



**IDENTITY, HERITAGE AND TOURISM: THE MEMORIALISATION OF JOSHUA  
NKOMO IN ZIMBABWE**

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**IDENTITY, HERITAGE AND TOURISM: THE MEMORIALISATION OF JOSHUA  
NKOMO IN ZIMBABWE**

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**Doctor of Philosophy (Cultural and Heritage Tourism)**

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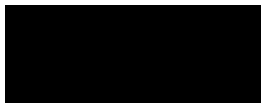
## COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES DECLARATION-PLAGIARISM

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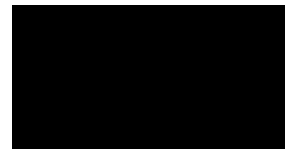
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Date: 6 June 2024.



20 June, 2024

## **DEDICATION**

I devoted this work to my late mother Gloria Chiwaura, Aunt Elisabeth Chiwaura, Grandmother Monica Matiza and my wife Mary Lisa, and my children Tinomudaishe, Lavish, Tanatswa and Tyler.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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I hereby acknowledge travel grant and research funding from Great Zimbabwe University and tuition fees from the University of KwaZulu Natal. The ideas conveyed and conclusions attained in this thesis are those of the author and cannot be attributed to anyone else.

Last but not least, this dissertation would not have been possible without the professional editing done by Prof. R. Mareva.

## **ABSTRACT**

Tourism can be significantly influenced by iconic individuals, both historical and contemporary. These individuals can act as magnets of tourism drawing visitors to a destination for them to experience a feeling of connection with the iconic person or what they stand for. The relationship between the state and the transformation of iconic individuals into tourism products has an important effect on the way tourism is experienced and perceived. The state and tourism organisations often use iconic individuals to promote the country to the world and shape the way tourists view and engage with a destination. Therefore, it is important to study the implication of transforming iconic individuals into a tourism product.

This study explored the interplay of identity, heritage and tourism in turning the late Joshua Nkomo's memoir, a significant political figure in Zimbabwean history, into a tourism attraction and even destination. Joshua Nkomo, a popular nationalist during his lifetime, was a key player in Zimbabwe's anti-colonialism struggles from the late 1950s to independence in 1980. Nkomo served in several post-independence government capacities in Zimbabwe, but his most notable position was that of Vice-President, which he held until his death in July 1999. The main aim of the study was to comprehend the complexities and implications of transforming the legacies of a political actor, whose biography was both ascribed with notions of villain and heroism in post-colonial Zimbabwe, into a tourism brand. The study adopted a qualitative research approach where data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. Purposive sampling and semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with fifty participants who included government agencies, tour operators, tourists, and local communities. Information from theories, including the Identity Theory, Social Identity Theory, Social Constructionism Theory, and Critical Heritage

studies served as the guiding framework for the study. The results show that Joshua Nkomo received the same memorialization benefits upon his death that are typically given to people of his stature in Zimbabwe as "national heroes," but attempts made after the year 2000 to further this memorialization by turning him into a tourism brand have raised questions and problems not conventionally related to brand creation in cultural heritage tourism. The findings indicate that political actors produce tourism brands through contestations that occasionally pit politics and history against traditional tourism and brand creation techniques. While worldwide, a country's relationship with others is vital in the formation of a brand, in Zimbabwe, historical legacies play a significant role in influencing the attitudes of local tourists. Conflict in the tourism industry is inevitable at every stage of product development. Therefore, involving all stakeholders in Zimbabwe's heritage management and tourist development was found to be the best approach to tackle such challenges. The study concludes that multivocalism/a variety of viewpoints is a key component of value addition in the growth and advancement of heritage tourism. Therefore, the government should foster individual and group identities by providing public areas for people to memorialize their loved ones in a way that is meaningful to them. Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation in the form of museums, a statue monument and a grave had a significant impact on the country's tourism landscape just as he was loved by both his family and multitudes of Zimbabweans.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
ANC	African National Congress
CBTE	Community-Based Tourism Enterprises
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
FROLIZI	Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe
GNU	Government of National Unity
MCA	Matonjeni Cultural Association
MDC	Movement Democratic Change
MIPF	Mining Industry Pension Fund
MLF	Mthwakazi Liberation Front
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NHA	National Heroes Acre
NUST	National University of Science and Technology
NDP	National Democratic Party
JICA	Japanese International Co-operation Agency
JNCM	Joshua Nkomo Cultural Movement
JNNF	Joshua Nkomo National Foundation
JNLRPT	Joshua Nkomo Legacy Restoration Project
NMMZ	National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe
NSSA	National Social Services Authority
PCC	People's Caretaker Party
PTC	Post and Telephone Communications
PF-ZAPU	Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation

SADC	Southern African Development Community
SRANC	Southern Rhodesia African National Congress
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
ZMHS	Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZHTC	Zimbabwe Health Care Trust
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZTA	Zimbabwe Tourism Authority

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1. 1 Preamble**

Heritage has always been a major tourist attraction in many countries. It has the potential to attract both national and local visitors. Heritage is a fundamental resource for tourism development. The heritage tourism segment is leading the tourism industry in numerous areas of the world. Assessment of the potential demand for heritage tourism in Zimbabwe is particularly difficult because the country does not have a homogeneous tourism landscape. Zimbabwe developed several tourism products after independence to reflect on the new status, construct a national identity and improve a failing economy. Zimbabwe's tourism industry is dominated by natural parks, the environment and exceptional places such as the Victoria Falls and Mana Pools that were inherited from the colonial period (Marunda, 2014, Woyo and Woyo, 2018), the country diversified its tourism potential by developing new attractions based on heritage tourism.

The study is an examination of Zimbabwe's contemporary attempts to transform the image of Joshua Nkomo into a tourism product. Although the idea of tourism is not novel to Zimbabwe, it is the latest development to use individual legacies as a tourism attraction that is a recent phenomenon. Against this background, this chapter introduces the background and rationale of the study. It outlines the aim and specific objectives on issues to do with Nkomo about attempts to graduate his image into a tourism product. The chapter also refers to other cases elsewhere in the Southern African region where similar attempts were made to turn the images of certain individuals into tourism products and even destinations. Central to the study's interrogation is answering the pertinent question of how people can comprehend the complexity connected to the growth of tourism out of the image of an individual whose lifetime biography was mired in known

contestations. Indeed, the extent to which socio-cultural, economic and political implications of representing prominent individuals in a nation, the shifting personal identities and their subversion by equally changing groups or national identities need probing through a critical examination of heritage tourism management. Post-colonial memorials, such as those belonging to Joshua Nkomo, become new markers of national identities and economic ventures, and in the process, they are expected to bury some unwanted colonial memory. Officially, after erecting such effigies, the identity of a place changes, at least legally and in theory. It is also the expectation of the Zimbabwean state that in the process it uprooted, formerly planted European memory encapsulated in the form of white colonial heroes such as Cecil John Rhodes, Leander Star Jameson, Albeit Beit and many others that were turned into tourism icons. However, although this assumption reveals the intended goals of the Zimbabwe government, this study is concerned with the task of critically analyzing the possibilities of realizing the intended transformations, given Joshua Nkomo's complex historical legacies.

## **1.2 Background to Study**

Tourism is a vital source of income in many countries and is significant in Zimbabwe's economy, as it contributes to employment and foreign earnings. The tourism industry in Zimbabwe is the third highest foreign currency earner after the mining and agriculture industries (ZTA, 2021). The country's economy was known to be one of the best in Africa during the 1980s (Moyo, 2021). The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) was introduced by the government of Zimbabwe during the 1990-1995 period, on the advice of the International Monetary Fund to improve the economy. Instead of improving the economy, ESAP caused an economic quagmire as the currency was devalued, workers were retrenched and strategic grain reserve was sold, among other side effects of the programme. The participation of the country together with Namibia and

Angola in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) war, the controversial 2000 land reform programme, political volatility and the monetary sanctions levied by the European Union and the United States of America drained the economy and affected tourism (Mhlanga and Ndlovu, 2021).

Tourism was greatly affected by these developments in Zimbabwe. Tourism arrivals dropped drastically and the government responded by coming up with various strategies to stabilise the economy and politics. The government adopted a policy it named 'Look East Policy', aimed at building up diplomatic and economic ties with 'friendly' countries in Eastern Europe, Asia and the Middle East as well as promoting domestic tourism through the community-based initiative approaches. At the same time, the government was also promoting tourism within its traditional European markets. To attract visitors, Zimbabwe had to re-brand (Ndlovu, 2009) and develop new and existing tourism resources. Zimbabwe hosted a donor conference in 1992 to fund the improvement of heritage tourism attractions in the form of archaeological heritage that is managed by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) to create income for the organisation through tourism. The donor conference aimed to source funds and resources to develop archaeological heritage and ultimately stimulate tourism in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean government, through NMMZ, decided to create income using culture and heritage tourism during the 1990s (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008, Woyo and Woyo, 2018).

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and UNESCO financed the initial project baseline survey programme. The programme operated under these two appellations the Archaeological Heritage of Zimbabwe Resource Conservation and Development UNDP and UNESCO Project ZIM 88/028 (Collet, 1992). The heritage tourism segment was largely ignored as a tourism resource in Zimbabwe, except for the Great Zimbabwe Monument and Victoria Falls,

which is a mixed site. The move to develop heritage tourism resources was also regarded as a significant issue to support reciprocal kindness amongst people and grow social, economic, cultural, social and scientific cooperation, the latter being one of the reasons why tourism is important. In this case, “Heritage is not simply the past but the modern-day use of elements of the past (Timothy and Boyd 2003: 4)”. The principal strategy for the preservation and improvement of archaeological heritage was formulated in line with the government development agenda and aligned to the then introduced Economic Structural Adjustment Programme. The master plan proposed the improvement of twenty archaeological sites with the potential to attract visitors and turn the sites into heritage tourism resources. All the selected sites were archaeological. However, the plan further suggested that the NMMZ should expand and develop some of the archaeological heritage sites as theme parks. The selected sites for theme parks were the Shona Village at Great Zimbabwe and Old Bulawayo, the pre-colonial capital of the Ndebele nation. Theme park services were intended to offer visitors live performance experiences. The Zimbabwean government has gone further in the promotion of heritage tourism by promoting the establishment of cultural houses. The first culture house was established in Murehwa and it assumed the name Murehwa Culture House.

Festivals were also introduced as part of Zimbabwe’s new event tourism attractions (Muresherwa, et al 2023). Festivals are an integral part of the art and culture scene in Zimbabwe and this makes them part of heritage tourism resources. Although the government regulates the activities, most of them are private initiatives earmarked to diversify and improve tourism in the country. The festivals can be described as ethnic, institutional and private. A combination of indigenous cuisine, traditional and contemporary music, and literary and visual arts are usually displayed at these festivals. The range of activities attracts local and international visitors. They stimulate growth and

generate revenue for local businesses. The Harare International Festival of Arts (HIFA), is the major festival in Zimbabwe and was last held in 2018. A few other world-class festivals have filled in the void, such as the Victoria Falls Carnival, INTWASA Arts Festival, Castel Larger Braai Festival and Shoko Festivals among many others. The government has also joined the festival trend and periodical musical festival events for iconic individuals or heroes. Several musical festivals for Joshua Nkomo, dubbed 'Father Zimbabwe' Bira, "a traditional funeral rite of bringing the spirit of the dead home, is crucial to consolation practices of mourning that seek to establish gain through the spiritual reintegration of the dead into society (Muchemwa, 2010:505)". The government has held Biras, particularly on his death anniversary and Unity Day commemorations. Muchemwa (2010:507) sees these "Bira ceremonies as one of the mechanisms through which the life of a selected national hero self-replicates and fits into the endlessly self-perpetuating state narrative".

In as much as Zimbabwe's tourism is anchored on natural resources, it has embarked on heritage tourism development projects since independence in 1980 as revealed above (Woye and Woye, 2018). The NMMZ is in charge of heritage tourism resources in their various forms, such as archaeological sites, historic buildings, museums, memorials, statues, and even cemeteries. The country's heritage tourism projects can be divided into those that are associated with the time before Europeans settled in Zimbabwe, the colonial and independent era. The period before the beginning of colonisation in Zimbabwe is shown by, among other milestones, traces of stone monuments that were left by the past Indigenous generations. The colonial culture was presented by graves, buildings, statues and memorial projects that tell the story of colonialism in all its forms.

Iconic individuals have been heritage through memorialisation and presented as tourism resources, and one character that features prominently during the colonial and post-colonial heritage tourism discourse is Cecil John Rhodes. Rhodes is buried at Malindidzimu in Matobo National Park, which is a World Heritage Site. Remains of Allan Wilson, Leander Starr Jameson who was very close and trusted by Rhodes and the man who became the first colonial prime minister of colonial Southern Rhodesia, Charles Coghlan, are also buried close to Cecil John Rhodes. Unlike Rhodes, Mzilikazi, who established the Ndebele nation, is also interred in Matobo but his grave is not a tourist attraction. Rhodes' grave is still attracting both local and international visitors despite calls from some political activists in the past to remove it from Matobo. Rhodes's statues were removed in Bulawayo and Harare soon after independence. Rhodes's grave became one of the most revered and visited heritage sites belonging to an individual during the settler rule and independent Zimbabwe. Pioneer Memorial graves, David Livingstone's statue and Kingsley Fairbridge Memorial in Mutare were iconic individuals that were memorialised during the colonial period. These memorials are featured on the settler tourism trail in Rhodesia.

The National Heroes Acre, incepted in 1980, is perhaps the biggest place where celebrated Zimbabweans are buried and is the biggest heritage tourism project ever to be initiated in the country after independence (Magadzike, 2011; National Transitional Justice, 2015; Mpofu, 2017). The monument is a burial place for Zimbabweans who are accorded the National Heroes status, which is the maximum tribute that can be given to a person by the government according to the National Heroes Act, Chapter 10.16 of 1984, and has a symbolic tomb representing all those who were never given a proper burial. There are also localised versions of the heroes' acre, such as those located in all Zimbabwean provinces.

The government of Zimbabwe has made attempts to develop and diversify tourism attractions using cultural heritage by tapping into venerated individuals' legacies with connections to the liberation heritage in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The government converted the late Vice President Simon Muzenda's house into a museum in the Mucheke High Density Suburb of Masvingo in 2016. Although there were attempts to develop the house in the Kuma 'R' section of the Mucheke Suburb as a tourist centre, this has not been successful (Machiridza and Mazvihwa, 2022). There is a proposal to develop a labyrinth of tourism trails of former houses of late iconic nationalists in the Highfield Township in Harare. The houses belong to Robert Mugabe, Enos Mzombi Nkala and Hebert Chitepo. This programme is being driven by the ZTA and the NMMZ. The project of converting prominent Zimbabwean politicians' residential houses into museums is inspired by the popular township tourism, which was successfully promoted in South Africa, where several personal homes of anti-apartheid luminaries in Soweto, such as Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu, were converted into tourist attractions. The government wanted to diversify tourism through developing township tourism based on revered individuals who partook in the struggle to liberate the country.

Of interest to this study is Joshua Nkomo, born on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June in 1917. He is widely regarded as one of Zimbabwe's founding fathers. Joshua Nkomo was a prominent political figure all his adult life and he subsequently deputised the president. He held that position till his death in 1999 and was interred at the National Heroes Acre in Harare. The crowd that attended the burial is believed to be the largest crowd ever to gather at the National Heroes Acre. An estimated 100,000 people converged to witness the burial (*The Herald*, 14 July 2014). Record crowds attended and bid him farewell at Barbourfields Stadium and Stodart Hall in Bulawayo and Harare, respectively. Both his role and stature have remained an intellectual maze in Zimbabwe's economic, socio-

cultural and political development aspirations. He was initially celebrated as the founder of Zimbabwean nationalism in the late 1950s and early 1960s and was later seen as a vacillating coward after the formation of ZANU in 1963, by Robert Mugabe, when he refused to fight colonialism through an armed struggle. Throughout the period when the liberation struggle was being executed, ZANU tried to outshine Nkomo, ZAPU and ZIPRA as liberators and even insinuated that Nkomo was a sell-out. At independence in 1980, Nkomo was briefly accommodated into the coalition government, only to be fired in 1982 after the so-called 'arms caches' in PF ZAPU-owned properties. Between 1982 and 1987, Nkomo and his party, former ZIPRA and supporters became targets of harassment, imprisonment and killing under Operation Gukurahundi. After 1987, Nkomo was portrayed as a supra-nationalist who was committed to the unity of Zimbabwe. A statue in his honour, erected in Zimbabwe's second-largest city of Bulawayo's Central Business District, is one of the two erected by the government of Zimbabwe in honour of political heroes (Chiwaura, 2022). The other is one erected in honour of Mbuya Nehanda in the city of Harare. The post-1999 period, which followed his death, witnessed relentless efforts by the government to present Joshua Nkomo's legacy to the public through the creation of a museum, a national monument and several other commemorations held under his name. The government was also joined by the other players in the drive to market him.

