was crucial to firstly identify communities which were likely to be affected by a rock art management project and a potential heritage centre. It was only after identifying communities that the types of involvement systems were identified. In this chapter I discuss Matatiele's Communities' different perceptions of heritage.

I have mentioned in Chapter Two that transformation in South African archaeology should be inclusive of multiple voices that are in one way or another affected by our research projects. Questions that arise from this concept include:

- Is it essential to get communities' views about potential projects that may affect them directly and indirectly?
- Should all potential stakeholders be part of such as project?
- Should heritage managers and specialists develop archaeological or heritage management only after consultation and involvement of all affected parties, including communities and other stakeholders?

The answer to these questions is 'Yes'. Through the research carried out in Matatiele, I demonstrate the importance of direct communication, negotiation and dialogue with communities I further articulate ways that can help both archaeologists and heritage manager's benefit from formulating management strategies informed by plural interpretations and inputs on awareness and enforced management.

ASAPA has introduced and adopted the Transformation Charter (discussed in Chapter Two) which promotes the acknowledgement of affected individuals within archaeological and heritage management projects. In the case of Matatiele, attempts

to address transformation were implemented through the inclusion of Communities' views of what they regard as their heritage, on the proposed heritage centre and on San rock art.

For a long time communities in Southern Africa were restricted from celebrating or embracing their heritage during colonialism (Ndoro 2001). However, these communities are now recognising and embracing their heritage in all its different components. As discussed in Chapter Three, heritage comprises of tangible and intangible elements which are not mutually exclusive. Tangible heritage is not independent in terms of value. The reality is that in many cases intangible heritage relates to tangible heritage. The concepts of intangible and tangible heritage have been much debated in the academic community (Munjeri 2004; King and Nic Eoin 2013). Munjeri (2004), King and Nic Eoin (2013) and Alexopoulos (2013) have demonstrated how tangible and intangible heritage are not mutually exclusive and also that tangible heritage obtains value through intangible heritage. For instance, Matatiele Communities regard initiation as their heritage, and initiation is carried out in rock shelters. Similarly, the boulder at Ha- Ramohlakoana is given value not only because of the rock paintings but also because community meetings are held there (see Chapter Five).

The significance of the rock shelters depends on their use by local communities. I discuss further the implications for management, and particularly protection of rock paintings (see Section 7.2*).* For future rock art management plans, outreach programmes which specifically address the significance of the paintings on the boulder in Ha- Ramohlakoana (Chapter 4) should be carried out. The fact that Chief Lepheane was already willing to contribute to negotiate moving the meeting further from the boulder is an advantage. In Chapter Eight I give further details of the ways in which similar outreach programmes can be archived.

Having defined what their heritage is, the Communities of Matatiele gave their different perceptions of how they may manage the different aspects of heritage; in

Chapter Five and Six, I discussed the challenges of translating 'heritage' into Sesotho and isiXhosa. These Communities further expressed their interest and support for the establishment of a heritage centre. The Communities emphasised the importance of initiation as their heritage and as an aspect of their identities (see Chapter Six). Initiation is carried out in rock shelters and in Matatiele most of the shelters have rock art. It was therefore important to find out what the Communities' perceptions were on San rock art and how this relates to initiation.

This research has shown that most of the Communities of Matatiele know about the existence of rock art sites, though a large number have not seen them. According to Matatiele Communities, San rock paintings are not significant. But, as noted above, rock shelters in general were important. My approach was to acknowledge the Communities' use of shelters, which included initiation as a very important event for the people of Matatiele. Highlighting Communities' views on the significance of shelters is crucial in the identification of potential future rock art management plans that have to take into account the different uses of rock shelters. The uses of shelters were not necessarily regarded as 'heritage' in the conventional archaeological sense. Shelters are mainly regarded as practical and useful for purposes of lifestyles except for when used as healing, ritual and initiation sanctuaries.

As I have shown in Chapter Six a large number of the Communities of Matatiele have not seen rock paintings. Women and young girls of Matatiele have not seen the paintings and this is partly due to the fact that most women moved to the villages selected for study through marriage. The few that knew about the existence of rock art sites had been raised in Matatiele. These women regard shelters (they may or may not have seen the paintings) as significant for initiation and animal shelter. In order to create or implement a sustainable management plan, awareness about the archaeological importance of rock art sites should also take into account gender relations.

The general populations of women in Matatiele regard rock art as significant because it is part of the historical background of the region. Both young women and men of Matatiele learned about the history of the San (Baroa) in schools. Compared to men, women recognized the historical importance of the art but they did not know its interpretation.

However, I was aware that only a few members of the Communities (including traditional healers) claimed to have a special link to the rock paintings in the area (*cf.* Siteleki 2014).Further, many healers, claim to have a connection with the makers of the art.[59] In the instance where we (archaeologists and heritage managers) want to reach out to the rest of the community and address the importance of these sites, it could be ideal to approach these individuals who visit the art for spiritual purposes.

The use of heritage sites by living communities may not be seen as conservation friendly. Take, for instance, the case of a sacred hill of Chinhamampere in Vumba Cultural Landscape (VCL) in the Manica province of Mozambique, where communities still continue the use of rock art sites. Chiefs and traditional healers in this region are given authority over the use of the sacred places such as rock art sites. Spirit mediums use sacred rock art sites and, specifically, throw millet beer and animal fat on the paintings (Bwasiri 2011; Jopela and Fredriksen 2015: 11). Local chiefs are authorised to enforce the rules dictated by ancestors (through spirit mediums) to protect and regulate management of sacred rock art sites. The communities residing around rock art sites are instructed to not wander around these sites for they might incur punishment from the spirit world in the form of drought or other natural disasters.

A similar case where heritage (rock art) sites are regarded by living communities as part of their heritage is the Tsodilo Hills in Botswana. Initial management plans of the Tsodilo Hills were formal and western-influenced, that is, they mainly concentrated on the tangible aspect of the heritage (Thebe 2006: 318). The intangible

[59] It is worth noting that there has been substantial intermarrying between Bantu-Speaking and San communities (cf. Mallen 2010; Challis 2012; King 2014).

aspect which includes living traditions of the sites was not considered (Thebe 2006:318). Chipping of the art was part of the rainmaking ceremonies performed by traditional healers and elders of the local community. Three decades after Botswana gained independence, and through the implementation of formal management strategies, the rock art in the area was said to be vandalized because of evidence of chipping of the art (Thebe 2006:318).