Joshua Nkomo's life has been captured in a photographic exhibition at Joshua Nkomo Memorial Museum, and before that by an exhibition at the ZMHS in Harare, that was formally officiated by the late President, Robert Gabriel Mugabe. The exhibition, as the title suggests, was to celebrate Joshua Nkomo the Man (Chiwaura, 2022). The exhibition provided visitors with insights into Joshua Nkomo's life journey. Commemorative activities have been held by the state and private actors to remember Joshua Nkomo. Joshua Nkomo's legacy has been profoundly used by the

administration to construct a countrywide identity and use his legacy to develop the country through tourism. He has been used to convey messages about the anti-colonial movement, nationalism and neo-colonialism. The vacillation in official perceptions of Joshua Nkomo demonstrated the controversies that riddled his political journey from ‘father’ of dissidents to ‘Father Zimbabwe’. The statue erected in the second largest city, Bulawayo is one of the two matching statues of Joshua Nkomo, with the other still to be erected in Harare (Chiwaura, 2017).

Zimbabwe has had a total of seven vice presidents since independence. Of these, four are late and are interred at the National Heroes Acre. The first person to be appointed as vice-president of the country was Simon Vengayi Muzenda. However, although all the vice presidents are interred at the National Heroes Acre Monument, it has been only Joshua Nkomo who has been memorialised in different ways. He is also the only one who has been promoted to the arena of tourism. Against this background, the questions that arise are: What is the sincerity of the government in targeting Nkomo for these extra honours? What kind of tourism narrative is the government purveying around the brand tourism of Nkomo that they are creating? What are the perceptions of the stakeholders towards the narratives being purveyed around Nkomo? Recognising the importance of heritage in tourism, the study sought to establish community perceptions, the transformation of the tourism product and the implications of tourism on the memorialisation of iconic individuals. The study is conscious of the importance of the memorialisation practice in the development of tourism products. The contribution of memorialised iconic individuals and how they contribute to tourism is less known in Zimbabwe.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

This study aims to analyse the nexus between memorialised icons and the translation of their legacies into heritage products. However, since Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, there has been a lack of production of literature about the translation of great lived legacies, especially those that were both questionable and celebrated at the same time, into consumerable tourism products. Indeed, the life history of Joshua Nkomo qualifies as one such lived life bearing both characteristics. During his lifetime, Joshua Nkomo produced histories that led to his life being interpreted as a man who had a double biography. These double biographies were at the end of each other. On one part of his life, he was a revered national icon, a father figure of the nation and a liberator of his fellow oppressed people from the jaws of colonialism. On the other end, he was considered as the most cunning of all villains and sellouts ever to have lived in Zimbabwe. However, when it came to the presentation of history about his life, most literature has dwelt mostly on these two aspects of his life. Nothing much has been written about the implication of translating the legacies of such a lived life into a tourism product. This has resulted in a negation of the meaning of such a dual biography to contemporary endeavours to translate the legacies of such a character into a tourism product.

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

The findings of this study can be used to address the development of heritage tourism through iconic individual memorialisation in contemporary Zimbabwe. They can also be used for stakeholder consultations when developing heritage tourism in Zimbabwe. An inclusive memorialisation driven by tourism agenda in a multiplicity of narratives due to the multifaceted and/or layered nature of the society approach can be considered. Thus, this study is an important intervention in identifying and locating the contexts of the issues that must be considered when

constructing notions of what should be collective experiences, imaginations and the identity of a Zimbabwean. The study also expects to spread the boundaries of knowledge, in so doing providing contexts for additional academic research for consumption by the academia, the government and partners in development.

### **1.5 Justification of the Research, Including Researcher Positionality**

Few case studies, such as on Cecil John Rhodes, Hector Pieterse, and Nelson Mandela have focused on how the memorialisation of prominent individuals contributes to the growth of the travel and leisure industry in southern Africa (Maylam, 2002). This is a study that interrogates tourism discourses and the meaning of the government's attempt to capitalise on an individual both loved and hated and transform his legacy into a tourism product. Many countries, Zimbabwe included, embarked on the decolonization of tourism landscapes through the memorialization and commemoration of African heroes. Cities in Zimbabwe have undergone name changes and monumental construction to give the country a new national identity reflective of the new values coming from a protracted liberation war of independence. Prominent liberation icons find their names etched on buildings, streets, and schools and Joshua Nkomo and Mbuya Nehanda had their statues erected as national monuments, changing the cityscapes. This was part of the de-colonial movement. Apart from the aspiration to create a national identity, one aim was to promote heritage tourism in independent countries by creating new memorials. It is against this background that the idea of studying the recent construction of the life history and memorialisation of a prominent individual, namely, Joshua Nkomo, for tourism product development in Zimbabwe, was conceived.

Post-colonial memorialisation in Africa, as in Zimbabwe, has been deployed by the state to counter colonial symbols and memorials either by replacement or juxtaposition. Such attempts have, in many African states, been packaged in varying doses of both a decolonisation agenda and a cultural revolution soon after the attainment of independence. The study sought to inform nation-building policies and strategies by focusing on the interplay of identity construction and heritage tourism development. To date, only 202 heroes have been honoured in Zimbabwe and it is only Joshua Nkomo whose history has been specifically transformed into a tourism product (19 August 2019, *The Herald*). The selection of Joshua Nkomo as a veteran nationalist of the nation of Zimbabwe took into account both historical facts and their use and manipulation in varying official representations in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

The National Democratic Party, formed in the early 1960s to fight against colonial rule in Zimbabwe was the first nationalist party and Nkomo became the incumbent leader. He was regarded as a towering figure in Zimbabwe's political, economic and social spheres of life, both during the struggle for independence and after the achievement of independence. He had a political culture that was born out of his ideological bond with unity, inclusive governance and equality of all citizens. Zimbabwe's independence cannot be discussed without acknowledging its centrifugal role in the fight against colonialism (Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Willems, 2010). His iconic and towering role as a nation-builder resides at the apex of the nation's liberation and post-independence politics. Joshua Nkomo was one of the earliest conceivers and enforcers of the African nationalist trajectory in Zimbabwe. It is to his astute statesmanship that Zimbabwe's political stability and existence as a unitary state are partly attributed. Joshua Nkomo's nemesis tried to dismantle his legacies but his political resurgence as a beacon of national unity depicts the indomitability of his illustrious political career. The legacy of Joshua Nkomo is being used by the

various communities, the ruling party, the opposition and activists in Zimbabwe. The government has paid tribute to Joshua Nkomo more than any other hero due to his contribution to the liberation of the country. More notably, Joshua Nkomo is the only hero who had a museum set up with the assistance of the government. The research brought fresh insights into the state-driven heritage tourism development impact on the memorialisation process.

In some parts of the world, it has been noted that ordinary citizens, together with their belongings, are under-represented compared to prominent individuals (Candlin, 2015). In the case of Zimbabwe, just as Mawere *et al.* (2015) also observed, literature on heritage tourism and memorialisation in general is very scarce. The role that national political leaders play in unifying a nation and creating a distinct identity which serves to bring a community together has often been seen as a key aspect of deepening and consolidating democratic practice. For example, in South Africa, Nelson Mandela is seen as having played that key role during the fight against Apartheid and transition a critical time in that country's history. In the case of other leaders, Kenneth Kaunda, Seretse Khama and Samora Machel, the way in which they were remembered both during their life-time and are remembered after the died, is often central to the development of heritage tourism resources dedicated to them.

Interest in memory studies arising from its connection with identity, politics, anthropology, and economic development worldwide in general and Zimbabwe in particular (Berliner, 2005.) have gathered momentum in recent years. Before the Fordism period, memory in tourism was not considered as important scholarship that could add value to understanding. In the wide-ranging environment of Africa and the less developed countries, the study intends to contribute to the

consideration of the perceptions of local communities and the growth of the travel and leisure industry through the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo, an iconic figure in Zimbabwe.

Nationalism is a kind of ideology mainly intended to create a national culture using heritage tourism to define identification based on the newly created culture (Smith, 1991). In some cases, nationalism is used to create national identity. There are various ways in which heritage has been used to sow seeds of nationalism and influence the establishment of identities in Zimbabwe. The interplay between tourism and identity in Zimbabwe has not been researched (Ndlovu, 2009). Scholars elsewhere in the world have intensified research in memory and tourism studies (Bartoletti, 2010; Marschall, 2012). In South Africa and Botswana, some scholars (Marshall, 2003; Keitumitse, 2011) have already carried out studies on the nexus between tourism and memory of heritage tourism. In Zimbabwe, more attention is given to heritage tourism management including the socio-economic impact, preservation, conservation and presentation (Nangati and Nyaruwata, 1994; Chibaya, 2013; Ndlovu and Heath, 2013).

The researcher's academic and professional background in cultural heritage studies and experience of working for the NMMZ sharpened interest in one of the most debated and controversial memorialisation of an individual in Zimbabwe and the resulting development of Nkomo's representations into tourist attractions. The researcher participated in meetings and discussions over the setting up of Joshua Nkomo's statue, held in Harare and Bulawayo.

The newly elected government of Zimbabwe, after independence, went on a national drive to build a national identity using various monuments. The Great Zimbabwe monument became a rallying point for national identity. Post year 2000 witnessed a rise in several heritage sites being gazetted as national monuments. This was after the country plunged into an economic and political crisis.

The government's effort in rebranding tourism, shifting focus from traditional tourism activities to cultural heritage, particularly promoting liberation heritage, generated my interest in this area. Tourism development in Zimbabwe remains incomplete without studying how it shapes the representation and memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo.

### **1.6 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of this study are:

- To evaluate community perceptions on turning Joshua Nkomo's legacy into a tourism product.
- To identify and contextualise the identities shaped by heritage tourism landscapes.
- To assess the implications of tourism on Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation when considering his life history.
- To assess the use of Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation for heritage tourism development purposes.

### **1.7 Research questions**

The central research question is: What are the implications of translating the contested legacies of an iconic individual into a tourism brand? The investigation includes, but is not limited to the following sub-questions:

- What is the local community's response to Joshua Nkomo's image as a national figure by his former foes and acquaintances through tourism?
- What is the nature of identities created from heritage tourism landscapes in Zimbabwe?

- How do various aspects of tourism (marketing material, guided tours, tourism narratives, images, goods and services etc.) contribute to shaping Joshua Nkomo's representation and memorialisation?
- To what extent does the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo contribute to the development of heritage tourism?

### **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical frameworks underpinning this study are based on the Social Identity and Identity Theory, and Social Constructionism, presumes that reality and meaning do not occur in outside world but are created by the individual's subject's relations with group processes in which they are entrenched. Knowledge and meaning are therefore socially constructed and not discovered (Bozdaliolu, 2007). Critical heritage studies' philosophical thinking was also used during the study. The theoretical approaches and suppositions chosen for the study are also connected to Social Constructionism. Social Constructionism epistemology helps to understand the construction of an individual's life history into a heritage tourism product. Grey (2004), points out that not like in the regular sciences that consider uniformity in the information and interpretation. "Social constructionism deals with the social world and the actions of individuals, thus focusing more on qualitative rather than quantitative enquiries (Grey, 2004)". Heritage tourism is a part of social reality which assisted in the selection of theoretical approaches.

### **1.9 Research Methodology and Design**

The study used qualitative research methods to acquire data on how the life history of Nkomo ended up being constructed as a heritage tourism product. The use of qualitative research allows a deeper understanding of respondent's views while allowing further probing by the researcher.

Most of the data used in the writing of this work was collected through open-ended interviews, archival information and observation. The data were scrutinised using mainly the thematic content analysis (see Chapter 5). Data was organised under the following themes, stakeholder's implications on identity, memory and tourism brand creation, the interplay of tourism, heritage and political organisations and Joshua Nkomo Heritage sites and Joshua Nkomo Heritage Sites.

The thesis analysed material and non-material culture used by the state and other players in turning Joshua Nkomo's legacy into a heritage tourism product. The framework of using ethnic affiliations as a backdrop to exploring the research question was used, given that this category is often seen as a central post-colonial marker of individual and national identities. However, ethnicity can also be limiting as a way of highlighting an individual's contribution, hence the use of other aspects of Nkomo's identity, such as political influences on his life, values and personality.

### **1.9.1 Data Collection**

The main data collection method, among others, was the open-ended interview. One to two-hour interviews were conducted with each of the participants who varied by ethnic, professional, age and class background. The open-ended interview method was complemented by participant observations, site inspections and archival. Probing was a key aspect of the interview process. Most participants who are related to Joshua Nkomo were interviewed at venues of their convenience so that they had the time and opportunity to reconstruct personal experiences with him. Some participants were interviewed on three occasions, the first covering their life history, the second covering events in the topic and, lastly, the participants' reflections on the meaning of their reflections. Fifty people of varying backgrounds were interviewed, such as people working within heritage and tourism institutions, tour operators, politicians and the general public. Out of

the fifty people interviewed, seven were from Heritage institutions, two were from Tourism institutions, two Tour operators, one Politician, and three family members and twenty-six from the general public. Other methods added to the study included organisational records and archival sources to assist with memorial and tourism patterns for the chosen sites. The researcher attended over six meetings, festivals and special events in Bulawayo and Harare, including holiday celebrations and the Nkomo Golf Tournament and Marathon. Reviewing of relevant documents was also carried out during the study, such as relevant newspapers and journal articles. The use of archival data covering Joshua Nkomo's statue, grave and museum was done. The main sampling technique used for the study was purposive. Purposive sampling refers to a group of non-probability sampling techniques in which units are selected because they have characteristics that are needed in a study sample (Andrade, 2021).

### **1.9.2 Research Population**

The research population comprised people, individuals, groups, communities and heritage tourism institutions that provided information about Joshua Nkomo. Naturally, the people included his immediate family and political colleagues. Part of the community members who interacted with Joshua Nkomo's representations also provided the research population. Visitors to Joshua Nkomo's representations became part of the research population. Some institutions assisted or are governing some of Joshua Nkomo's representations, such as the NMMZ and the ZTA, who provided certain information on his memorialisation. The NMMZ is in charge of his statue and grave, which are national monuments. The ZTA is a government parastatal in charge of promoting tourism in Zimbabwe.

### 1.9.3 Primary Sources

The main sources of information for the study on Zimbabwe's tourism and memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo and its influence on identity and heritage were interviews and newspaper articles from *Daily News*, *The Herald*, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Chronicle*, *New Zimbabwe*, and *Newsday*. The newspapers were part of the primary sources of evidence that provided the information that was used by the study in analysing the development of heritage tourism and the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo. The newspapers are categorised as state newspapers and privately-owned ones. The reason for accessing the two categories was that more often than not in Zimbabwe, the newspapers oppose each other significantly, with the private media regarded as hostile to state activities and vice versa (Dombo, 2014), and that there was relevant media coverage on Joshua Nkomo's history. Cross references were also made to other sources such as institutional archives of the NMMZ, to highlight the various issues under discussion. The NMMZ is also in charge of the National Heroes Acre, where Joshua Nkomo's remains are interred. Visitor statistics for the grave were also availed by the NMMZ. The institutional archives are essential since the main effort of the research was to trace the development of heritage tourism and memorialisation. The Joshua Nkomo Museum exhibition provided useful sources in the form of photographs, letters and diaries. It would be impossible not to refer to the NAZ, which provided some useful files and government publications that assisted with the research. Published sources in the form of guidebooks and brochures were also used as they provide context to heritage and tourism and the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo. Thus, the researcher constantly referred to other critical sources in the form of unpublished works such as theses, conference and symposium proceedings that have also provided information on what has been prepared by others to ascertain how tourism shaped Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation, identity and heritagisation.

#### **1.9.4 Secondary Sources**

From the time when Joshua Nkomo died a lot of information has been published others not which this research referred to. For instance, his autobiography was highly useful for this study. He recorded his life history which the researcher used to corroborate some information provided during interviews. Some writers also added the list of published works by publishing his autobiographies. Important sources used to engage with issues of memorialisation, identity, heritage and tourism are speeches, “the National Transitional Justice Working Group (Zimbabwe) Guiding Principles on memorialisation in Zimbabwe 2015”, and articles from journals, newspapers and magazines after the events.

#### **1.9.5 Data Analysis**

The study was about tourism and how it shapes memorialisation in Zimbabwe (using Joshua Nkomo as a case study). Through data analysis, the researcher identified key themes emerging from responses given by the respondents. Data processing involves several stages. The stages are identifying and ordering, allocating codes to the key themes, categorising answers under the central themes, and finally integrating themes and answers into the manuscript. The research concentrated on assessing the implication of tourism in shaping memorialisation through the interplay with identity and heritage in Zimbabwe. The study discussed community perceptions of Joshua Nkomo’s representations as tourism resources, tracing how different stakeholders have memorialised them. Of all the representations, the statute remained the most controversial and highly contested by the family, community and political parties. Fieldwork data were used to explain why Joshua Nkomo was turned into a heritage tourism resource and memorialised, and how the community responded to the same, largely supporting the Social Identity Theory.

### **1.10 Limitations**

The researcher faced challenges about accessing some participants during research. Close relatives of Joshua Nkomo did not want to divulge what they thought were personal issues to an outsider, for example, his living last-born brother. This affected some parts of the study's outcomes. As much as this affected the results, much information was, therefore, attained from secondary sources and interviews with other people who worked with and knew Joshua Nkomo at various levels. The research instruments had to be redesigned after the initial interviews, as some questions were ambiguous to the participants. The other limitation of the study was the prevailing political polarisation in which the researcher was viewed as a government spy agent commonly referred to as the C.I.O (Central Intelligence Operative). The information gathered with the assistance of the key informant interview guide offered only qualitative validations of the hypothetical notions advanced in the study.

### **1.11 Structure of Thesis**

Chapter One of this study is the opening chapter which provides a broad synopsis of the study, background to the study, and statement of the problem, significance of the study, justification of the research including researcher positionality, objectives of the study, research questions, theoretical framework and research methodology and design.

Chapter Two broadly discusses the literature that contextualises the study in Africa and the post-colonial world, as an approach to giving an outlook to the study. The chapter also covers the current scholarly literature pertinent to the field of heritage tourism and identities in post-colonial societies. Issues to do with the Joshua Nkomo legacies as heritage tourism product and

contestations arising from such an attempt, community benefaction, nation building, identity and collective memory, as well as discussing the gap in research.

Chapter Three discusses Social Identity Theory, Constructivism and Critical Heritage Studies, which are the theories that guide this study. The chapter defines the flexibility and potential of Critical Heritage Studies, Identity Theory and Constructivism in examining how Joshua Nkomo was memorialised and with what influence on identity, heritage and tourism. The process of museumising and revitalising Joshua Nkomo has been placed within the wider theoretical frameworks used in the study.

Chapter Four is on the methodology and design used in the research. It systematically provides the research techniques that were followed in exploring the memorialisation and transformation of Joshua Nkomo's legacies into tourist attractions through the lenses of identity, heritage and tourism. The thesis is grounded in the qualitative research approach. It uses Joshua Nkomo's representations to decipher the memorialisation practice in Zimbabwe.

Chapter Five presents the data obtained through the archival sources, fieldwork and observation.

Chapter Six is the analysis and discussion of the research outcomes. It is in this chapter that the production of personal, local and national identities, heritage and tourism in Zimbabwe's heritage landscape and the community and organisations' perceptions on the memorialisation and transformation of Nkomo legacies into tourism products are discussed.

Chapter Seven presents the conclusion of the study. It condenses the results of the previous chapters. The chapter highlights the major contributions that the study has made to the field of

identity, heritage and tourism. The chapter also makes future research suggestions that may follow this thesis. Recommendations are grounded on the findings obtained during the investigation.

### **1.12 Chapter Summary**

This opening chapter has attempted to provide a summary of the study's focus. The chapter gave the background to the study, and a statement of the problem and highlighted the research questions upon which the research was based. It also provided context that will inform the analysis of tourism through Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation in Zimbabwe. The chapter presented the outline of the research. The succeeding chapter provides a literature review to position the inquiry investigation into a broader perspective. The literature reviewed in this chapter focused on identity, heritage, tourism and memorialisation practices.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Introduction**

The previous chapter outlined the thrust of the study by giving a preamble to the study, background to the study, statement of the problem, significance of the study, justification of the research including researcher positionality, objectives of the study, research questions, theoretical framework and research methodology of the study. This chapter provides review of literature on historical development of world tourism, identity, forms of tourism, types of tourism, heritage tourism, heritage as a product in development of tourism, overview of prominent people and tourism development in southern Africa, history of tourism and public lives in Zimbabwe heritage, the nexus between heritage tourism, memory and identity, the production and construction of Joshua Nkomo as national heritage and tourism product in Zimbabwe tourism and memorialisation in general.

### **2.1 A Historical Development of World Tourism**

The travel leisure and tourism industry are considered as an international occurrence with substantive infrastructure. Tourism influences almost every pillar of society such as politics, culture and notably economics (Ndlovu, 2009; Gyr, 2010). The World Tourism Organisation estimates that international tourism ended with an estimated 1.3 billion international arrivals spending 1.4 trillion dollars (UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, 2023). A complex tourism industry is supporting a worldwide system with over a hundred million employees (UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, 2008). The historical evolution of tourism is dominated by the history of Western cultural experience (Towner, 1995). Hall, (1994) examined the role of history in understanding tourism. Hall, (1994) described the historical perspective and a survey of historical

tourism research highlighting the ancient and medieval worlds, the Grand Tour era, and spas and seaside resorts.

Various tourism experts classified the development of tourism into 6 categories which are; “the Empire period BC to 5th century, the Middle Age Period from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Renaissance period from the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Grand Tour period from 1613 to 1785 A.D, the Mobility period from the 1800 to 1944 and the Modern epoch from 1945 to present (Gyre, 2010)”. The Empire time has had a deep bearing on the growth of tourism as it is known today. The Empire period is comprised of the Egyptian and Greek empires and faced an end with the collapse of the Roman Empire. Individuals travelled for government, educational, religious and commercial purposes during this period. “These early forms of travel and types of journey such as recreational and educational travels have been recorded in the classical period and within Egypt under the Pharaohs” (Gyr, 2010:5). People were motivated to travel by different factors such as the rich populace with resources to tour, harmless and stress-free travel, generally recognised monies, commonly used language and legislation which protects private safety. The Middle Ages and Renaissance era from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> century was marked by a sharp decline in travel because it was dangerous. Travelling during the Middle Ages period was characterised by less security and transport, rejection of currencies and a reduced amount of understanding of shared languages. The late 13th century witnessed Marco Polo’s remarkable journey with some individuals travelling to the holy land. Travel resurgence occurred gradually during the Renaissance period from the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century. Trade routes gradually began to be revived as commercial undertakings developed and the dealers ventured into new lands which led to increased awareness of travel for business and holidays.

The Grand Tour era was a period when young European aristocrats and wealthy travellers would embark on a tour of Europe to experience its art, culture and history. Young nobles undertook grand tours during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries that became the initial form and forerunner of contemporary tourism. This phase is referred to as the 'early', 'pre' or 'developmental' period of contemporary tourism (Gry, 2010). The early form of tourism started with the rich showing pictures of important visits to spas and coastal resorts, Grand Tours and the accomplishments of business entrepreneurs such as Thomas Cook before it began to filter down the social hierarchy (Towner, 1995). Touristic travel was a demonstration of social class which communicated wealth and power. Wealthy noble and educated professionals were the main visitors. The Bildungsreisen "educational journeys" carried out by the higher middle class were a vital stage in the growth of tourism starting from the Enlightenment period to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. "The travels of the learned middle classes copied those of prominent poets and philosophers, for example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), Charles Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) and many others (Gyr, 2010:1)". Tourists journeyed to Italy or France in pursuit of education and conversed the knowledge attained abroad and their experiences in literary works and journey experiences. Educational journeys were prolonged with other sections of the population being included. People travelled in trains and toured both the rural areas and towns. It was during this period that people experienced art, culture and nature by visiting prominent features to understand them. Combined with the middle-class journeys in pursuit of learning and fine art, they developed a form of travelling favouring culture, manufacturing and machinery. The expeditions were information collecting compelled by professional benefits and financial incentives. A section of the middle-class business division went to Britain, France, and Germany,

intending to learn about the technological evolution and inventions of industrial development. The affluent English started this trend of visits and spread throughout Europe as a status symbol.

The Grand Tour era was followed by the Mobility period from 1800 to 1944. It was the concern of the aristocrats that determined the places to visit. The aristocrats were professional, political or social. The social control of the associates made sure that the upper class hardly interacted with other classes and groups. The elitist and exclusive approach was meant to preserve the rule of the aristocracy through this type of tourism. Towner, (1995:72) argues that “more attention should be paid to the development of the history tourism in non-western societies and culture and ordinary routine practices”.

The Mobility Era was characterised by rapid advances in transportation technology that made it easier and more affordable for people to travel. Commercial jets revolutionised the way people travelled. Tour packages for mass travel were established by Thomas Cook. He is considered the 'Father of Tourism' and “also organized the first tour for a group of 570 people to attend a temperance rally in Leicester, England in 1841” (Gyr, 2010:3). The Modern Era from 1945 to the present is characterised by mass tourism and increased global connectivity. The upsurge of package trips and budget airlines has made it possible for people to access international travel. In addition, the internet has made it easier than ever to book and travel. As a result, tourism has become a leading business worldwide with an expected 1.4 Billion intercontinental tourist arrivals in 2018, with overnight international tourist arrivals growing by 5% in the first 9 months of that year (UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, 2019). While this has led to economic benefits for many destinations, it has also created challenges such as over-tourism and environmental degradation.

The term "introductory phase" refers to every change, structure and novelties of modern tourism concerning the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and around 1950 in the framework of the history of tourism (Gry, 2010). The "starting phase", era lasted until 1915. This period saw the commencement of a broad process characterised by an archetypal surge in a middle-class philosophy of travel and its development, promotion and modification. Mass tourism identifiable to contemporary ideas of spending leisure time was prepared during the 'starting phase'. Special interest phenomena in tourism appeared around the 1980s (Drvenkar et al., 2015). According to Minic (2012), "the opposite of mass tourism, which is the special interest phenomenon, was developed immediately after countries recovered from the effects of World War 2". Drvenkar et al (2015:65), "note that the special interest phenomenon differs from mass tourism in the fact that there is a focus on new forms of tourism that have the potential to meet the needs of tourists and hosts, including adventure tourism, cultural tourism, event tourism, rural tourism, nature-based tourism, and heritage-based tourism". Albu (2013) argues that it is the tourists' capricious manners, combined with their requirements that are more or less peculiar, and lead to the creation of new forms of tourism or to the expansion of those already existing.

Globalisation has had far-reaching effects on countries across the globe. Socio-cultural, religious, economic and political aspects of life are mixing at an increasing rate. Globalisation has brought both opportunities and threats to heritage and tourism destinations. Tourism is a vital subdivision of national markets. Globalisation is associated with the improvement in economies of countries in the world and has a far-reaching impact on their socio-cultural and political facets (Agnieszka, 2018). Since the early 1950s, tourism markets have been globalising progressively along with the growth of multinational companies that are found in most countries and fulfil a substantial share of the world's tourist demand. This is not to deny the fact that globalisation has provided marketing

platforms for tourism. According to Agnieszka (2018), the nature of tourist movements into the regions is influenced by the globalisation processes. According to Merriman (2000), predisposed representation is aimed at legitimising a dominant force and excluding other versions of narratives. The needs of different groups have been aided by the creation of historical myths particularly as a result of representation in heritage tourism. Identities have been constructed by inclusion and exclusion that have been influenced by globalisation (Merriman, 2000:301). Africa has been represented as the opposite of European civilisation. As such, visitors from Europe to Africa expect to experience a way of life different from their own (Wels, 2002). Some links bind Europe and Africa, hinging on colonial experiences dating back to the scramble and partitioning of Africa. The empire's tourism taste is also hinged on or catalysed by colonial experiences.

The shift from traditional to contemporary tourism has fragmented the mass market and new products have been developed to meet the diverse market (Butcher, 2020; Santos, et al 2020). Heritage tourism is a result of the fragmented tourism market. Heritage tourism became a new key sector in contemporary tourism (Ndlovu, 2009). Prentice (1993) notes that heritage tourism needs to be seen as one element of supply and demand within the context of the contemporary tourism industry.

## **2.2 Forms of Tourism**

Domestic Tourism, Internal Tourism, Outbound Tourism, National Tourism, International Tourism, and Inbound Tourism are the six forms of tourism that have been identified by Doswell, (1997). Domestic Tourism refers to the travel within a country's borders as opposed to international tourism, for leisure, or business purposes. Domestic tourism is driven in some cases by the desire to explore one's own country and learn about its history and culture. In other cases,

it might be influenced by factors like cost and the convenience of travel within a country. Inbound Tourism involves travelling into a country by non-residents for tourism. Outbound Tourism refers to travel from a country by its residents, who travel to other countries for business, leisure, or any other commitments (Ndlovu, 2009). Internal Tourism consists of Domestic Tourism and Inbound Tourism. At the same time, a combination of Inbound and Outbound Tourism is sometimes referred to as two-way tourism that results in International Tourism (Doswell, 1997). The UNWTO (2018) further describes an “international tourist as a person who spends more than 24 hours in a country other than that in which he/she has a usual residence, for a period not exceeding 12 months and whose purpose of the visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the country visited”. Knowledge of forms of tourism is important in the understanding and promotion of tourism brands.

## **2.3 Types of Tourism**

This section presents a literature review of the following types of tourism, memorial, educational, medical and heritage tourism.

### **2.3.1 Memorial Tourism**

Sites of death and suffering have become a tourism niche and people attracted to this type of heritage are rising (Yuil, 2003; Lischer, 2019; Dresler and Fuch, 2021). “The term ‘black tourism’ was first used by Malcolm and Lennon, who described it as a phenomenon that includes visitation to places such as murder sites and sites of natural disasters, of death and human catastrophes” (Lennon, and Foley,1996). Tarlow (2005:67) defines “dark tourism as, visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives”. “Other terms are used to mean the same as memorial tourism and these are thanatourism, black spot tourism, grief tourism and atrocity heritage, which were coined to make sense of the

packaging and consumption of death or distress as a tourist experience of both the distant and recent past” (Drvenkar et al., 2015:68). Ashworth and Tunbridge and (1996) are of the opinion that visiting memorial attractions is so often associated to a tourist’s personality or tradition, for instance, Jews visiting Holocaust Museum or visiting battle sites where one’s country was involved or relatives fought. Nora, (1989), and Winter, (2009) observed that memorials can be ‘sites of memory’ for inhabitants affected by major catastrophes. Stone (2012) is of the view that dark tourism plays a role by helping revive mortality through a substitute for reinvented situations and remembering. Heritage landscapes contribute a significant part of the destination’s distinctive cultural identity (Ndlovu, 2015:2). The provision of narratives at memorials, and death is positioned for educational purposes. Drvenkar et al (2015), explain that informative accounts are central to the whole ‘death design’ of the tourist product. Countries develop places, disasters, death or other human catastrophes into tourism landscapes. Henana (2017) is advocating for the development of the Marikana area into a tourism attraction. There was the loss of life in Rustenburg on the 16 of August 2012. The South African Police killed 34 striking miners and wounded 78 at Lonmin mine. Henana posits that the tragic events at Marikana can be tapped into and developed into potential heritage tourism products (Henana, 2017). “The site of Marikana must be promoted as a heritage tourism site, primarily as a dark tourism destination” (Henana, 2017:8). In Harare, people make visits to the National Heroes Acre where graves and history of suffering during the struggle for independence is on display for consumption.