The Duma clan in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa holds religious ancestral ceremonies at the Game Pass Shelter. The Duma clan communities claim descendancy from the Drakensberg San (Ndlovu 2005:117). Selected members of the Duma clan visit the rock art shelter to carryout ancestral ceremonies. During this ceremony, a gall bladder and blood are sprinkled on rocks though not on the paintings (Ndlovu 2005: 131). The communities of the Duma clan regard Game Pass rock art shelter as a sacred site where they commune with their San ancestors.

I address the issue facing conservation and traditional healers shortly and in Chapter Eight I give recommendations of the best ways to approach and negotiate with these healers. As expressed by many scholars and researchers, it is difficult to reach out to communities that are not direct descendants of the heritage or the archaeology we are researching or trying to protect (Atalay 2010; Schmidt 2014).

In Chapter Eight, I provide detailed recommendations for approaching the management of rock art sites particularly if living communities do not have any relations with the heritage. The main issue that needs to be highlighted is that in most cases communities' views of heritage management will not necessarily be the same as those of archaeologists and thus stewardship becomes a challenge. For instance, we can engage with traditional healers and address conservation or awareness campaigns together particularly because traditional healers are still respected in these communities.

7.2. Community Perceptions of Heritage Management and Community Involvement

7.2.1. Community-Involved heritage management

Having established that community involvement is significant in archaeological and heritage management projects, as this gives previously marginalized communities a voice (Pwiti and Mvenge 1996; Hodder 2000; Marshall 2002; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008), any project in Matatiele should also take into account the views of its Communities. In this section I show how Communities' views of heritage can contribute to promoting successful application of management strategies. I further show how responses from the Communities of Matatiele shown in Chapter Six could be used to promote awareness of the importance of heritage to those Communities that believe they have an attachment to the archaeology. Importantly I argue that Communities' perceptions can potentially hinder heritage management plans particularly when different groups do not share the same sentiments. Conflict thus becomes real and if not addressed could potentially result into disastrous outcomes.

As we have seen throughout the preceding chapters, it is unethical and counterproductive to engage in any heritage or archaeological project without the involvement of affected communities. A growing consensus is that community involvement promotes effective heritage management (Chirikure et al 2010), although success in such projects has varied (Watkins 2003; Segobye 2005; Jolly 2006; Jopela 2010; Fouseki 2010; Hodges and Watson 2010; Smith et al 2010; Atalay 2012; Alexopoulos 2013; Jolly 2013). In this project, involvement of the Communities of Matatiele is an attempt to uphold ethical standards and take into account voices of previously marginalized communities in archaeological and heritage related projects. The Communities of Matatiele have expressed a wish for their heritage to be preserved and presented and this must be done in such a way that their views are considered.

As the Communities of Matatiele regard shelters important for initiation, it is imperative to take taking this into consideration when rock art management is implemented in the future. In Matatiele, summer is initiation season and women and uninitiated men are not allowed to go to the mountains. Generally women scarcely go to the mountains regardless of whether it is initiation season or not. The control over who goes to the mountains or shelters in certain periods is a cultural norm and in some cases can be a positive impact in the protection of the paintings. Future rock art management plans should take into account such situations so that communities are engaged around the importance of rock art shelters and why they should not be visited without permission or under the supervision of those who might be responsible for the protection of the paintings. Shelters are also regarded as sacred places by traditional healers. A dialogue between these various constituencies and professional heritage managers (including archaeologists) will be ideal so as to address the significance of the rock paintings to the different audiences in the community. The dialogue could also bring up negotiations of the use of certain shelters and strict protection of others.

There is a mystique to the places that traditional healers go to; for instance in my experience growing up in a Sesotho community where traditional healers are respected and taken as heritage or religious icons, there was a lot of secrecy with the places they visited to do their rituals or tasks; in many cases these places were not really known. Traditional healers do not always want people to know about where they go and what they do. Be that as it may, I believe that if they are approached by someone who respects and understand their heritage, they might open up for negotiations. I have shown the possibility of the openness of healers when one healer was co-operative with my field partner and in identifying rock art sites and what she does there (see Chapter Six).

As discussed in Chapter Six, traditional healers chip off paint to make medicine for healing purposes (Jolly 2006; 2013; Ndlovu 2010). San rock paintings are associated with healing: ethnographies have shown that people used to and still do touch

paintings as a way of healing (Prins 1995; Lewis-Williams 1986; Jolly 1986).In these situations, it is not easy to implement management strategies that are informed both by formal systems and those by the communities. The situation in Matatiele is seen across the rest of southern Africa where communities view rock art sites as places of worship and their way of management is by allowing only a selected few members of the communities to the sites. Jopela and Fredriksen (2014:5) argue that what professional heritage managers or archaeologists regard as heritage may not necessarily be the same as what the communities regard as methods of protection to sites. The Shona-speaking communities in Mozambique splash beer and touch paintings (Jopela's 2011). We regard these actions as damage; similarly healers in Matatiele scrape off paintings and the action is a destruction of the paintings. As it stands, traditional healers in the present communities are, in a way, keeping and continuing the legacy and the importance of the paintings. The fact that some of the rock art shelters are used for spiritual and cultural purposes by the Communities gives these sites value hence they become heritage sites. Often what we regard as damage or a conservation issue is not viewed the same way by those who use the shelters to 'maintain' their sacredness (Jopela 2011).

Heritage management for the Waanyi women for instance was not only about recording and identifying sites. Heritage included the memories of experiences that they had at the sites, and 'management', in their eyes, was something they conducted themselves whenever they visited sites by interacting with the place, and the surrounding landscape (Smith et al 2010: 75). The Waanyi women further regard their oral histories as part of their heritage and the fact that they pass on knowledge of their family histories is a form of management (Smith et al 2010: 75). Management of this heritage should be done with the consideration of different components of heritage. The Matatiele Communities echo the sentiments of the Waanyi women in terms of how they manage their heritage.

> Heritage management therefore bestows on archaeology the additional responsibility of being sensitive to public aspirations and at the same time protecting the archaeological resources (Ndoro 2001:7).