### **2.3.2 Educational Tourism**

According to Rodger, (1998: 28), “the term ‘educational tourism’ or edu-tourism refers to any programme in which participants travel to a location individually or as a group with the primary purpose of engaging in a learning experience directly related to the location”. The middle class

predominantly embarked on educational tourism which was established in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The tourists travelled to Italy or France seeking education and deliberated the information learnt out of the country, their involvements in creative work produced through the use of language and travel encounters. Marunda (2014) expresses that educational tourism comprises several sub-types, including countryside or ranch tourism, ecotourism, educational institutions swapping students, and heritage tourism. Schools, universities, colleges and other organised groups have engaged heritage tourism sites, particularly those that belong to iconic individuals, for education purposes. Zimbabwe schools have organised trips to National Heroes Acre, and Matopos, where Rhodes's grave is located, and other areas to be educated about the country's past.

### **2.3.3 Medical Tourism**

Medical tourism is considered one of the tourism divisions that can contribute to a country's economy. Chanbari et al., (2014) observed that quite several less-developed nations are focusing on the medical tourism industry or they are planning to advance this business. Different definitions have been proposed for medical tourism. Sadrmomtaz and Agharahimi, (2010:516) define "medical tourism or medicinal tourism as a kind of travel to other countries to have cure, dentistry, and operation services". Medical tourism also refers to the travelling of individuals to other nation-states to receive health care. Medical tourism refers principally to a new trend of vacationers leaving loved ones to seek care out of the country, often in developing states, along with the institutions that support or offer enticements for such a journey. A medical tourism tourist should have at least one night of accommodation outside one's destination (Reed, 2008). Reed, (2008:1433) in a search for literature on the internet for 'medical tourism' found two types of articles: "travel to deliver health care or travel to seek health care". Some countries are attempting

to develop medical services that can be used and enjoyed by travelling patients. For medical tourism to be successful there is a need for a country to improve its places and technical structures. Once Health tourists utilise the medical potential of a place they can be attracted to other tourist destinations (Chanbari et al, 2014; Cambra, et al, 2022).

#### **2.3.4 Heritage Tourism**

Given the numerous literature on heritage tourism, scholars have not agreed on a universal term. Zeppel and Hall (1992:49) describe “heritage tourism as a special interest in travel, which ranges from the investigation of physical remains of the past and natural landscapes to the experiencing of local cultural traditions”. Park (2014) views heritage tourism as being engrossed in exploring the material and non-material remnants of the bygone period. Heritage tourism refers to visits to tourist attractions regarded as having historic significance or heritage places (Ndlovu, 2015; Palmer, 1999). McIntosh and Prentice (1999) define heritage tourism as tourism that has a heritage as its basis. Heritage tourism has for the most part progressively turned out to be a share of international tourism, especially in countries that are seeking to diversify tourism. This study adopts the definition by Poria (2001:57), who states that “heritage tourism is tourism to places categorised as heritage or historic places”. She goes on to define the heritage tourist site, “as a place that attracts tourists by its heritage characteristics or by the heritage characteristics of the artefacts included within it, which the tourists perceive as part of their heritage”.

Special Interest Tourism (STI) is a result of the growth of sub-cultures of society which is not the same as mass tourism (Apleni, Vallabh and Henama, 2017). The development of the travel and leisure industry has also been connected with the growth of SIT or special tourism. Heritage tourism has developed from mass tourism as niche tourism. Ivanovic and Saayman, (2013) posit

that cultural heritage and cultural landscapes are the plentiful and the most visited types of tourism attractions in destinations in the world. Cultural heritage is diverse and includes immovable and movable materials such as monuments and objects made by man (Ndlovu, 2015). It also embraces intangible customs inherited from past generations and handed down by tradition “in the form of manners, activities, drama, visual arts, festive events, protocols and conventions, vis-à-vis fauna and flora, including skills to produce traditional crafts, music and dance (UNESCO, 2003)”. Connecting cultural heritage and tourism can improve individual, group and national identity. It is, therefore, clear that memorialised iconic individuals can be a fundamental resource for tourism. Heritage tourism attractions are linked with a country’s historical past. In some cases, the past is unsettled and characterised by contestations for economic exploitation, power, armed conflict, and economic and cultural exploitation (Henana, 2017). Heritage tourism is closely linked to state formation because it involves the preservation and promotion of sites and symbols that are associated with a nation’s history and culture (Ndlovu, 2015; Hlongwana and Ndlovu, 2019). By preserving these sites and symbols, the state can reinforce its identity, and history and encourage citizens to identify with the state and its values. According to Hlongwana and Ndlovu (2019), historical sites in many countries have been promoted as tourist destinations. Lin et al (2022:320) stated that “heritage tourism can enable tourists to indulge in a cherished past enriched with cultural historical treasures”. Histories and legacies of important individuals have been memorialised by the state and turned into tourist attractions.

#### **2.4 Heritage as a Product in Tourism Development**

Heritage is one of the most important tourist attractions and an important source for tourism expansion (Ching-Fu and Pei Chun, 2010). Heritage in its various forms is intricately related to tourism (Bitušíková, 2021). The growth of heritage tourism has influenced on presentation and

representation of tangible and intangible heritage within tourism. Park (2014) and Ndlovu (2015) argue that the concept of heritage, which changes given the political, economic and socio-cultural surroundings, has to engage with globalised communities and societies. The same globalised communities have become assimilated but thrive to have their own distinct identities.

Heritage products offer opportunities for economic, social, and political growth to specific regions or even countries (Boucher et al. 2018). Heritage as a product comprises three simple constituents: attractions, amenities, and right to use. The attractions are the significant components which lead to the trips enjoyed by tourists. According to Poria (2001), heritage is sometimes created and does not have to be authentic for it to attract visitors. Heritage is categorised under site and event attractions. The amenities are the products that meet the requirements of visitors for the period of the vacation (Ndlovu, 2015). Access consists of the movement of visitors from their place of origin and within the area they have visited. Heritage can be incorporated into a tourist product: as an attraction, amenities, and or an amalgamation of both.

When organising heritage products routes it is crucial to plan route circuits that have attractions with similar features that can satisfy the visitors more. Ismagilova et al., (2015) state that internal tourism growth is greatly influenced by heritage. Therefore, heritage plays a pivotal role in the development of tourism products and destinations (Ndlovu, 2015). Chen and Chen (2010) argue that for heritage tourism to be successful, not only does it rely on tourism policy, attractiveness and uniqueness, but also on the support of locals for tourism development. Boucher et al. (2018) contend that planning engagement with stakeholders is the foundation for heritage tourism success.

Heritage is not static but a culturally ascribed and socially constructed process (Smith, 2006). Heritage is open to multiple interpretations from various stakeholders. Consequently, heritage is

dynamic and protected by those who place value on it. Hewison (1987:144) views heritage as a 'bogus history' commercially manufactured for entertainment. Heritage is prone to change and discarded by its users. Park (2014) observed that the heritage tourism industry is being condemned for the appearance of quasi-heritage products that lack meaning. Similarly, the concept of authenticity in developing heritage attractions for tourist consumption is neither static nor fixed. A lot of time is invested in promoting, (re) creating stories and images of the past rather than telling real stories about the past in heritage tourism. The stories and images created are, thus, fundamental in enhancing appeal.

Poria (2001) classifies tourists who visit heritage sites into four types. Poria's four classifications are, "a tourist who is motivated by the heritage characteristics of the place and perceives the place as belonging to his/her heritage, a tourist who is motivated by the heritage characteristics of the place but does not perceive the place as related to his/her heritage, a tourist who is aware of the heritage characteristics of the place but is not motivated by them to visit the site, and a tourist who is not aware of the heritage characteristics of the place".

The term 'heritage' in the framework of tourism is associated with the following products: (Santos, et al, 2020), attraction (Liu, et al, 2017), motivation (Changuk, 2001), resources (Chaudhary, 2000), industry (Light, 1995), business (Prentice 1993b), and segmentation of tourists (Getz, 1991). Heritage products are from time to time used to generate positive images and in numerous cases, unwanted heritage is not developed into attractions (Johnson, 1999). The selection of what is to be presented is made by a few individual(s) choices which are influenced by their background and attitudes (Caffyn and Lutz, 1999).

Poria (2001) looks at heritage in terms of “supply and demand with the supplier being the one that wishes to supply something (heritage) and the customer (may purchase the supplied product - heritage)”. Four responses can take place concerning a provider and the consumer which are; “the suppliers want to supply and the customers want to consume the suppliers' Heritage, the suppliers want to supply but the customers have no demand for their Heritage, the suppliers do not want to supply heritage but the customers want their Heritage and lastly the suppliers want to supply one type of heritage and the customers would like a different kind of heritage” (Ndlovu, 2015; Poria, 2001: 51). Heritage is not a normal product as it behaves in the following way; it is not always made for profit unlike normal products and that the providers occasionally request certain parts of the inhabitants to visit their heritage attraction. “Supply heritage is usually associated with the good history or good passive history and bad passive history. The decision on good/bad/active/passive is based on the consumer and suppliers side point of view” (Poria, 2001:52). Heritage in the context of tourism can be treated as a resource that is used to attract tourists (Ndlovu, 2015; Poria, 2001:60). The unique blend of culture and heritage associated with such sites make them particularly interesting destinations to visit (Arumugam, et al 2023).

## **2.5 Overview of Prominent People and Tourism Development in Southern Africa**

Cases from Southern Africa show how immovable heritage sites have regularly existed as subjects of contestation among various stakeholders, such as politicians, legislators, scholars, communities, heritage practitioners, and tourism officials (Fontein, 2006; Ndoro, 2005). More often, the conflict is centred on, among others, issues of personal and national identity constructions, nationalism, ownership, development and the political, economic and other use or misuse of heritage landscapes. Hamilton (2011) “states that it is time to consider the role of cultural heritage in the socio-economic development of people and their sense of identity and cohesion”. In South Africa,

Marschall (2010) and Ndlovu (2015) observe that heritage has become a resource associated with multiple benefits for different stakeholders, including local communities. This research examined how various aspects of tourism (marketing material, guided tours, tourism narratives, images, goods and services and many others) contribute to the shaping of Joshua Nkomo's representation and memorialisation. It should be noted that the growth of heritage tourism in the course of settler administration and post-colonial spaces reflects what Fontein, 2006 (2012) describes as an expression of state power. During colonialism and Apartheid, white South Africans easily identified with cultural symbols that they identified with and left out blacks as outsiders (Henana, 2017).

In post-colonial contexts, the state employs heritage as a tool for social cohesion, while local communities use it to demand rights and access to resources (Collet, 1992; Eichler, 2020). Thus, heritage becomes a platform for making claims to resources and restitution for marginalized communities, for example, similar cases occurred in South Africa during apartheid (Witz and Murry, 2015). Heritage tourism products and destinations provide Southern Africa with opportunities for tourism growth (Ndlovu, 2015). Tadesse, (2023) observed that heritage resources drive tourism development. European 'heroes' have been immortalised, valorised and canonised in Southern African territories, commercialised and packed as tourist attractions. David Livingstone (1813-1973) a Scottish physician, missionary and explorer who traversed most of the Southern African countries, is valorised in Malawi, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. David Livingstone was the first European to 'discover' the Victoria Falls. He was subsequently memorialised and some of the sites in Malawi, Britain, Zambia and Zimbabwe are developed tourism sites in his honour. In Zambia, a town and a museum have been after him (Lewis, 2011). Cecil John Rhodes, the founder of the colonial Rhodesian state, features prominently on the

heritage tourism landscape in Southern Africa. Rhodes memorials are found in both South Africa and Zimbabwe in Southern Africa. His statues have until recently been in public space in South Africa where the University of Cape Town students interrogated Rhode's relevance in independent South Africa. Rhodes's heritage tourism trail was established during colonialism as a result of the construction of a nation in Southern Rhodesia. There were efforts in independent South Africa and Zimbabwe to undo an already established 'colonial' tourism brand.

The following Southern African states Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe are expanding their tourism industry by focusing on heritage-based tourism as a niche product (Rogerson and Saarinen, 2015). The countries also have a similar history of resisting colonialism. In as much as they are diversifying tourism through new heritage created in the process of liberating their countries, one of the aims was nation-building projects (Jopela, 2017). In Southern Africa, one such attempt to diversify the heritage sector has been the turn towards the use of well-known individuals as platforms for tourism. In the region, individuals whose lives have been transformed into tourism platforms include Agostinho Neto (Angola), Seretse Khama (Botswana), Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel (Mozambique), Sam Mujoma (Namibia), Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe, Steve Biko, Albert Luthuli and Tiyo Soga (South Africa), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) and Joshua Nkomo (Zimbabwe). The sites are the focus of public and private visits. All these individuals played key roles in the liberation of their respective countries.

Tourism development on iconic individuals in Southern Africa has a precedence in colonialism. Martins and Cardina (2019) focused on the Memorial Antonio Neto in Angola. They analysed "the political representations of the monument by examining its main narratives, questioning its

silence”. Just as in Zimbabwe, there are two main liberation movements, with each pushing their narratives and identities about the liberation of the countries. Memorial Antonio Neto in Angola is a modern form of commemoration by class, sexual category or doctrinally, regionally or culturally related. The monument has a section of the museum devoted to four subjects related to Neto, which are “the poet, the healer, the liberator, and the statesman”. However, the MAAN memorial is silent on interior power skirmishes inside MPLA and the disintegration of Angolan patriotism. Although the authors noted these silences in their case study, they did not go further to indulge in getting to know how visitors and communities perceive the Neto Memorial in Angola.

Liberation or ‘struggle’ heritage tourism is becoming popular in Southern Africa (Khumalo et al. 2014). The region has memorialised the founding fathers and some of the heritage created has been catapulted into lucrative tourism projects like that of Nelson Mandela in South Africa whose heritage sites are receiving a respectable number of both domestic and global tourists (Mgexkwa et al, 2019). Khumalo et al. (2014) examined visitor opinions of heritage and its significance for the leisure industry in South Africa. They used two prominent liberation sites, Constitution Hill and The Hector Pieterse Memorial and Museum. Connecting these heritage sites to tourism has generated employment and higher property values for local communities in some areas, especially in South Africa (Mgexkwa, 2019). The Nelson Mandela Museum has provided tourists with a quality experience and in all sectors the public is achieving an improved state of finances and collective welfare (Mgexkwa, 2019). The well-known individual iconic heritage site in the South African tourism landscape is that of Nelson Mandela. Mgexkwa et al (2019) carried out a study to understand visitorship at Nelson Mandela Heritage sites. The aim was to link Nelson Mandela's site attributes to understand why visitors are attracted to the sites. At the three Nelson Mandela Heritage Sites, visitor segments were identified in order of importance which are comprehensive

experience seekers, convenience experience seekers and auxiliary experience seekers. In their article, Mgxekwa et al (2016) noted that comprehensive experience seekers are perceived as the most important market as they are willing to pay the most for the most memorable experience.

In terms of gender, only a few women, such as Charlotte Maxeke in South Africa and Mbuya Nehanda in Zimbabwe, have been memorialised and heritage individually and turned into tourism resources. Arguably, the most distinctive and controversial cultural products in urban South Africa are the heritage struggle attractions which constitute an integral component of the country's township or slum tourism economy (Khumalo et al., 2014; Marschall, 2006). The way people's identity is reflected and portrayed in post-apartheid South Africa is a fundamental theme for heritage tourism (Marschall, 2006). Homes of personalities who fought against Apartheid have been turned into museums, for example, houses belonging to Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela, Solomon Mahlangu and Steve Biko's parents's home in Ginberg. Statues have also been erected in memory of the struggle leaders like Sol Mkhize" (Hlongwane and Ndhlovu, 2019). They argue that it is the powerful people whose histories of persecution by the Apartheid regime, incarceration and hangings dwarf the histories of workers who equally contributed to resisting Apartheid.

The government of Mozambique like its neighbours has tapped into the liberation heritage by declaring historical sites connected to the state's struggle for freedom as national monuments. Jopela, (2017) states that Mozambique's government started memorialising liberation heritage at all costs because of politics after thirty years of independence. One of the projects was "a series of publications under the title *vida e obra* (life and legacy) was to create and help 'sacralise' national heroes by telling the stories of the lives and legacies of some of the freedom fighters" (Jopela,

2017). The then President Guebuza, wanted to impart liberation ideology among the people of Mozambique. Mozambique through President Guebuza utilised FRELIMO's political ancestors and Mozambican national heroes in the construction of a national identity. Guebuza was preoccupied with inculcating a notion of utopia capable of building a national identity to sustain the liberation discourse and therefore, to legitimize FRELIMO's right to rule. Mozambique decided to monumentalize and memorialise two of its founding fathers, Eduardo Mondlane with a monument and statue in Maputo and constructed monuments and statues for Samora Machel, in all provincial capitals (Jopela, 2017). Jopela's discussion sought to illustrate the different socio-political and historical contexts under which the liberation heritage discourse was promoted, mobilised, contested, and even suppressed in post-colonial Mozambique. This research looked at the implications of tourism on the memorialisation of an iconic figure in Zimbabwe.

Namibia also has tourism developed from memorialised individuals. Namibia honoured the likes of Sam Nujoma, Hosea Kutako, Nehale Mpingana, Mandume Yandemufayo, Limpumbu YaTshilongo and many others for the roles played in liberating the country. Some of the memorials dedicated to iconic individuals have become tourist attractions, for example, the Sam Nujoma statue (Niezen, 2017; Becker, 2018). Sam Nujoma's life-size statue greets visitors before they enter the Namibian Independence Memorial Museum (Becker, 2018). According to Becker (2018), Sam Nujoma's statue is the most visible and most visited. The memorials have replaced the infamous colonial memorial of the Windhoek Rider, and dwarf the Alte Feste and the Christuskirche. Some of these prominent people have been etched in Namibia's heritage tourism and memorial landscape (Becker, 2018).

Tourism, through memorialised individuals, is still developing in Malawi. Lipenga (2009) notes that memorialisation through statues comparatively in other southern African countries is new in Malawi. The government of Malawi commissioned two statues of late former presidents who are Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda and Bingu wa Mutharika. Lipenga (2009) thinks that the statues in Malawi exist as vocalisations of Malawian imagination and change in nationalism. Lusaka's (2019) studies focused on the invention of cultural forms and heritage in Malawi and how they meet cultural and political needs. He posits that there is a need for studies in Malawi that assess how David Livingstone and Kamuzu Banda's heritage forms in Malawi be used to generate income and support the tourism industry.

In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda and other iconic individuals from various countries in Southern Africa had their legacies constructed as national heritage through museums and other memorialisation practices (Simakole, 2012; Mbewe, et al 2023). The way Kaunda was treated by President Chiluba poses a danger to managing heritage as it creates a continuous circle of heritage contestations. So, Kenneth Kaunda, just like Nkomo, is a person who was later vilified by his government. The difference, though, is that Nkomo's vilification takes place before joining the government whilst that of Kenneth Kaunda takes place after dethronement. Issues of heritage management, tourism and the construction of identity are of critical concern in the region (Murray and Witz, 2013). The significance of colonial heritage in Southern Africa is that geopolitical boundaries do not separate people's lived and liveable experiences in the context of tourism. However, despite the development of heritage tourism internationally, Southern Africa and Southern Africa heritage tourism products remain underdeveloped (Viljoen and Henama, 2017).

## **2.6 History of Tourism and Public Lives in Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe is a land-locked state that shares boundaries with South Africa to the south, Mozambique to the east, Zambia and the tip of Namibia to the northwest and Botswana to the southwest. The country's main tourist attractions are the Great Zimbabwe Monument, Kariba Dam, Victoria Falls, and several national parks. Child et al, (1989) state that the majority of Zimbabwe's tourist attractions are made up of national parks and other protected biological resources. The Department of Parks and Wildlife is managing one of the country's prime tourism attractions. Zhou (2018:2) argues that "Zimbabwe is well-resourced with a tapestry of tourism resources whose economic potential has not yet been realised." According to ZTA (2018), "tourist arrivals into Zimbabwe reached 2,579,974 in 2018, 6% up from 2,422,930 recorded in 2017. The growth in arrivals was driven by the notable increases from all source regions, except the Americas". According to Chibaya (2013:85), tourism "in post-colonial Zimbabwe can be divided into four phases". The first one is from independence to 1990, a period when the government focused on rebuilding the country after the war by focusing on backbone industries such as agriculture, mining and manufacturing. During this period, tourism was neglected, only to be revived to protect workers in the industry and contribute to a respectable appearance of the nation (Ndlovu, 2009). The government created the Zimbabwe Tourism Development Corporation (ZTDC) in 1981 as a tourism investment vehicle.

In Zimbabwe, heritage has been used to stimulate pride in the nation, with the country being named after an archaeological site (Ndoro, 2005). Zimbabwe has been marketed, using heritage sites, at the international level by different brand names so that it becomes the 'other' that is worth visiting (Ndlovu, 2009). The recent brand name for Zimbabwe's tourism is 'A World of Wonders'. Zimbabwe's tourism destination is marketed by the "Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA), a

corporate body responsible for tourism promotion, planning and development, research and the enforcement of standards and services”. Heritage has been presented mostly through formal education, curriculum development and non-formal structures such as site tours, displays and recently, the internet in Zimbabwe (Ndoro, 2005). Chipunza (2005:43) argues “that the management of monument heritage in Zimbabwe is an uneconomic approach since the NMMZ is viewed as a non-profit organisation”. “Any form of consumerism of monuments and indeed economic consumption has been limited to the middle classes” (Chipunza, 2005:43).

In 1980, the government of Zimbabwe came up with a project to construct a national identity and monetise indigenous African heritage through tourism (Ndlovu, 2009). The government organised a donor conference in 1981 to fundraise for the project (Zukas, 2021). Most of the donors were interested in the promotion of parks and other natural perseveres. Funds were directed towards projects to increase tourist facilities (ZMEPD, 1981). The country received USD 459 Million in soft loans from the World Bank. In 1982, UNESCO provided USD\$353,280 additional assistance for tourism development for World Heritage sites, which are Matobo Hills (1984), Great Zimbabwe National Monuments (1986), Khami Ruins (1986), Mana Pools National Park, Sapi, and Chewore Safari Areas (1984) and Mosi-oa-Tunya/Victoria Falls (1989). The dates in brackets stand for the year in which the site was accepted as a World Heritage Site (Zukas, 2021).

The government of Zimbabwe, through NMMZ, formulated a major strategy for the preservation and improvement of archaeological heritage in 1992, whose strategy was based on the potential of archaeological heritage to attract local and foreign visitors to increase benefits from tourism (Collet, 1992). Zimbabwe’s tourism performance was influenced by both external and internal developments (Ndlovu, 2009). Externally, the 1991 Gulf War affected travelling and, internally,

the 1990 drought and economic meltdown resulting from reactions to the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) awakened the government to consider many alternatives, including attempts to have mass tourism. 2000 to 2008 was the ‘crisis’ period when the country experienced economic and political turmoil after the promulgation of the Compulsory Land Acquisition Act and the 2009 to 2012 period experienced stability after ZANU PF and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the main opposition political party, decided to join ZANU PF in forming a Government of National Unity (GNU). Tourism, like heritage management, has continuously been linked with both European ideas and indigenous values, whereas views held by the majority are surprisingly still marginalised (Ndoro, 2005). There has not been an attempt to understand how individuals and tourists use and construct meaning out of representations of memory in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu, 2009). It is on record that heritage management plays a role in promoting and reinforcing social schemes (Ndoro, 2005:8). According to Drvenkar, Banožić and Živić (2015), the creation of a specific brand of individuals and locations that were crucial in the war is not only a necessity and a duty but also the responsibility of relevant institutions.

Nagata (2010:102) observes that in some former colonies, debates arose over issues of representation and preservation of colonial and other immigrant cultural heritage at a time when post-colonial societies were engaged in the process of producing history that is appropriate to both their cultural heritage and the new national image. Nagata’s observation informs this study of the need to critically examine the development of tourism resources from outstanding individuals and the memorialisation process by the government of Zimbabwe. A group by the name Mthwakazi Liberation Front continues with efforts to have the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces of Zimbabwe secede from the rest of the country to form an entity they refer to as Mthwakazi, one that has no relationship with the country known as Zimbabwe (*The Herald*, 22 January 2014).

History has it that it is also in the same western parts of the country that fierce debates surrounding the issue of old monuments, shrines and graves belonging to prominent individuals, as well as attempts to erect new ones, have also taken place (Mataga, 2014).

However, the above chronicle of events has only been limited to the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces of the country, and mostly projected as arising from the Ndebele and Shona conflicts. Studies in the subject matters of history and representation have all pointed to the fact that these contests transcend mere ethnic groupings and are not confined to a region or country (Nora, 1989). Labadi and Long (2010) contend that heritage practice in such environments ought to be understood as a practice of cultural politics.

Whereas most studies on community participation at major sites and monuments, such as Great Zimbabwe, have taken centre stage in the discourses of heritage tourism in Zimbabwe (Chauke, 2003; Fontein 2006; Ndoro 2005; Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008), and other scholars have concentrated on the role of cultural heritage particularly archaeology in building nationhood, politics, economics and social constructions of identity in post-colonial Africa (Shepherd, 2002; Edensor 2020; Sinamai, 2013). Some scholarship on post-colonial Zimbabwe has also focused on alternative museums such as culture houses (Ucko, 1994), theme parks (Mavesere, 2002), and the historical reconstruction of old settlements such as Old Bulawayo (Muringaniza, 1998). However, considerable literature has lamented how cultural tourism in Africa has remained as marginal as heritage institutions themselves (Pwiti and Ndoro, 1999; Stone and Mackenzie, 1990; Munjeri, 1990; Mugunzva, 2016). Pwiti and Ndoro (1999) also raise the need for re-orientation in post-colonial Southern Africa to undo the alienation of locals from heritage tourism. There is a dearth of literature on how individuals can become heritage and then tourism products. Most of the

literature in Zimbabwe focuses on the maintenance and protection of heritage and very few on the memorialisation of individuals and processes that come with it.

One of the prominent figures to feature on the tourism landscape in Zimbabwe is Cecil John Rhodes. Rhodes became the identity of the settler colony by naming the country between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers after him. Rhodes's memorial sites attracted tourists from both colonial and independent Zimbabwe. For example, his grave and Rhodes Centenary Exhibition (RCE) of 1953 were to educate new white Rhodesians on the founding myth of the colony, particularly that of Cecil Rhodes (Shutt and King, 2005, Charumbira, 2015). The spectacular Centenary Exhibition was opened by the Queen Mother (Maylam, 2002). The other reason for celebrating Rhodes through RCE was to accommodate the vocal African elite who confronted the state to change its policy with the view of including black people. Rhodes and the British Royal family identity was rendered a central place in Rhodesia through the agency of the RCE which emphasised its transcendent nature across virtually all races. This was achieved by assigning the myriad procedures that under guard various shapes of memorialisation that linked Cecil John Rhodes' name to the physical as well as the philosophical landscape of the country. Rhodes's name to both the physical and ideological topography of the country was to be fulfilled through tourism (Van da Wal, 2018). Maylam, (2002) suggests that given how Rhodes's name has survived in Oxford, South Africa and Zimbabwe, he must have planned and choreographed his memorialisation, as many people, regardless of race, still visit his memorials. Rhodes's grand funeral magnified his figure and memory. Many settlers visited Rhodes's grave as a place of pilgrimage and it became contentious. The wording prescribed on the brass plaque covering his grave did not have his date of birth or death; this suggests that Rhodes was placing himself beyond time and immortality (Maylam, 2002).

Rhodes was aware of the importance of symbolising conquest in buildings and monuments. Rhodes chose to be buried at Malinda-dzimu Matosi-po in Matopos. Rhodes named the site of his burial 'the world view' to create a monument dedicated to defeating the Matabele state and the creation of Rhodesia. The 1893 war inspired Rhodes to establish a Rhodesian Valhalla or Heroes Acre (Ranger, 2013). Allan Wilson and his patrol were killed by the Matabele regiments. The defeat created legends that Allan Wilson and his men died singing the national anthem. Rhodes used the Wilson Patrol remains to construct a Rhodesian Valhalla as he realised that they represented important symbolic capital. The bones were interred at the foot of a hill complex in August 1894 (Ranger, 2013). At that time, Rhodes also planned to be buried at Great Zimbabwe and that this could become a burial place for heroic Rhodesians. He changed his mind about Rhodesian Heroes Acre when he 'discovered' the worldview. The Allan Wilson patrol was exhumed and reburied in Matopos.

Rhodes's grave was very much a place for white pilgrimage and celebration. Every new Rhodesian was expected to visit Rhodes' grave, and a memorial service was held at the grave every Sunday closest to the anniversary of Rhodes's death every year. Other Rhodesian heroes who are buried at Malinda-dzimu Matosi-po are the first prime minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Charles Coghlan and Leander Starr Jameson who was buried on the 18th of May 1920. Coghlan was well-known for campaigning for Southern Rhodesia's autonomy against the Union of South Africa. Without him, Rhodesia would certainly have become a fifth province of South Africa. Consequently, there would not have been a nationhood of Rhodesia in 1965 and an independent nation of Zimbabwe (Chennells, 2013). The Rhodesian Valhalla was becoming a major tourist attraction. In 1924, Eric Nobbles published a guide to the Matopos, which hotel and car hire firms advertised. New settlers were expected to pay homage and pilgrimage to the Rhodesian 'founder'. Jameson and other settler

heroes were also buried close to Rhodes. Iconic individual colonial heritage places are saleable tourist destinations for both domestic and international visitors. In Zimbabwe, the mainstream visitors to Rhodes's grave are the indigenous Zimbabweans, despite the mixed emotions concerning Rhodes as a European 'hero' in Africa vis-a-vis the Cape-to-Cairo dream. There has not been any literature that attempted to analyse why Rhodes's grave is a preferred tourism destination to the locals in Matopo. The grave at Matopos generates mixed feelings among the Zimbabweans (Muringaniza, 2002). The grave became a contested tourist attraction in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Kriger (1992) argues nation building using memorials is a conflictive and controversial process as monuments are not neutral.

Pioneer themes, British imperial heritage and white settler identity dominated Rhodesian tourism and memorial landscape (Shutt and King, 2005). From statuary and memorials of David Livingstone representing the exploration period, Kingsley Fairbridge born in 1885 and died in 1924, established a child relocation arrangement to colonies of Britain and the Fairbridge Schools. He set up the "Society for the Furtherance of Child Emigration to the Colonies", which was subsequently shortened to become "Child Emigration Society" and ultimately the "Fairbridge Society". Kingsley Fairbridge's memorial has a design of his African friend Jack, and his dog Vic, which is now exhibited at Utopia House Museum. Utopia House is now part of the Mutare Museum, in Zimbabwe. Soon after the attainment of independence, Kingsley's statue was deemed undesirable and was removed from its initial position on Christmas Pass and later exhibited at his father's house. Manetsi (2020) notes these double standards by post-colonial governments regarding statues as undesirable but at the same time, they still use the buildings left behind by the same colonialists. Mother Patrick Mortuary is dedicated to five sisters who volunteered to work in Rhodesia as nurses in 1890. The five sisters were "Mary Ann Cosgrave, born on 22 May 1863 in

Summerhill, County Meath, Ireland, Sister Amica Kilduff, of Irish stock, born and growing up in South Africa, Sister Francis Condon, born in Ireland, grown up in South Africa, Sister Ignatius Haslinger, a German, and Constantia Frommknecht, also a German. Both German Sisters had come to King William's Town from St Ursula in Augsburg". Birchenough Bridge, named after Sir Albeit Beit, is a tourist attraction. It is worth noting that the colonial government honoured prominent Africans, for example, Mzilikazi's grave and Mashayamombe's stronghold and several other sites were made national monuments during the colonial era. However, Manetsi (2020) does not deal with how the memorialisation of prominent individuals influences identity, heritage and tourism and Pinto (2022) argues that the myth of colonial historiography was used to provide frameworks for the legitimisation of colonial rule.