Involvement should also take into account the different social structures of communities and their likelihood to impact the project in question particularly in terms of identifying possible methods of how they can be involved in promoting heritage and also in getting their inputs: for instance, gender, class or age influences. In such cases, the ideal approach will be to approach the social groups individually as was done by Atalay (2012) where she approached women separately from men. One needs to realize the likelihood that within these structures there could be sub-structures that also could influence people's involvement, for instance age differences. In order to create or implement a sustainable management plan, awareness about the archaeological importance of rock art sites should also take into account gender relations. The lesson learnt in Matatiele is that for any future project, communities should be approached in their different structures. This will ensure involvement from different perspectives from the community. I propose that heritage management strategies should not prohibit initiation in shelters. As heritage managers and archaeologists, we should rather try our best to extensively educate initiates and their instructors about the paintings.

7.2.2. The Role of the Proposed Heritage Centre in Heritage Management

The South African government acknowledges and recognizes the importance of promoting, and presenting heritage as both management and development initiatives for previously marginalized communities (Chirikure et al 2010; Jopela 2011; Ndlovu 2009). The quest to promote heritage management and tourism took paramount importance as heritage centres were established across South Africa in the last ten years. Education and community participation have played a significant part in the character and sustainability of these centres. A new heritage centre has been proposed

by the Mehloding Community Trust in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa (see Chapter One). The Matatiele Communities have defined and given their perspectives on how they would present and manage their heritage taking into consideration the viability of the proposed heritage centre.

Results shown in this research have revealed that maintaining heritage management is an essential aspect of the establishment and development of heritage centres (see Chapter Four). Management of rock art sites and the heritage of the San are promoted by Kamberg, Wildebeest Kuil, Didima and CLLP. Kamberg is particularly responsible for the protection of rock art sites that are within the Drakensberg Mountains (see Chapter Five). As a form of management, Game Pass Shelter is the only site open to the public. Both tourists and the local communities are allowed to visit this site. The Duma clan community is also allowed to perform traditional religious rituals in the shelter in the presence of a representative from the centre (Ndlovu 2011; Smith and Duval 2014). Closing off some of the rock art sites from public access is a conservation or management strategy that is adopted by both Kamberg and Didima. The sites are only open to researchers and staff members and further Amafa is responsible for the ongoing monitoring and protection of these sites.[60] Wildebeest Kuil has also set in place management plans that control the movement of people to engraving sites. Visitors are not allowed to go to the sites without the company of a guide. The sites are also monitored frequently by staff (Morris 2013; Duval and Smith 2013).

In order to appreciate and understand the significance of heritage resources, there has to be information about the heritage in question. The most crucial role that tour guides play is to give information about the significance of the heritage. Tour guiding is essentially a form of heritage management and education. Guides also act as managers of the sites because they control and monitor the number of visitors to the sites. Guides are also responsible for monitoring the conditions of the sites. Training guides about the value of rock art for instance is important information dissemination

[60]Richard Duma. Interview with Nthabiseng Mokoena. November 2014.

is a form of heritage management. Even tourists have expectations to get educated when they visit touristic places.

> For visitors, the tourist experience becomes a learning experience, combining new knowledge with the discovery of the heritage of another culture (Smith and Duval 2014: 36).

The type of information that guides disseminate to the public therefore has to be accurate and informative. Additionally, guides should be consistently trained and updated on the management of the heritage they are responsible for. Sustainable tour guiding is therefore important both as a management strategy and a tourism development strategy (see Chapter Three).

The proposed heritage centre and future heritage management endeavours should serve as a platform for sound management of not only the heritage of the people of Matatiele but also of those communities which used to reside in the region (i.e. San communities).

At Didima tourists have increasingly shown interest in interacting with local communities and learning about their lifestyles. It is only after such interests became apparent that Didima has initiated ways of engaging in a dialogue with neighbouring local communities on the ways these communities could benefit from collaborations with the centre. In this instance we do not learn much except that in as much as the centre had been operating without any practical involvement of communities, there is the realisation that marginalization of local communities eventually affects the viability of the centre. The proposed Matatiele centre therefore should be developed in a way that involves communities for instance in decisions regarding the improvement of the centre and also the role those communities can play in this regard.

As shown in Chapter Four, CLLP has given the Clanwilliam communities a chance to voice their opinions in running the centre. One way of getting these communities

interested was to allow them to participate in conservation of sites. In this way, communities did not feel marginilised and instead learned about the history of the area they occupy. Similar methods of participation have been employed in projects such as Çatalhöyük where neighbouring communities were not linked to the archaeology being excavated next to their living areas (Atalay 2007;2012). Community involvement projects were therefore implemented as a way of addressing archaeologists' responsibility towards public inclusion in research. If the Matatiele heritage centre is to be established, a workable approach will firstly include an outreach programme that promotes awareness of heritage and also to involve communities in the decisions regarding what is to be displayed and how the centre should be run.

At Wildebeest Kuil, for example, community participation is a crucial part of the running the centre. What makes this centre different from others is that the involved communities regard the heritage being preserved and presented to be of their ancestors. These communities therefore have a direct link with the heritage and have incorporated such histories as a form of their identities as Khoi/San communities (Morris 2012). Similarly, the Quseir community in Egypt was actively and very interested in the research and management of their heritage (Moser et al 2002). Both the Wildebeest Kuil and Quiseir communities were passionate about the archaeology because it formed part of their identities. Participation and involvement of community representatives was in such a way that they have been given a platform to voice their opinions on the running of the centre and the management of their heritage.

7.3. Education and Outreach

This section provides alternative measures in addressing heritage management issues mentioned in Section 7.2. Outreach programmes are particularly important for addressing the significance of heritage particularly to communities that do not have any attachment to the heritage in question. Outreach sessions held in Matatiele for instance were effective ways of addressing the significance of protecting the heritage and archaeology found in Matatiele. The main goal is to ensure that all communities feel they have a level of responsibility towards local heritage, not just what they think of as 'their heritage' in general. In this way the Communities are empowered (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008) and become heritage stewards.

Having acknowledged that most of the Communities of Matatiele were aware of the existence of rock paintings but had not seen them and most importantly did not know of their significance, I took the opportunity to talk about rock paintings and the people who made them. During the *lipitso* emphasis was also put on the significance of protecting the legacy and heritage of those who do not live in the region of Matatiele anymore. This method of outreach is required on a larger scale where many stakeholders will be invited. The outreach programmes should also be carried out in schools. One target should also be herdsmen who mostly use rock art sites as shelters. In Chapter Nine I provide recommendations of the outreach programmes.

I held community gatherings (*lipitso*) additionally in order to report back to the community and also to explain what my research was about. Community members gave their views on the use of rock art sites. In Section 7.4, I discuss the Communities' perspectives on rock art and rock art shelters. The *lipitso* were also a form of awareness sessions promoting the importance of protecting everybody's heritage. As I have shown in Chapter Five, during the *lipitso*, people felt very strongly about initiation as being part of their heritage. Communities mentioned that there are selected shelters that are used for initiation and the only times they are open to the public is when the initiation period is over. A dialogue with community members during the *lipitso* led to negotiations in the use of rock art shelters. In terms

of rock art sites, some villages were open to negotiating the protection of the paintings. As a result, community gatherings could be used to negotiate the importance of protecting everybody's heritage. Researchers and scholars have often employed this technique and it has been relatively influential (Greer *et al* 2010; Jolly 2013).

The Communities of Matatiele also mentioned food, clothing, and games as part of their heritage (see Chapter Six).Educating the youth and the general public was the major recommendation for the heritage as expressed by the Communities. In Chapter Eight I give details of how a heritage centre can be used as a platform to educate the communities about their cultural heritage. The proposed heritage centre could be used to display the different traditional food and clothing of the living and past cultures (I give further recommendations in Chapter Eight). As teachers recommended, learners will have the opportunity to see tangible heritage artefacts of what they are taught in school; for instance traditional food and clothing. During my interviews, I also came across community members who mentioned that they had skills to make traditional food and clothing, these individuals could be hired to make and present their traditional materials. In Chapters Eight and Nine, I discuss in detail how these could be achieved.

In addition to what the youth are being taught in schools, any programme that addresses the significance of heritage should organise youth projects that are more practical and that engage pupils about the importance of heritage. In such cases, supervised visits to a selected rock art site, performance competitions (either plays about rock art site management) related to both Bantu-speaking and San history and short films or picture exhibitions could have a positive impact in ensure respect of everyone's heritage.

In most of the centres selected in this study, it is the school visits that have kept the centres in operation. For those centres struggling to receive enough tourists, they also depend on school visits to keep them as significance and open. I therefore emphasise

the significance of setting up educational programmes within the centres. In this way the centres not only serve as tourism centres but also as educational hubs. The impact that these centres have had on local communities is also crucial for the evaluation of best methods of community participation in heritage related projects. In Section 8.2 I discuss the effectiveness of educational programmes that have ensured regular visits to the centres. I maintain that the proposed heritage centre be grounded most importantly in promoting heritage education.

If the proposed heritage centre in Matatiele was to include a component of presenting San heritage, an outreach programme will be required in order to address the significance of representing the heritage of past communities, mainly the San. Seeing that the Matatiele Communities feel little attachment to the San, it will be crucial to address the importance of heritage in general. Firstly these Communities need to be educated about the significance of the San and the rock art. A possibly effective approach would be to give presentations in a way that connects the history of living communities with that of the San. Presentations and informal educational activities to schools and the general public through community gatherings need to be made during the gatherings (cf. Atalay 2010; Jolly 2012). Posters and possibly interactive activities that promote simplified interpretations of rock art and the historical interactions between living communities and the San should be detailed during these meetings (cf. King and Arthur 2014). In Chapter Nine I give details of how outreach programmes can be carried out.

If the Matatiele heritage centre was to promote only the significance of San rock art and heritage, the likelihood of sustained participation from communities is not guaranteed because the communities would not identify with or have a link to the heritage. In order to get the Matatiele Communities to appreciate the histories, archaeologies and heritage of the different cultural groups, the proposed centre should present and represent the heritage of the different cultures. In addition to showcasing through films and art galleries, community members who have knowledge traditional artefacts or histories of the area should be employed to give presentations. Audio

recordings complied by communities could also be presented in the heritage centre. Since traditional healers have a connection to rock art sites, they could also participate in audio recordings where they give their testimonies of the importance of these sites and ancestral links to the San and the natural landscapes.

CLLP has an educational programme that articulates with the local school curricula. For CLLP, educational programmes have been structured in a way that accommodates schools of different ethnic backgrounds or levels. Educational programmes organized by CLLP are a crucial part of community involvement. Schools participation through special programmes has proven to be sustainable method of participation. Getting schools actively involved in learning about the archaeology of the Cederberg region and also the techniques of uncovering these histories has proven to be a good community participatory educational method.

Following the outreach programmes, the next step would be to identify those rock art sites that could be represented in the heritage centre. A film similar to the one shown in Didima for instance could also be made for the Matatiele heritage centre. Showcasing films or galleries of rock art and rock art sites is also a management endeavour because for those visitors that are unable to travel to rock art sites they would have an option of experiencing them digitally. A management plan for the selected sites needs to be identified alongside communities' views. Communities' input in this case will be crucial since they will also act as stewards of the selected rock art sites. In this way these communities will be part of the project instead of outsiders (Atalay 2007:253). If communities are allowed a level of responsibility towards a project in their area, they are likely to have a sense of ownership of the heritage and as a result promote it. CLLP is a good example of how to engage communities that do not have a link to the heritage in a way that motivates them to be part of the research.

7.4. Considering Other Audiences

7.4.1. Is there a Potential for Tourism Development?

As mentioned earlier the South African government originally opened up development possibilities for cultural heritage tourism by establishing centres such as the ones described in Chapter Four to promote tourism through cultural heritage; additionally the government's objective was to try to combat poverty(Duval and Smith 2012: 135). The centres were also meant to enhance heritage awareness and management, particularly of San rock art in different regions of South Africa. The tourism or business part of these centres is not easily sustainable. The major problem is that they do not receive enough visitors to bring in sufficient income for the centres. In this chapter I discuss the pros and cons of running a heritage centre partly as a tourism venture. In the case of the proposed Matatiele centre, I recommend that it should be run purely as a community heritage centre. Tourism is bound to fail because the Eastern Cape does not receive sufficient tourists and if government funding is not available, then the centre is not likely to survive.