Western visitors dominated tourism during the European occupation of Africa. Colonialism also divided the black population into urban and rural, with the latter remaining engrained in a colonial economy, with very little disposable income to tour. At the same time, culture remains the most significant 'pull factor' that shapes tourist choices to visit different destinations internationally (Akama, 2000). Heritage tourism sites were used by the colonial state to marginalise and exclude Blacks and to legitimise the superior status of Whites in society. Indigenous African cultures and heritage were presented to foreign tourists as uncivilised. This is one of the disconnecting factors among identity, heritage and tourism which will be discussed in detail in this study. Tourism depends greatly on cultural tourism, where visitors' motivations are grouped as 'culturally motivated', 'culturally inspired' and 'culturally attracted' (Ndlovu, 2009). Kranz, and Goedderz, (2020) assert that the longing for the past and the need to reaffirm national and local identities have had an essential effect on how cultural tourists visit heritage tourism sites.

The construction of famous individual monuments to honour those who participated in the struggle for independence is not exclusive to Zimbabwe. The world over, countries have erected monuments to commemorate different types of wars and individuals who participated or perished in them (Magadzike, 2011). Charwe Nehanda Nyakasikana is one iconic individual who has been thrust into tourism by the government of Zimbabwe, alongside Joshua Nkomo. Nehanda was one of the main spiritual leaders of African resistance to white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia (Kuba, 2018). Charumbira (2020) argues Nehanda's memory of resisting British colonial administration has been inscribed in the memory of Africans in the diaspora and the continent. Nehanda is a symbol of resistance in Zimbabwe. Collier (2022) asserts that Mbuya Nehanda has been commemorated by renaming Lady Chancellor Hospital to Mbuya Nehanda Maternity Hospital, and Victoria Street to Mbuya Nehanda Street in the City of Harare. A contentious statue of Mbuya Nehanda was unveiled by the government on the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 2021 (Collier, 2022). The controversy on the Mbuya Nehanda statue was primarily over the image which did not resemble the known photograph of her and people who questioned the government's priorities overspending on it while the economy was struggling. According to ZTA, the Mbuya Nehanda statue, like all other memorial sites, is anticipated to preserve the country's history and reposition Harare as a tourism hub. Mbuya Nehanda's statue brings to light the neglected theme of gender in Zimbabwe's memorialisation landscape. Historians and the government have played a big role in filling the popular memory of Mbuya Nehanda (Charumbira, 2020). Nehanda appeared and reappeared in memory through historical Charwe and the work of historians and the state. This study deals with an individual whose past is directly linked to current Zimbabwe memorial practices, Joshua Nkomo.

According to Hlongwane and Ndlovu (2019:1), “Memorialisation has been an integral part of the various contradictory processes of state formation in southern Africa from the pre-colonial era to the era of resistance to colonial conquest...”. The quest to understand the post-colonial memorialisation process of prominent individuals will not be complete without looking at the colonial precedent. At face value, the colonial and post-colonial states seemed and seem to have similar patterns in heritage tourism in Zimbabwe. Heritage provides a platform on which societies are constructed, and Zimbabwe is not an exception. Zimbabwe became a British colony in 1893, with the settlers raising the Union Jack flag in Mt Hampden (Hall, 2005). The settlers faced hardships, emotional bonds and feelings of love, loyalty and identity. Institutions celebrating pioneer legacy were established to memorialise the past, thereby contributing to the creation of a white-dominated state (Fisher, 2010). The colonial state commemorated pioneers and white settlers’ achievements by memorialising prominent people, holidays, commemorative events and other forms, at the expense of African cultures and history. A lot has been written in terms of representations and memorialisation in Zimbabwe. Arnold (1989) provides a list of monuments and effigies in colonial and independent Zimbabwe. Colonial statues, graves and memorials were added to the cultural landscape and some of them became huge tourist attractions. Cecil John Rhodes’s grave and his other representations became popular with tourists (Maylam, 2005). David Livingstone’s statue in Victoria Falls and Cecil John Rhodes, who was the founder of Rhodesia and his grave in the Matobo Cultural landscape, Matabeleland South of Zimbabwe, are among the most prominent colonial structures of heritage tourism. In juxtaposing colonial heritage and African heritage, there seems to have been an agenda by both the colonial and the independent governments to construct a nation and tell a story to visitors.

The post-independence dispensation is felt by some to have done the same in so far as it excludes other narratives within the memorialisation discourse. According to Fischer (2010), the state of Zimbabwe started by undoing the white colonial supremacy and reconstructing the new state with an African identity. Garlake (2002) puts across new interpretations of African monuments and culture. Zimbabwe is experiencing a reactionary evolution of liberation heritage as a decolonisation project. Kriger (1995:140) “alludes to the fact that the creation and presentation of national heroes by the post-colonial government of Zimbabwe is mired in controversy”, while Werbner (1998) draws attention to the process of memorialising the liberation struggle in nation-building. However, very limited literature, for example, Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2007, 2009) and Javangwe (2011), engages with post-colonial representation and nation-building. Other literature, (Rupiya, 2002 and Vambe, 2009), on post-colonial representation, critique the autobiographical representations of prominent people like Joshua Nkomo. “The adoption of Resolution 33C/29 by the Commission for Culture (Commission IV) of the UNESCO at the latter’s 33rd General Conference in October 2005 led the government of Zimbabwe to develop and manage the liberation struggle legacy as an important aspect of heritage and initiated the Liberation Heritage Route” UNESCO. The project also fits into the “Roads to Independence” and the “African Liberation Heritage” programme, a multi-country programme hosted by Tanzania in collaboration with the African Union and UNESCO. In his analysis of the liberation heritage in Zimbabwe, Samwanda (2013: i) concluded that “monuments and public sculpture serve as the necessary interface of the visual, cultural and political discourse of a postcolonial nation that is constantly in transition and dialogue with the everyday realities of trying to understand and construct a national identity from a nest of sub-cultures.” Ndlovu and Tshuma (2022), posit that national memory

always remains a contested terrain in independent African countries. Limited research has explored how these forms of memorialisation could be harnessed for heritage tourism development.

Heritage tourism is gradually developing among local communities in Southern Africa (Keitumes, McAttackney and Senata, 2011). The most prominent in the marketing and consumption of tourism in Southern Africa and Zimbabwe are monuments, archaeological sites, natural landscapes, and wildlife. The intangible aspects of heritage embedded in memories and identities also have a great potential for tourism expansion in Southern African countries in general and specifically in Zimbabwe.

## **2.7 The Nexus Between Heritage Tourism, Memory and Identity**

Generally, heritage and tourism have been characterised by a two-sided relationship that is considered conflictive on one hand, and cooperation on the other (McKercher et al., 2003). Apostolakis, (2003) has suggested that tourism and heritage are incompatible, thereby bringing in a conflictive relationship (ICOMOS, 1999). Heritage values might be compromised because of the need for financial benefits (Urry, 1990). Wanjohi (2002) attests to the impact of cultural tourism on the Maasai Community in Kenya. He argues that because of the economic gains through tourism, traditional performances are being stage-managed and far removed from contexts that give them meaning (Ndlovu, 2009). Cultures, therefore, are reconsidered and integrated into the mechanism of economic production (Ndlovu, 2015; Wanjohi, 2002). Alternatively, others argue that the interaction between heritage and tourism creates beneficial relationships whereby gains rather than conflict accrue (McKercher et al., 2003). Accordingly, heritage is regarded as the root of cultural tourism, as people are connected to their cultural roots (Marschall, 2015; Presti and Pretillo, 2010). Visitors interact with different identities at heritage tourism sites, as heritage

shapes people's identity. The interaction with identities might be direct or subtle and, resultantly, conjures diverse reactions in the visitors.

Southern African communities are experiencing a steady growth of heritage tourism. As a result, there is a need to analyse the type of identities that can be conveyed through heritage tourism landscapes (Ndlovu, 2015). Tangible heritage has largely been available for consumption through tourism. However, the intangible aspects have always existed alongside the tangible, but have been ignored by mainstream academia. According to Keitumetse et al. (2011), the formation of heritage identities using memory does not conform to conventional heritage management approaches. Memory is regarded as a key vector of intangible cultural heritage and identity is the channel of knowledge and activities where tourism becomes the intermediate through which the identity is articulated (Ndlovu, 2015). Therefore, memory becomes a source and storage of identity. Memoirs turn out to be "...a dynamic process that is the result of the practices of individuals and groups – practices of memorialisation, ritual, the creation of shrines, the debates and battles... that emerge in the construction of memory institutions" (Sturken, 2008:74). In non-literate communities, however, memory as practice (or lived experience) becomes a vital source of heritage knowledge (Keitumetse, McAtackney and Senata, 2011). Heritage tourism is regarded as a promoter of intercultural communication among peoples, countries and regions. According to Park (2014), heritage tourism brings up a social relationship between people. The socio-cultural relation presented by heritage tourism is constructed by a labyrinth of players that includes politicians, travel agencies, regional authorities, policy-makers and hotels, among others, as they arbitrate between visitors and hosts. Essentially, heritage tourism is a compromise between the identities of human groups that come into contact as hosts and guests. Heritage tourism is also a social practice that constructs and re-constructs identities, for example, social identities, nationalism, and

transnationalism as they contribute to the creation of a globalised world (Bauman, 1999:103-133). In addition, heritage tourism is a very good arena for understanding discourses, images and representations of the 'other'. These representations are an important element of the negotiation between hosts and visitors and they, in turn, influence the contexts of interaction. The relationship between heritage, memory and identity is complex, intricate and symbiotic ((Ndlovu, 2015; Park, 2014). A memorial is an important statement of the identity of a place, person, community or phenomenon. It can be a peg around which identities are constructed and deconstructed, formed and deformed, erased or resuscitated. The problem of identity is central to the memorialisation practice. Merriman (2000) avers that "elsewhere in the world, heritage tourism can be used to construct new national and ethnic mythologies and inform new identities to mould together historically distinct groups". Wel, et al (2022:8798) argue that "Tourism, especially heritage tourism, plays a central role in developing, promoting, and strengthening national identities among domestic and even international tourism". In Ukraine, Godis and Nilsson (2018:1670) explored divergent representations and cultural identity in a contested landscape and established that "nationalistic and the Eurocentric meta-narratives entrench the identity discourses of Lviv official élite, and how diasporic texts suggest a genre of resistance to the marketing scripts". From this point of view, it will be interesting to analyse how heritage tourism in Zimbabwe has been used to construct and inform new identities by examining the impact of tourism on the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo.

## **2.8 The Production and Construction of Joshua Nkomo as a National Heritage and Tourism Product in Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe, just like many African countries that achieved independence, witnessed the production of patriotic nationalist history and the creation of heritage with nationalistic attributes anticipated

to service the formation of the nation-state (Ranger, 2004; Simakole, 2012, Mbewe, et al 2023). The government embarked on the construction of heritage based on iconic individuals, national identity based on new memorials, and reinterpreting others that were appropriated by the colonisers. The process of production and construction of heritage tourism resources is ongoing, involving diverse local, national and international institutions. As Franz Fanon (1964) observed, “the phenomenon of selectively valorising and disseminating particular versions of history over others was widespread amongst several African post-colonial leaders as ways of buttressing their legitimacy and promoting national unity when confronted with social, economic and political crises”. In Zimbabwe, since independence, the ruling ZANU PF-led administration has used heritage as a political tool to promote patriotism by conjuring up iconic individuals’ legacies and putting them into nation-building narratives (Mataga, 2014). There have been attempts to develop tourism out of memorialised individuals in Zimbabwe.

Other sites crucial to Joshua Nkomo’s life and tourism are the detention sites and prisons where he was incarcerated during the struggle for independence from the 1960s to 1979. Joshua Nkomo was detained in Rhodesia for a long time. “African political activists confined by Rhodesian authorities to remote and specially designated detention centres across Rhodesia, from the early 1960s to 1979” (Munochiveyi, 2013:283). “In some countries, former sites of punishment and incarceration have become a popular tourist experience as defunct prisons are converted into museums or heritage sites, for example, Alcatraz in the United States of America and Robben Island in South Africa” (Strange and Kemper, 2003). Joshua Nkomo spent time at Whahwa, Gonakudzingwa and Sikombela detention centres. Whahwa was in Gweru and Gonakudzingwa was in Gonarezhou National Park. The three detention centres were located in the wilderness where wild animals roamed freely.

Joshua Nkomo's representations of heritage sites have become part of Zimbabwe's collective heritage that transcends individual, local and national levels. Having read Chigwedere (2003), *Chimurenga 11 Episodes: The Hunt for Nkomo* and Nkomo (2013), "*Joshua Nkomo: Father Zimbabwe, the Life and Times of an African Legend*", it became apparent that most of these have become part of his memory and Zimbabwe's heritage. Chigwedere and Nkomo's biographies are hagiographies rather than critical writings. Of the two writers, one is a former colleague in the liberation movement and the other is a nephew, respectively. Joshua Nkomo is presented as more of a hero, the same narrative adopted by the government. In any society, prominent leaders generally get into the domain of public history and heritage through texts and other avenues such as historic sites, national heritage sites, and biographical museums (Simakole, 2012). Nkomo's autobiography titled "*The Story of My Life*" (Nkomo, 1984) largely focuses on his personal experiences, reflections, nationalism and the struggle for independence; how he joined politics and the clashes between (PF) ZAPU and ZANU PF. White (2006:1) avers that,

"Biographies of living people have enormous constraints. If you let the subject speak for himself, the text essentially becomes an autobiography. But if you let other people speak about the subject, there's always the risk that those friends and comrades will want to talk much more about themselves than about the subject of the biography".

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni edited a book on Joshua Nkomo in 2017, titled "*Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo of Zimbabwe: Politics, Power, and Memory*". This was the first academic study of Joshua Nkomo. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017:1) examines "Nkomo's life from historical, literary, cultural, political, and philosophical angles and argues for Nkomo's role in Zimbabwean and postcolonial African history as a philosopher of liberation and de-colonial humanist." Although Ndlovu-

Gatsheni (2017) unpacks Joshua Nkomo's nationally-constructed multiple identities in Zimbabwe, he does not dwell on memorialisation and the issues of heritage and tourism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017).

Biographies and autobiographies that connect with the history of Joshua Nkomo include Bhebhe (2004), Msipa (2015), Tekere (2007), Mhanda (2011), Chung (2006), Chigwedere (2003), Nkomo (2013), Coltart (2016), Muzorewa (1978), and Smith (2008). Whilst the concerned literature is significant in highlighting Joshua Nkomo as seen from other perspectives, the only problem with the literature is that it does not deal with the pertinent issue of the translation of his life into a tourism product. The literature only mentions his role in the anti-colonial struggle histories of Zimbabwe. However, despite the omission, autobiographies and biographies remain as the lenses through which the nation's identities and imaginations are understood (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2010).

In this study, Joshua Nkomo's autobiography, "*The Story of My Life*" is regarded as part of his memorialisation process. Nkomo's writing concerning his life can be located in this discursive framework of memorialisation. Going forward, the study seeks to contribute to this debate by focusing on how biographies are constructed and their contribution to the memorialisation of individuals about heritage, identity and tourism. More often than not, the writers of biographies have different, often conflicting needs emanating from class, ethnicity and geographical background. "Expressions by biographers show different opinions, values and attitudes towards other individuals, groups or the world" (Mhiripiri, 2009). Vambe (2009) argues that Nkomo contributed to his memorialisation by popularising the moniker 'Father Zimbabwe'. In terms of heritagisation, Nkomo's biography does not touch on memorialisation, precisely because no monument had been erected in his honour by the time of writing the book and his death. However,

there is a very important aspect of how Nkomo presents himself to the readers. Javangwe, (2016) opines that Joshua Nkomo constructed his political self-identities through myths. He contends that the idea of “self” is only probable “through the processes of social construction that are ever constituting and re-constituting that self to suit desired images and circumstances” (Javangwe, 2016:2015).