Worldwide, cultural heritage tourism has been difficult to develop because it competes with other forms of tourism. The centres researched in this study are also faced with a situation where cultural heritage alone does not bring in sufficient income. As Marshall observed, the biggest challenge for Maropeng is improving the quality of their services because they are always in competition with other tourist attractions in Gauteng.[61]Having interviewed the management of the heritage centres selected in this study, many have expressed the problem of not receiving as many tourists as expected or needed. Most tourists are said to have an interest in seeing the natural landscapes of the places where the centres are located. A study conducted by Smith and Duval (2014: 43) has revealed that tourists to the Drakensberg Mountains are mostly interested in exploring the region's flora and fauna and that most of the time they only learn about the existence of rock art sites as an afterthought. An interview with Bheki, one of the guides at the Didima Rock Art centre mentioned that

[61] Lindsay Marshall, Interview with N Mokoena. September 2014.

most of the tourists he guides are interested in seeing the waterfall and the Ndedema Gorge and the general landscape of the area. This is a local and international problem both in awareness and marketing. Cultural heritage is therefore in competition with other tourism attractions. The rest of the heritage centres, particularly Kamberg are struggling to generate revenue.

Taking Kamberg as an example, to get to the centre, tourists have to drive along a gravel road which does not have enough signs. In the rural areas, secluded places such as Matatiele which have been neglected by the apartheid government for a long time in terms of infrastructural developments, tourism development will surely be at a limited rate. One other factor that is likely to hinder the success of the proposed heritage centre in terms of the number of visitors in gets, is the fact that Matatiele is located in a province which is not a well-visited area. Very little is known about the Eastern Cape; therefore a highly developed marketing system is required (MARA 2011).

One difficulty of promoting cultural heritage tourism stems from lack of local knowledge as to how to promote tourism development. In the case of Matatiele, for instance, Communities are not aware that their heritage could contribute in promoting tourism development (see Chapter Seven). The Communities are also unaware of the role they can play in developing cultural of the community members around Didima have done. Providing their horses for hire is also one way that these Communities could broaden and contribute to the success of cultural tourism. In neighbouring Lesotho, for heritage tourism by, for instance, opening their homes to tourists for home-stays as some instance, there are facilities such as at Malealea Lodge and Sehlabathebe National Park where communities offer their horses to tourists for hire (Malealea 2011; Zambezi 2015). Malealea is also involved in community projects which promote education for the local youth and for local craftsmen, they are given a chance to showcase and sell their products to tourists (Malealea 2011). These resorts promote their businesses through websites and through the National Tourism board. Unfortunately Matatiele does not receive enough tourists to run similar tourism

facility, however, if a lot of funding is invested in marketing, the tourism venture might work.

The heritage centres discussed in this study were funded by different governmental and independent private stakeholders (see Chapters Four and Five). The centres were expected to be independent and sustainable after the initial funding. As shown in Chapter Five, most centres are either currently experiencing financial setbacks or have previously dealt with financial stresses.

The review of the selected case studies has shown that cultural tourism is losing out to, and appears to rely heavily on, environmental tourism. However, if selling culture is reliant on selling nature, there is a risk (especially when Parks are run by wildlife organisations) that cultural heritage becomes side-lined and undervalued (Duval & Smith 2013).

We have seen that tourism is not necessarily the saviour of these centres. Matatiele does not receive sufficient heritage tourists to sustain a centre and the salaries of those running it. If the Matatiele heritage centre is established, it needs to be run as a community centre instead of a tourism facility. However, if a tourism aspect is introduced, it will have to be financially supported by either the national or provincial government.

8.0. CHAPTER EIGHT- RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Heritage and archaeological management endeavours in the past were formalized in a way that did not take into account other potentially contributing management strategies. That is, management systems such as Traditional Custodianship were not acknowledged (see Chapter Three). Local communities were mostly marginalised from partaking in any project that affected them. In Chapters Two and Three I have shown the danger of ignoring Communities' perceptions on any heritage and archaeological project carried out in their vicinity. I have further advocated for the inclusion for multiple voices in heritage management and through the interviews I carried out in Matatiele, I have shown the potential for successful community inclusive heritage management systems. This Chapter provides detailed recommendations of how heritage management projects should be introduced within communities who do not have any connection to the archaeology and heritage. Additional recommendations address appropriate methods of management in the case where formal management systems conflict with traditional and religious practices. I further highlight recommendations regarding future collaborations with communities in the establishment of a heritage centre specifically for the case of Matatiele.

8.1. Community Participatory Recommendations for the Proposed Heritage Centre in Matatiele

Communities of Matatiele have different perspectives of what they regard as their heritage. Acknowledging these different opinions will assist in setting up all inclusive representation of the heritage of all the living and past Communities of Matatiele. I have shown in Chapter Six, for instance, the responses to the question of what heritage is. Many respondents mentioned both tangible and intangible heritage aspects as part of their heritage. I have argued in previous chapters that tangible and

intangible heritage should not be separated because they somehow interlink. For the purposes of representing all these aspects of heritage within the heritage centre, I recommend that organizers firstly create an environment where Community representatives participate from the inception of the project; secondly that Communities are made aware of the existing archaeology and heritage of past communities and how best to represent it within the heritage centre.

This study has partly served as a preliminary consultative and community involvement project for the establishment of a heritage centre in Matatiele. The project's contribution to understanding the perceptions of the Communities of Matatiele on heritage and the establishment of a heritage centre is not enough to ensure future community participatory projects. Organisers of the heritage centre should then consider including representatives of the Communities from all cultural groups to participate take in the decision-making process.

The most crucial of the stages of participation is the planning and implementation of the heritage centre. Atalay (2010; 2012) describes community participation as the active involvement of communities in the planning and implementation of a project throughout the different stages. Most importantly, community participation is a way of giving power to local communities in all heritage aspects (Chirikure et al 2010:31; Schmidt 2014).

Community participation takes different forms, but for the case of Matatiele heritage centre, I suggest a more practical approach where all parties decide on the best participatory methods that may work in favour of all (McIntyre 2008; Atalay 2012).

Having assessed different heritage centres in South Africa, community participation was carried out in different ways. For those communities that have a special connection with the exhibited heritage, their involvement was more active in that they were involved in decision-making stages and felt a level of stewardship towards the protection and presentation of the heritage. As mentioned in Chapter Eight, Wildebeest Kuil is an example of participation by communities who have a special

appreciation of the heritage being presented by the centre. The communities were actively taking part in educational programmes and also in the running of the centre. The fact that these Khoe/San communities believed to have special links to the engravings and their makers, passing this knowledge to their youth was crucial and thus school visits were recommended. In the case of Matatiele however, the Communities only acknowledged their heritage and not of past communities. It was only after I asked about the San and their paintings that some recognised its importance. Alternative methods of addressing the importance of all aspects of heritage need to be addressed.

CLLP is a good example of other methods of addressing the significance of a heritage of past communities to living communities. As shown in Chapter Four, several community inclusive activities were set up in a way that these communities were actively involved. Employment of general public representatives and the organisation of school programmes were not the only methods of participation. Inviting community members to help clean up rock art sites also proved to be a positive impact of addressing the significance of heritage to communities that claim not to have a connection the heritage in question (Morris 2012).

In the event where the Matatiele Communities are involved in the decisions of what to be presented in the centre, outreach programmes will be required. If the proposed heritage centre is to be used as a place to curate and present the heritage of different cultures in Matatiele, it is important therefore to also acknowledge the heritage of past communities such as the San. Firstly an outreach programme will be required to address and teach the communities about the significance of including a section in the centre which addresses and displays the San and their heritage. Most importantly the outreach programmes need to highlight the interrelations that existed been Bantu-speaking communities and the San (cf. Mallen 2011; Challis 2012; King 2014).

Although the Communities of Matatiele did not mention some elements of heritage and history during interviews, it will be ideal to represent different aspect of heritage

and history of the region. For instance, the representative of the DAC reiterated that Matatiele played a significant role in the fight against apartheid. Therefore presentation of such historic events should be considered, particularly when representing historic events which in this case are part of the heritage of South Africa in general. We must also consider the representation of historical events that led to different cultural groups moving into Matatiele.

One crucial benefit of participatory projects is that it promotes commitment by the communities in ensuring the success of the project (Atalay 2012:69). Communities get a sense of pride and responsibility in ensuring the sustainability of a project if they are actively involved.

In the case of the proposed Matatiele heritage centre, participation can include selecting community representatives to be on the board of directors. The Communities can also actively service their knowledge and skills of the different aspects of heritage. In order to ensure a sustained sense of ownership and pride by the communities, I recommend that the proposed heritage centre not only curate San history and heritage but also the heritage of living Communities. A museum-like time machine (similar to the one in CLLP) should be established in which the archaeology and histories and the heritage of past and living Communities of Matatiele are presented. Digital presentation or exhibits can be a good representation of the heritage that has both tangible and intangible characteristics. Initiation for instance can be exhibited by showing images and captions of shelters and initiates.

The reality, however, is that most of the villages in Matatiele are isolated and located in far areas where it would not be easy for Communities to travel to where the centre will be located. In such cases, the presented heritage in the centre should be taken to the communities. Taking an example of the National Museums of Kenya, exhibitions are taken to schools, to the communities where street kids were involved in art-making and then an interactive presentation of heritage exhibited heritage in the museums (Mhando 2006:4). In places such as Australia, mobile museums where

communities participated mapping for instance have been effecting in promoting heritage value to the general public (Byrne 2008).If interactive activities are taken to rural communities, presentation of exhibitions should be done in a way that they are understandable. For instance, there could be dialogue between Communities and centre representatives where heritage records from the heritage centre are presented. Traditional performances and food exhibits could also be organized in order to make the centre presentations more interesting and relevant to the communities. The communities at the same time should be given a platform to express their opinions about the centre. This type of outreach could possibly be rotated between sub-villages annually. Whatever the Communities recommend should be included in the following year.

Stakeholder participation is equally important. Communities are stakeholders but there are many more independent bodies that need to be involved. Participation of government departments is crucial. The Departments of Arts and Culture and Education should actively get involved as not only financial sponsors but also as negotiators of heritage management and providers of expertise that may be required. These government departments can also act as mediators between the different stakeholders. That is in the event where heritage is compromised for development or tourism purposes, the government could act as a mediator.

I recommend the inclusion of educational programmes within the heritage centre. Educational programmes offered by the centres in the local school curriculum will require direct participation of both departments, especially the Department of Education. Teachers and the representative from government under the Department of Education have mentioned the role that the centre can play in the promoting heritage particularly because it is taught in schools. Drawing from community in Çatalhöyük (Atalay 2010), the National Museums of Kenya (Mhando 2006), the CLLP educational project and that of Maropeng, the presented heritage in the proposed heritage centre can be included in the school curriculum. Community involvement is however not sufficient if we want to maintain the sustainability of the centre.

Heritage exhibitions can alternatively be taken to schools. That is, centre representatives could setup activities that learners can actively participate in a way that they learn different heritage aspects. The exhibits for instance can be presented in a way that learners attempt to solve scenarios or answer quizzes. These methods have been practiced for instance in Australian exhibits where children are given art trollies or backpacks that provide information about the past (Black 2005). In CLLP similar interactive archaeological techniques were taught to students (King 2012). Learners could also be asked to draw either their own maps of their landscapes or of different aspects of what they regard as their heritage (cf. Kleinitz 2013). Participation of teachers and principals is also therefore required as they can also act as supervisors.

Local businesses should be also participants. For instance, guest house owners, local supermarkets or even crafters should partake in the planning of the project. Their input should not only be in the form of funding but also how their businesses can play a role in promoting the centre and establishing other facilities that can attract more visitors. During a stakeholder meeting held in Matatiele, representatives gave various constructive input into different ways that the centre could be sustainably ran. Facilities such as botanical gardens and scout camps were recommended.

There are several circumstances that should be taken into consideration during the inception of the project. The participation of many stakeholders is not without challenges. Conflicting perspectives should be expected. It will be ideal to address and set up the priority aims of the project in the case where conflicts arise. Of course opinions of how to reinforce the aims will also differ. The challenge of not finding common ground should be expected. As I have shown in Chapter Six during the stakeholder meeting in Matatiele, perspectives of the Communities of Matatiele were already not fully taken into account. The government in such cases should play an active role of mediating the conflict.

Additional facilities offered by the proposed centre should be considered. The extra activities and facilities will help in bringing in extra income for the actual centre.

These activities can for instance be a botanical garden or bird watching. As I have discussed in Chapter Eight, heritage centres in South Africa do not bring in sufficient income on their own. Accommodation facilities, restaurants and craft shops bring in extra revenue and thus subsidises the actual heritage centre if they have not reached the expected target.