However, as seen from the analyses above of the several biographic works on Joshua Nkomo’s life, they did not extend to the contemporary heritagisation and museumification processes that have characterised Nkomo’s post-life period. As such, this study goes beyond the idea of just a life history as seen through the lens of biographical and autobiographical representations to how life has subsequently impacted the memorialisation, heritagisation, museumization and tourism spheres in Zimbabwe. The research examined the mechanisms through which tourism shapes memorisation practices. The research focused on identities created by Joshua Nkomo’s image as a tourism product, given the multiple identities ascribed to him by various stakeholders. He was once painted as ‘Father Zimbabwe’, a ‘dissident’, a pro-black empowerment leader’, and many others. How contradictions embedded in some of those identities sustain or undermine heritage tourism in Bulawayo is a subject of concern. The Joshua Nkomo Foundation has an annual golf tournament in his honour. Ramshaw, (2014), pronounces that “sport heritage has been positioned as an avenue of memorialisation”. As such, there exists a robust association among sport, heritage and tourism. Sport has been perceived as a window into people’s cultures.

Joshua Nkomo was monumentalised through burial at the National Heroes Acre. The place is a gazetted national monument protected under the NMMZ Act, Chapter 25.11 of 1972. The National Heroes Acre is a monument open to visitors. It is a space used by politicians to address the public

once there is a burial. Muchemwa (2010:505) describes the galas, biras and state funerals as “indices of a necropolitan imagination that the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU - PF) has used to re-construct and re-invent Zimbabwean national identity as part of a strategy in the contestation, usurpation and closure of narrative space.” He further describes the “National Heroes Acre as the prime site for the commodification of dead bodies in Zimbabwe”. Nkomo has had both biras and galas played in his name on several occasions after his death. Joshua Nkomo’s biras are dubbed Umdhala Wethu Gala (Our Gallant Old Man Gala), in which he is portrayed as the Father of the nation. Muchemwa (2010:505) differentiates “biras and galas in that the former are commemorations of the deaths of politicians who have been elevated to the level of ancestors of the nation, whereas galas are associated with commemorations of events associated with the founding narrative of Zimbabwe’s Independence Day, Heroes Day, Defence Forces Day, and Unity Day”.

Nkomo’s statue erected in Bulawayo also became a national monument on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December 2013 and has attracted visitors (Burrett and Mukwende, 2015). The establishment of a museum dedicated to Joshua Nkomo by the Joshua Nkomo Foundation, with the assistance of the government, propelled him into the tourism arena. The museum is advertised online through Facebook and an X/twitter account hosted by the “Joshua Nkomo Foundation and the Ministry of Home Affairs and Cultural Heritage”. Joshua Nkomo features on Bulawayo Tourism Authority marketing materials. Joshua Nkomo sites are on a brochure with other related historic attractions, completing a route which tourists can pursue whilst in Bulawayo. The Natural History Museum in Bulawayo also sells booklets written by Rob Burrett and Tawanda Mukwende (2015), titled *Bulawayo Memories: Promoting Sites of historical interest in and around Bulawayo*, featuring Joshua Nkomo’s statue as part of Bulawayo’s important heritage tourism sites. Tourism in this

case is used to “generate knowledge of an event or a famous person’s life that can be internalised and inscribed within the being of a visitor” (Robb, 2009:3). After the death of Joshua Nkomo, his legacy was turned into mourning, commemoration, tourism, and heritage production.

## **2.9 Memorialisation/Commemoration and Tourism Nexus**

The nexus between memorialisation, commemoration and tourism is a complex relationship. The difference between memorialisation and commemoration is that the former refers to the act of preserving and honouring the memory of a person or event through physical monuments or symbolic gestures (Berliner, 2005). On the other hand, commemoration involves the public recognition and celebration of a significant individual or event. Tourists may be attracted to a destination that offers opportunities for reflection, learning and engagement with the past through memorials, museums, historic sites and other commemorative spaces. According to Nora (1996), remembering, memory and forgetting are key elements of memorialisation. Gonzales (2018) posits that the impact of "Les lieux de mémoire", the colossal reference work headed by French historian Pierre Nora (1984), positions memorialization as the key concept for the field of the emergence and development of Memory Studies. The relationship between memory and tourism led to the creation of “tourisme de memoire” in France (Gonzales, 2018). Memorialisation is honouring the lives of people or events by preserving their memories and is one of the earliest imaginative creations of humanity. Tonkin and Laurence (2003:48) state, “We are amid a worldwide obsession with memorializing that has been unequalled since the age of the dictators”. It helps people to move through grief and celebrate the lives of lost loved ones (Burk, 2003). Memorialisation has existed since before documented history. The past has been commemorated through the creation and dedication of monuments, museums, public landscapes and memorial museums (Ndlovu, 2015). Some famous examples of memorialisation include the Great Zimbabwe Monuments, the

Stone Henge, and The Great Pyramids of Giza in Egypt. Common examples of memorialisation include headstones and gravestones, remembrance trees, plaques, urns, remembrance ceremonies, war memorials and charitable donations/funds. “There are, for example, multiple types of memory: official, unofficial, public, private, collective, communal, local, national, societal, historical, emotional, post-memory, literal, and exemplary” (McDowell, 2008). As Western society grows more comfortable with the idea of funerals and memorialisation, more options are opened up to society. Different new ways to memorialise include naming stars, turning deceased ashes into diamonds, jewellery, and tattooing. Memory and commemoration are inevitably linked to the heritage process which is the selective use of the past (McDowell, 2008; Morgan, 2001).

Serge Thion, a French philosopher, suggests that history is the reconstruction of the past, based on documents and material evidence. “Memory, on the other hand, is a story of the past based on personal remembrance and subjective feelings (Thion, 1993:181-182)”. “With regard to a study such as this, where the effects of economics, time, culture and politics are seen to shape, direct and dictate the representation and interpretation of history, the ‘message’ portrayed through memorial design is often better described as ‘memory’ rather than ‘history’, as multiple levels of remembrance and interpretation have taken place through time”. Arthur Danto, philosopher and art critic, wrote “We erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and build memorials so that we shall never forget” (Danto, 1998:153). Paul Williams, in his 2007 book *Memorial Museums*, describes how some scholars distinguish between ‘memorial’ and ‘monument. He writes that “although some writers distinguish between memorials and monuments based on their political function – memorial often signifies loss and mourning, whereas monument signifies greatness or valour – we often see measures of both in any single structure, making this distinction fuzzy” (Williams, 2007:8). Within this study, the term ‘memorialisation’ is used as an umbrella

term for anything that serves the ‘memory’ of a person or event. Memorialisation may, therefore, proliferate in numerous forms, from permanent expressions such as graves, museums, and works of art, literature or film, or as temporary activities such as theatre, song, dance or ceremonies (Steele, 2006:3). Names of places present another type of commemorative and informative transcript within memorialisation practice.

Halbwachs (1950) views memorialization as an attempt at initiating societal engagement with national history at a time when such attachments to the past are fading. Halbwachs (1947:7) refers to this process as collective memory, which is “a reconstruction of the past [that] adapts the image of ancient facts to the beliefs and spiritual needs of the present.” Tourism is intricately connected to nation-state memorialisation or commemoration (West, 2010). West goes on to state that in many cases, memorialisation is accompanied by some forms of remembrance, such as the establishment of museums and information centres. Repic (2018:27) observes that “various landscape attributes, such as paths, monuments, and memorial places, are being (re)constructed as tourist and hiking destinations, and the narratives attached to these places are integrated into national and local political discourses and commemorations.” Once tourism facilities are developed at memorials, they are upgraded from mere commemorative places into tourism landscapes (Ndlovu, 2015). The first examples established as the origin of the practice of memorial tourism are found in France immediately following the First World War when the most emblematic spaces of the many battles fought became places of pilgrimage (Gonzales, 2018). For example, post-First World War landscapes in the Slovenia Alps have changed from war landscapes into landscapes of memories and heritage. Former places occupied by the military have faced transformation, either destroyed or turned into memorial places and commemorative tourism with the construction of cemeteries and monuments (Repic, 2018). Memorials provide context for

meaning-making and human engagement, which are central to tourism (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz, 1991). Tourists give life to memorials (West, 2010). Tour guide accounts at memorials sometimes do not reflect on collective memories, but are produced for the national and local visitors in the context of the tourism industry by reimagining the different narratives (West, 2010).

Light et al.'s study (2021) examined domestic tourism as a practice within which citizens encounter and engage with the ideological messages of Transitional Justice. In particular, it examined the political 'work' which takes place during visits to a memorial site in Romania. Other scholars have focused research on memorial sites that interpret violence or human rights abuses, often, although not always, using the lens of dark tourism (Isaac and Cakmak, 2016; Weaver et al., 2018). For example, Lloyd (1998) describes the development of post-war tourism and pilgrimage to military sites, and Dimitrova (2005) addresses the commemorations, memorial sites, and monuments of the First World War Bulgarian soldiers as the landscape of memories and forgetting, which also played a role in national identity construction. Perhaps some of the intentions of commemoration are political, economic and social from the outset (Ndlovu, 2015). Although political by nature, political and non-political conversations surrounding monuments need to be explored through tourism.

## **2.10 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has examined the existing literature about subject issues of heritage tourism, memorialisation, heritage-making and Joshua Nkomo's biographies. It was found that although some significant works have been done about these three different epochs, none of the existing studies have been extended to illustrate how the post-life of Zimbabwean post-colonial leaders like

Joshua Nkomo have been transformed into tourism products. This is different from studies elsewhere that have made connections between the lifetime lives of notable personalities such as Nelson Mandela and the subsequent tourism products that have since been crafted out of his life, a gap now being fulfilled by this current study. The next chapter three, reveals theories and conceptual frameworks anchoring this study. The theories discussed are Identity theory, Social identity theory, Social constructionism theory and critical heritage studies concept.

## **CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3.0 Introduction**

The previous chapter reviewed literature related to the study, paying closer attention to the historical development of tourism, forms of tourism, types of tourism, and concepts of individual heritage tourism development, identity and memorialisation. This chapter shifts focus to the theoretical frameworks guiding and orienting this study. It presents tenets extracted from Social Identity and Identity theories, Social Constructionism Theory and Critical Heritage Studies framework. The theories are not presented wholesomely, but rather, only viewpoints relevant to this study. This is against the backdrop that this study considers theories of Identity, Constructionism and Critical Heritage Studies to be the most appropriate to understand the nature of the implications of translating the contested legacies of an iconic individual into a tourism brand implication of tourism on the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo in Zimbabwe. The theoretical and conceptual framework approach utilises various ideas from certain theories as they assist in understanding the impact of tourism on the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo heritage sites. The Critical Heritage Studies approach is used as a way of navigating certain weaknesses inherent in the chosen theories. The next section shifts its attention to identity theories.

### **3.1 Identities Theories**

This section explores the two theories of identity which are Social Identity theory and identity theory on which this research is premised. The two theories have some similarities and differences in how identity is perceived. The next section focuses on the two theories' differences and how they inform heritage, identity, memorialisation and tourism. This is because the major aim of the study is to examine the implication of tourism on the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo and the subsequent tourism development. The theories are relevant because identities are important aspects

of tourism and memorialisation. Attention is paid to the background of the theories, views of the theories and their relevance to the study based on the following variables heritage, tourism and memorialisation.

### **3.1.1 The Social Identity Theory**

The main theory informing this study is the Social Identity Theory, whose leading proponents are Henri Tajfel and John Turner. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), social identity is a person's sense of who they are, based on their group membership(s) position. This is known as in-group (us) and out-group (them). The central hypothesis of the Social Identity Theory is that group members of an in-group will seek to find negative aspects of an out-group, thus enhancing their self-image. The theory is built on three elements: social categorization, social identification, and social comparison. A person's social identity is then viewed as the outcome of social categorisation, social identification and social comparison. Generally, individuals wish to maintain a positive social identity by maintaining their group's favourable social standing over that of relevant out-groups. Tajfel and Turner introduced the notion of social identity as a way to explain inter-group behaviour. According to them, in-group favouritism can also result in negative and discriminatory outcomes. However, research has demonstrated that in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination are distinct phenomena, and one does not necessarily predict the other (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner argue that a person's sense of belonging is based on their group membership. Examples of social identities are usually defined by some physical, social and mental characteristics of individuals (Vinny, 2021). Examples of social identities are race/ethnicity, gender, social class/socio-economic status, sexual orientation, (dis)abilities, and religion/religious beliefs. Social identity can be defined as an individual's knowledge of belonging to certain social groups, together with some emotional and valuation significance of that group

membership. Karp and Lavine (1991), cited in Uzzel (2015:2), suggest that under Social Identity Theory, “Exhibitions are privileged arenas for presenting images of self and 'other' ... exhibitions represent identity, either directly through assertion or indirectly, by implication.” In colonial Zimbabwe, museum displays were used to portray ‘inferior’ African identities against the ‘civilised’ settler cultural identities. For example, the Mutare Museum, formerly the Museum of Antiquities and Transport, had displays showcasing Western and Indigenous properties as antiquities and ethnographic materials, respectively. The idea was to show visitors that ‘white’ property is superior to that of ‘black’ Africans. Similarly, the intention has been to spread the white superiority agenda in the country.

In this study, the Social Identity Theory is used to understand Joshua Nkomo’s legacies through identities that were formed during his lifetime. As he interacted with society, Joshua Nkomo became entangled in different aspects of society which shaped him, and vice versa, in the process of creating heritage landscapes that have been developed into tourism resources. The group interaction and the events which occurred in various periods in his life could be understood using the Social Identity Theory. Using the theory, the study traces the various spaces that helped in the construction of Joshua Nkomo from the time he was born in Kezi, to the period he was buried at the National Heroes Acre in Harare.

One of the preeminent themes running through the memorialisation process is the representation of the individual’s identity, particularly as an individual and as a social actor about their cultural belonging. The memorialisation process is central to preserving identities. Thus, while one’s identity refers to self-knowledge associated with unique individual attributes, people’s social identity indicates who they are in terms of the groups to which they belong. As such, the theory

could be used to trace and understand the behaviour of individuals who would have lived supposedly exemplary lives in a nation-state. Further, the theory also makes it possible to understand how groups influence individuals' attitudes and behaviours. Thus, for this thesis, the theory is important as it explains that representations play a central role in communicating senses of identity to their various audiences.

### ***3.1.1.1 Social Identity Theory and the Individual***

Social Identity Theory is an approach analysing how societies and places around individuals shape their identities as they grow up from infancy to adulthood. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), humans derive part of their sense of self from the social categories (or groups) to which they belong. Identity, in this case, is conceptualised through social groups. The theory helps to understand how individuals identify with their community. For example, Nkomo identifies himself firstly as a Zimbabwean, and secondly as Kalanga (Nkomo, 1984). Memory contributes to the formation of group identity (Ndlovu, 2015). As the child grows up and develops a sense of self part of the brain keeps experiences and creates a story over time. Joshua Nkomo, just like any other person growing up during the early stages of colonial rule, is a product of the social processes of the time.

Joshua was raised in a family that valued Christianity. The family was a member of the London Missionary Society. However, contrary to family expectations, he became attracted to traditional religion, which greatly influenced his entry into nationalism. Many indigenous Zimbabweans practise both the African religion and Christianity. His visit to Dula Shrine in Matobo can be interpreted as a way to identify himself with the majority of black people and to cast himself as the chosen leader. Joshua Nkomo writes about his enigmatic visit to the Dula shrine in his

autobiography. For example, he claims to have heard voices from the rocks foretelling the future (Nkomo, 1984). Gonye, Moyo and Hlongwana (2017) argue that autobiographies are taken advantage of by writers to mystify issues. How does that social structure help to shape his identity? “Some scholars have emphasized that individual socio-cultural identities start as a simple form in childhood” (Kranz and Goedderz, 2020) “and are then consolidated through continuous exposure to the collective historical and cultural heritage of the nation, thus reflecting that internal identity depends on the perception of self-culture” (Zhang, Ruan and Yang, 2021).