8.2. Future Plans for Rock Art Management

In Matatiele, management of sites should take into account the following:

a) Traditional healer's use rock art and rock art sites.
b) Initiation happens every year in some of the rock art shelters, and,
c) Herders use sites for shelters.
d) Tourists from Mehloding visit some of the shelters.
e) The general population does not find the rock art shelters sacred and thus they currently have limited significance.

The outreach programmes should target the above mentioned categories of communities. Community gatherings are held next to the rock art sites in one of the villages (see Chapters Four). Management systems in Matatiele should take into account the different uses and individuals using the sites; negotiating with the communities is crucial. Chief Lepheane for instance mentioned that they could inform the members of the community about the importance of not destroying paintings during their monthly meetings next to a boulder which has paintings on it. Allowing chiefs to talk to their communities about the significance of rock art sites is a good approach. Workshops for chiefs should be organised. On the day of the community gatherings, professional heritage managers or archaeologists (the MARA team) should be present and provide presentations about the significance of San rock art. Picking up from the outreach sessions I carried out in Matatiele, more posters should be presented to the Communities in languages they understand. Generally an outreach programme is needed in Matatiele.

The outreach programme should target the different groups that particularly use rock art sites. Herders should particularly be the main target. Meetings should be organised through their employees so as to flag the importance of these meetings. The approach to herders should also be in a way the herders are involved in the presentation of the heritage. What we need to note is that these herders do not see any significance in rock art sites. Addressing the importance of the sites should be done in the manner in which the rock art is connected to their heritage. Initiation can be set up as a topic for protecting heritage sites. Instead of presenting reading materials, short films or picture exhibits presented in the languages found in Matatiele could possibly be effective. An alternative is to transport all the herders to the heritage centre, give them a tour of the place, organise activities and provide meals for the day. The outreach is almost similar to an open site in Metolong where communities were invited to excavation sites (King and Arthur 2014). Different stations of archaeological techniques were setup and presentations were made at each of them.

Approaching and negotiating with traditional healers on the importance of addressing the protection of rock art sites is important. For traditional healers and those members of the communities who claim to have a connection to San and rock art sites, it is crucial to also target these individuals. Traditional healers should be the main target because as I have discussed in Chapter Six, they regard rock art sites as places of worship. For other healers, they chip off paint for healing purposes. This is a conservation problem but since there is a requirement to try to work with communities in the management of different aspects of heritage, it is crucial to come to an agreement of how to go about it. As mentioned in Chapter One MARA has recorded more than 200 rock art sites in the area. Traditional healers do not use all of these sites the first step will be to find out which sites specifically they use and whether if there is way of negotiating the protection and management of certain sites. For those sites that are in current use, it will be useful to record the sites, take pictures and curate them possibly in the proposed heritage centre. In this way the physical

outlook of the sites is available to see. The value of the shelters will still be preserved if healers continue using the agreed selected rock art sites.

Beyond the outreach programmes, rock art management should also take the form of site visits by mainly schools. Teachers and learners in Matatiele have mentioned that they teach and are taught about the San in schools. The downside about the formal education provided is that there are no practical activities where learners are taught about the lifestyles and the value of San rock art. Similar to the Zimbabwean Chibvumani heritage site where local schools were approached to assist in managing the site (Mawere et al 2012), several rock art sites can be selected in Matatiele and put under the protection and monitoring of schools. The Mamutse Primary School was asked to monitor the state of the site, clean the site, and report to the NMMZ on the condition of the site (Mawere et al 2012: 12). The school management was further allowed to use the site as an educational programme where school children were allowed to visit the site and learn about it, this participatory project was called the 'adopt-a-site' programme (Mawere et al. 2012: 11). A similar programme in Matatiele could also be beneficial for educational and management purposes.

8.3. Conclusion

More research is required into traditional custodianship, heritage and archaeological management systems. The failure of a single system of management specifically in southern Africa should focus on the inclusion of multiple systems. Acknowledging multiple voices in setting up these systems does not necessarily eliminate all problems. Conflicts normally arise in community involvement and participatory projects and thus measures for minimizing these conflicts should continuously be redefined.

The use of rock art and rock art sites by traditional healers continues to be viewed as a serious threat to the sustainability of the paintings. The case also applies to Matatiele; hence I recommend that any future heritage management project should actively engage traditional healers. Heritage managers should also be conscious of the significance of these paintings to the healers and other individuals who have a special connection with the sites. Banning people from using sites that they regard as their heritage simply adds fuel to the fire. As difficult as it is, we need to identify ways of acknowledging the use of rock art sites and of continuously renegotiating with local communities the use of only selected rock art sites.

The role of government is crucial as a mediator between communities and heritage managers. As I have shown in preceding chapters that heritage centres are run by different stakeholders who have different agendas regarding the centres. Some stakeholders for instance have environmental interests, others tourism business interests while others promote heritage. Although government also has its interests, it should always mediate and ensure that the core mandate of projects such as heritage centres is maintained. In the case of Matatiele government should play a role of maintaining the heritage significance of the proposed heritage centre. Constant meetings that negotiate different ways of presenting heritage are important.

In the case of rock art management, government usually promotes mainly formal management systems. In Matatiele there is a need for outreach programmes that

promote heritage and rock art management. Government can play a role in emphasizing the significance of rock shelters as initiation sites and rock art sites. Rock art management systems therefore need to incorporate existing values and heritage activities that present communities carry out. To avoid compromising the value of heritage sites, government should constantly mediate decisions informed by local communities and heritage managers.

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10. APPENDICES

10.1. Appendix One- Questionnaires

Male ☐

Female ☐

Age: 18-25 ☐ 25-35 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 44- 60 ☐ 60-70 ☐ 0 and above ☐

Questions for the Communities

Community-Involvement andHeritage Significance

1. How long have you lived in this area?
2. What is heritage in your view?
3. What do you consider as part of your heritage?
4. How would you prefer to represent and present your heritage to people from outside?
5. How would you contribute in preserving your heritage?
6. Do you think there is a need to protect your heritage? Why?
7. Is there a community heritage centre in the area of Matatiele?
8. Do you think it is essential for the community of Matatiele to have a heritage centre?
9. If so, why is the heritage centre important to the community of Matatiele?
10. Would you want to get involved in the planning and implementation of the heritage centre should it be proposed?

11. How would you want to contribute?

San Rock Art Knowledge

12. Do you know of any rock art sites in this region?

13. How long have you known about the existence of the rock art in this region?

14. Do you know who made the rock art?

15. Do you know what the rock art means?
    If you do, what does it mean?

16. Do you consider rock art sites to be sacred places?
    Why?

17. Are rock art sites significant to your lives? Why?

18. Do you believe that you have a connection with the San? Why?

Questions for the Chiefs

Community-involvement

1. What is the name of the area in which you are recognised as the chief?

2. How long have you been the chief of this area?

3. What do you regard as your heritage?
4. Is there a way that you would specifically represent your heritage?

5. Is there heritage centre in this region?

6. If there is no heritage centre, do you find the need for a heritage centre in this region and why?

Rock Art Knowledge

7. Do you know if there are San rock paintings (Mahaha a Baroa) any in this region?

8. How long have you known about the paintings.

9. Who made the paintings?

10. Do you know the meaning of the paintings?
    If you do, what does it mean?

11. Do you see any significance attached to the San rock art sites or the rock paintings itself and why?

12. Do you know if any of the village members find the rock paintings important?
    If yes, why are the paintings important?

13. Are there any activities carried out by the village members in the rock paintings sites?If yes, what kinds of activities are they?

14. Have you perceived any deterioration in the quality of the rock art over the years?

15. Do you seethe need for rock art conservation measures for the rock art in this region?

Questions for Department of Culture South Africa

1. Has the department ever before introduced heritage management programmes in Matatiele?
2. Does the department know about thediverse heritage in Matatiele?

3. Are there any future plans of heritage management projects in Matatiele?

4. If yes, is there a schedule set for heritage management projects?

5. Is the department aware of the rock art in the region and how it has deteriorated?

6. What kinds of projects are underway for preservation of the Matatiele heritage?

7. What are the department's plans regarding the sustainability of the project?

8. Is the department aware of the MARA and community's plans to establish a heritage centre?

9. Is the department willing to get on board towards achieving the establishment of the heritage centre?

10. If yes, how is the department willing to contribute towards the sustainability of the centre?

11. How will the department maintain the sustainability of the heritage centre?

12. What role is the department willing to partake in terms of community-involvement?

Questions for Heritage management projects in South Africa

1. What is the name of this establishment?

2. When did it start operating?

3. How was this project funded?

4. What are the challenges that have been experienced in the running of this project?

5. Why was this project established?

6. Are local communities involved in this project?

7. If yes, how was/is the community involved in heritage management projects?

8. What is the current situation regarding the operation of the project?
9. What lessons have you learnt so far regarding the running of a heritage management project?

Questions for Mehloding Community Trust

1. What is the Mehloding Community Trust?
2. When was it established?
3. Why was it established?
4. Which objectives has the Trust achieved so far?
5. Who forms the board of the Mehloding Community Trust?
6. What are the scheduled plans that will benefit the community of Matatiele?
7. Why did the Mehloding find the need for a heritage centre?
8. Who will the heritage centre benefit?
9. Who will benefit from the heritage centre?
10. How would you want the centre to operate?
11. Have you considered incorporating an education programme into the heritage centre?
12. Will the community be incorporated in the plans for the establishment of the heritage centre? How?
13. Are there any plans that will ensure the sustainability of the heritage centre?
14. If yes, which are they?

10.2. Appendix Two- Posters

English Poster



Poster in Sesotho



Poster in isiXhosa



10.3. Pamphlets



Pamphlet in English

Pamphlet in Sesotho



Pamphlet in isiXhosa



10.4. Spread Sheet Analysis

Gender	Age	Q1	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q10	Q12	Q14	Q15	Q16
2	4	1	Yes	No	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes
1	2	3	idk	yes	no	dk	no	nr	nr	Idk
2	3	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes
2	3	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	5	1	Yes	idk	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	1	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	1	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	4	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes
2	5	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	3	4	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	5	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	idk	yes
1	3	1	Yes	no	yes	dk	no	no	no	no
1	4	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
2	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	3	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	idk
2	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	idk
1	1	1	Yes	idk	yes	dk	no	no	no	idk
2	4	4	Yes	no	yes	dk	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	1	3	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	2	4	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	idk
1	2	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
2	2	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
1	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
1	5	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
1	1	3	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	idk
1	2	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	idk
1	1	1	Yes	idk	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	1	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
1	3	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	4	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	1	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	4	2	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
2	3	4	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no

2	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	1	1	Yes	no	yes	dk	no		no	idk
2	4	4	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	2	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	6	1	Yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes
1	4	4	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	3	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	4	2	Yes	no	yes	dk	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	3	2	Yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no
2	5	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	2	1	Yes	no	yes	no	no	nr	nr	Idk
1	2	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	1	1	Yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	nr	Idk
2	6	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	nr	yes
2	2	3	Yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	nr	Idk
1	3	3	Yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	nr	Idk
2	1	1	Yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	nr	Idk
1	3	1	Yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	nr	Idk
1	1	1	No	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no
1	3	3	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	3	4	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
1	2	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
1	3	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
1	2	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
2	3	2	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	1	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	1	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
2	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	1	4	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	3	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	4	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	5	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
1	1	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk
2	2	1	Yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no
1	2	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
2	1	3	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	rn	rn	no
2	2	4	Yes	no	Idk	yes	yes	yes	no	no
2	2	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	4	4	Yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes

2	3	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	dk
2	4	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
1	1	1	Yes	yes	idk	yes	no	nr	nr	idk
1	3	1	Yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no
1	4	2	Yes	yes	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	no
2	5	4	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	3	4	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	5	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	4	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes
2	1	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	1	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	5	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	3	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	5	1	Yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes
1	2	3	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk
2	4	3	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk
2	1	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	1	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	no
2	6	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	4	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk
1	3	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
2	6	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	3	3	Yes	yes	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk
1	4	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	dk
1	1	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	no
1	3	1	No	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	Idk
2	6	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	6	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk
1	3	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	5	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	5	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	dk
2	3	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
1	2	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk
1	1	1	Yes	yes	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk
1	2	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
2	3	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1	2	3	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk
1	2	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no

2	5	1	Yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
1	4	2	Yes	no	yes	yes	no	nr	nr	Idk

Gender	No.
Female	1
Male	2

Age	No.
18-30	1
31-50	2
50-60	3
60-70	4
70-90	5

Q4	Q5
Teach	Teach
Speak language	Write Books
Practice culture	Cultural practices
Initiation	heritage sites
wear traditional	Respect
Don’t know	Don’t know