Later in life, Joshua went to Tsholotsho in Zimbabwe, where he did carpentry and in 1942, to Adams College in South Africa, where he studied social work. His education in social work had an impact on his life as he was known to be a humble and approachable person. When Nkomo joined the National Railways of Rhodesia, he worked as a social worker and this influenced him to become a peace advocate, as reflected when he later clashed with Robert Mugabe several times in his life. A serious fallout between the two was after independence when Mugabe accused Joshua Nkomo of being behind insurgents in some western parts of Zimbabwe. Joshua Nkomo had to go into exile, as he was targeted by security forces. Joshua Nkomo reconciled with Robert Mugabe in 1987, forming a unity government. Some of his supporters felt betrayed and described him as a weak leader. Others hailed him for saving a lot of lives by agreeing to the Unity Accord. The critical question is whether his being in those several places helped to shape the personality that he later adopted. Social identity theory can indeed help to understand Nkomo because every economic, educational, social, cultural, religious and political space that he went to contributed to his identity formation. The same also applies to different people whom he met and who went on to make him their leader.

Here, group identity is firmly shaped by loyalty towards each other and against groups, such as those underpinned by people with the extreme political ideology of apartheid advocated for by the Afrikaners. At Adams College, Joshua Nkomo was in the company of Herbert Chitepo, a lawyer and chairman of ZANU before he was assassinated in Zambia and Enoch Dumbutshena, who became the Chief Justice of the High Court of Zimbabwe. Adams College and Hofmeyer School of Social Work exposed Joshua Nkomo to cosmopolitan culture, as he met students and teachers from other countries. The school and the country were a melting pot of cultures. It was during his stay in South Africa that he developed political consciousness as a result of influence from peers and the segregatory political environment. South Africa was governed by a system called Apartheid, a policy of discriminating against people based on race. Rhodesia had been colonised by white settlers and Africans had lost their ancestral lands. Events in the two countries shaped Nkomo's career. Joshua met Nelson Mandela and Seretse Khama at Blue Lagoon Restaurant. The two later influenced his political career and *the* naming of his Blue Lagoon Restaurant in Bulawayo at the Renkini Bus Terminus. His socio-political background in South Africa shaped Joshua Nkomo into a nationalist and the legacy that he is well-known for empathy, peace, caring, tolerance and fairness, among others. The socially constructed identities are, therefore, celebrated by society once an individual passes on. The person's representations, therefore, become places of memory preservation. Thus, Joshua Nkomo constructed an identity through negotiation and resisting the colonial administration. The individual cannot be separated from the wider social network, but this does not do away with the possibility of individual agency.

Joshua Nkomo used the services of Zenzo Nkobi, a professional photographer trained in the German Democratic Republic. "Nkobi made numerous presidential photographs with Nkomo who

was regarded as the centre of orbit and attention...” (Hayes, 2020:9). In 1977, Joshua Nkomo took up residence in Zambia soon after release from detention in Rhodesia. Joshua began to be accompanied by an ‘official photographer’, Zenzo Nkobi (Hayes, 2020). Joshua Nkomo’s political image and that of ZAPU were projected into the future through Zenzo Nkobi’s photographic work. Zenzo Nkobi’s archive was exhibited at Bulawayo Gallery in 2011. The exhibition was researched, documented and exhibited by the Mafela Trust. The trust was formed in 1989 by a group of ZAPU freedom fighters to document and research ZAPU and its armed wing, ZIPRA’s history. The question of Joshua Nkomo and ZAPU’s unrecognized input to the struggle appears to have been addressed through the exhibition. Against political and military leadership tensions among the nationalist leaders between 1977 and 1978, Joshua Nkomo’s image of a president-in-waiting was presented by Nkobi’s photographs of him attending regional and international meetings (Hayes, 2020).

### ***3.1.1.2 Social Identity Theory and the Memorialised Subject***

Social Identity Theory provides the framework used in examining the role of memorialisation in enhancing an individual sense of belonging to society. Memorialisation in the study is used to unravel heritage making as a significant issue in the development of tourism. Memorial tourism can be considered as the centre for cultural exchanges within societies that contribute to social identity construction and, hence, bring in urban or rural development (Bessiere, 2013). Memorial tourism in all its constructed forms is also associated with the cultural dynamics of a given place and the visitor. Bessiere argues that heritage is a social construct and the way people interact with heritage tourism resources is influenced by the subject that has been memorialised and developed into a tourism resource. Social Identity Theory emphasises describing the organisation and processes behind the identity of social groups. In this case, for an individual such as Nkomo, his

belonging to social groups, such as the Zimbabwe liberation movements that he was associated with, can be viewed within this scope of identity formation, as the concerned groups played significant roles in shaping what later emerged as his iconic national identity. Thus, within the same sequence as Uzzel (2015) notes, memorials can also play a role in identity formation, as they also instil senses of class, gender, ethnic or generational identity in the individual being memorialised. In most cases, the government use heritage tourism products to project national identity. Suffice it to state that the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo falls into the same governmental philosophy. If a person is memorialised, it becomes part of identity formation for the individual and state. People try to reflect on the individual memorialised, which becomes a continuum of what happened, and identity-formation (Ndlovu, 2015). The attempt to memorialise is to capture the life of an individual, freezing it in a memorial and people could then interact with the memorial. Various people, scholars, family, friends and visitors identify with Joshua Nkomo heritage sites in various ways. The memorialised subject is associated with identities and memories from various groups of society. Heritage is an identity marker and differentiates every social group (Ollagnon, 1984, as cited in Bessiere, 2013).

### ***3.1.1.3 Social Identity and Tourism***

Social identity is also important in tourism product development. The focus is on exploring how the individual being memorialised becomes a heritage tourism site after memorialisation. Individual identities are commodified in post-life in various ways, capturing the life of an individual. As Burns and Noveli (2006) note, “culture is observed through social relations and material artefacts and is manifested, inter alia, by social identity. Social identities hold that individuals conceptualise self and other at the level of both the individual and wider society”. Joshua Nkomo conceptualised himself through various identities and, at the same time, he saw

himself belonging first to his family, community and political party, and second, to Zimbabwe. This conceptualisation places him in a social group. Other identities were constructed for him by opponents and friends alike. Bold and Falk (2013) “assert that there is a connection between individuals’ core identity attributes and their visits to specific sites. Tourism can be considered a means to establish, maintain and reshape identity, while the tourism experience, to some extent, is conducive to the consolidation of individual national identity”. The social identity approach to tourism assists by providing a platform for a more nuanced understanding of nationalism, self against the other, and tourism in Zimbabwe, a country that is divided by ethnicity but imagines itself as being uniform. The ideas to memorialise and commodify Joshua Nkomo were realised after his death. These are part of identity formation, as they were a result of the need by people around him or who had interacted with him to continue shaping his identity in post-life. When tourism comes in, what we see is an attempt by people who are remaking Nkomo’s identity to both sell it to the broader global audience and to instil a sense of immortality through memorialisation.

On the other hand, Zhang, Ruan and Yang (2021:3) assert that “tourism can be considered a means to establish, maintain and reshape identity, while the tourism experience, to some extent, is conducive to the consolidation of individual national identity”. As mentioned above, social identity theory opines that through a process of social appraisal, a group of people analogous in self-attitude, memory, manners and sentiment are considered as an internal group and form their exclusive collective identity, which matches that of the nation (Zhang, Ruan and Yang 2021). Zimbabwe has built a national identity using heritage as symbols and narratives of unifying a nation. A symbol such as the Great Zimbabwe monument has been used as an icon to identify and name the country. Culture has been used to attract tourists. Zukas (2021) analysed “national monuments, museums, and cultural heritage sites in Zimbabwe for their symbolic and economic

value as politicized and contested landscapes. She argues that the ability of heritage and cultural sites to serve as engines of development for the tourist economy is questionable, but as public platforms for the expression of Indigenous histories and cultures, they provide significant social and cultural value to local groups. For example, commemorations have been used by the Zimbabwe government as part of national identity-making. Perhaps there is much more than national identity. The commemorations are meant to maintain and prolong the ruling party ZANU PF's hegemony in the country. The government has pushed for music galas in remembrance of some departed heroes such as Simon Muzenda and Joshua Nkomo, and as part of Unity Day commemoration. Consequently, groups of people with similar in-self attitudes would attend such festivals. The festivals were highly politicised and would fit in the social identity theory of "in-groups and out-groups.

The ZANU PF party would exclude all people that it considered 'sellouts' and against the 'liberation legacy' when creating a national identity. After the controversial compulsory land acquisition programme, the government started marketing and promoting the liberation heritage. During that period, the government introduced a strategy to target tourists from the 'East', that is, Asian countries, as opposed to the traditional American and European markets. Zhang, Ruan and Yang (2021:3) state that "under the context of cultural and creative tourism, creative performance, cultural activities, and other external stimuli can stimulate and consolidate the tourist process from cultural cognition to cultural identity, which will realize national identity." This is consistent with the central tenet of Social Identity Theory point of view, which says identities are socially-constructed, specifically when Pretes (2003) argues "that the viewing of heritage sights by domestic tourists is a key aspect in the formation and maintenance of a national identity". Also, when visitors experience the emblematic meaning of a specific culture, the importance itself

signifies part of the identity of the group from the same cultural background, showing the clear limits of the specific group. Three central issues have appeared throughout the research. The first is how group identity influences individuals to visit or not visit heritage tourism sites. The second is how groups adopt a memorialised subject. The last one is the identities created for individuals and groups by tourism landscapes. The researcher, therefore, employed Social Identity Theory together with additional theories to study tourism, identities and memorialisation. Because of the theory's emphasis on the group function to which tourists and communities use tourism landscapes, the researcher, therefore, employs Identity Theory in the next section to clarify the impact of tourism landscapes on the individual identity.

### **3.1.2 Tourism and Identity Theory**

Another theory used in this research is the Identity Theory. The tenets of the theory correspond to the Social Identity Theory described in the above section. Stets and Serpe are some of the proponents of Identity Theory. However, it is Stryker who is widely regarded as the developer of the main framework of the Identity Theory. The core idea of Stryker's main framework of Identity Theory is that society shapes individual and social behaviour. This was premised on the notion that an individual is part of a society since birth and cannot survive outside social structures. He singles out two important ranks of social organisation, the first one being the links in which people and their identities are entrenched such as family, friends, work groups and many others. The second level is the larger binding social structure of organizations and institutions that influence the probability of people with their identities entering into various networks (Stets and Burke, 2014).

Researchers have been preoccupied for some time with three topics, which are numerous identities, identities and sentiments, and the transformation of identity (Stets and Serpe, 2013). They go on to state that individuals have several identities that sway their deeds and sometimes some identities are to be expected to be raised than others. The individual consists of multiple identities and individuals internalise values that they relate to themselves when they are in social positions such as an uncle, scholar or political figure. Accordingly, an individual can have a politician identity, tutor identity or priest identity. Common culture shared with others gives the positions and meaning attached to the identities (Ndlovu, 2015). Identities, therefore, connect people to the social organisation and culture. Furthermore, numerous identities also have many connections, for example, a father and his family, a student to college, and a politician towards a political party. Therefore, each person is tied in various ways to the social organisation in a society. Stets and Burke (2014:59) further make it clear that “each person is tied in multiple ways to the social structure. In converse fashion, different parts of the social structure are linked through the nexus of identities held by a person, thus providing ties between disparate parts of the social structure.” For example, a father who is a politician links his family to the party that he is a member of. Salient identities are more expected to be stimulated across circumstances. People who have identities with certain meanings choose behaviours that express that meaning. According to Yang (2013:714), “Tourism is a force that both freezes cultures and promotes change”. Ethnic identities are fashioned by government declarations, tourist curiosity and the minority group's economic interest. “Government policies affect minority expression of their culture and identity. Tourist interest and media shape the public image of minority groups, which may influence the minority’s perception of their culture” (Yang, 2013:717).

According to Stets and Serpe, (2013), “the concept of identity has been one of the major topics in areas of theoretical and empirical development within the field of sociological and social psychology over the past four decades”. The connection between tourism and identity has been assessed in different contexts in the field of heritage tourism (Yang, 2013). Researchers have investigated the way tourism contributed to the formation of tourist identities, the change of the identities of the hosts (Rogers, 2002), and as a way of producing and amalgamating new identities and images (Kroshus, 2003). Several researchers have argued for the position of heritage tourism in the creation of national identity (Park, 2010; Pretes, 2003). The meanings of a nation’s tradition and history can be altered through mechanisms of touristic cultural production to create a collective memory and a sense of national and cultural identities (Pretes, 2003).

Some anthropologists have studied the effects of tourism on ethnicity and cultural identity (Lanfant, 1995; Palmer, 1999; O’Connor, 1993)). Urry (1990) demonstrated how ethnic identity is characterised, perceived and revived through “the tourist gaze”. In some circumstances, leisure and travelling were ever so often represented as a damaging force leading to the fading of traditional culture and the annihilation of the senses of identity and domicile (Wood, 1997). However, in other studies, it has been advocated that tourism can lead to a revitalisation of cultural qualities or the re-creation of ethnicity by introducing new pride in indigenous communities (Chow, 2005; Young and Wall, 2009). Tourism can benefit marginalised people to uphold or strengthen their identity through the elevation of minority cultures, arts, enactments and commemorations (Ndlovu, 2015; Jamison, 1999; Li, 2003). Investigations have been conducted on how heritage tourism contributes to the construction of the tourists’ and visitors’ identities (Pretes 2003), equally the alteration of the identities of the host communities (McDowell, 2008).

The constant concentration in the concept of identity is generally grounded in understanding how people relate to the world. Stets and Serpe (2013:38) considers identity to be,

*a shared set of meanings that define individuals in particular roles in society (for example, parent, worker, spouse, or teacher role identity), as members of specific groups in society (for example, a church, book club, or softball group identity), and as persons having specific characteristics that make them unique from others (for example, an athletic or artistic person identity).*

Small (1999) argues that there is a growing feminist scholarship in tourism which reconstructs and interprets tourism from a gendered point of view. One of the principal goals of Identity Theory is to postulate how the meanings attached to various identities are assigned and accomplished in interaction. Precisely, identity theorists emphasise how identities relate to one another as well as the implications of identity on human behaviour. “Studies in Mauritius have shown the relevance of Identity Theory in explaining community support for tourism on the island” (Nunkoo and Gusoy, 2011). The results of their research indicate that one’s identity has a direct bearing on support, but may not always influence attitudes (Ndlovu, 2015). The researchers above developed a model which proposes that the resource-based occupational, environmental, and gender identities of the citizens influence attitudes to tourism effects and support activities.

The Identity Theory has a new view on social structure in terms of resources. The resources are divided into two that is, the actual resources which are presently supporting people and groups, and resources that have the potential to be used in future. Stets and Burke (2014:65) further explain that,

Identities are intimately tied to the social structure because the operation of identities maintains the flow of resources that in turn, maintains all of the groups, organizations, and individuals in society. People act to verify their identities. In doing so, in the face of distractions and disruptions, they enact the processes that define and maintain the social system.

While Identity Theory primarily conveys identities in terms of character positions in social organisation, such as student, mother, and farmer, there are significant groupings that one belongs to in society. Additional broad groups to which individuals can belong are classified as race, class and gender. Stets and Burke (2014) have extended the identity theory to include social identities. With social identity, members belong to, and see things from, the group's perspective. In group-based identities, bonding is created by similar perceptions and actions (Ndlovu, 2015). As a result, the above social identities are more salient than other social identities and even those identities that reflect roles.

Stets and Carter (2011, 2012) have used Identity Theory to explain personal identities. Personal identities are based on the distinctiveness of a person as a bio-social individual. Identity is also conceptualised as self-presentation. Personal standards distinguish a person as a unique individual away from others. Meanings are attached and define individuals and not groupings (Ndlovu, 2015). The meanings are important in most positions across groups and roles and at all times with the individual. In some persons, identities act as dominant identities swaying other roles or social identities that people take on. Person identities are believed to have greater salience and obligation than other identities (Stets, 1995). Identity Theory has also indicated that identity changes over time due to shifts changes in meaning. Burke (2006) ascertains three ways in which identity

changes. The first is when identity standards and behaviour meanings clash, initiating a variation in both. Another form of identity change is when fluctuations in a state of affairs affect a change in one's identity. The change usually occurs when persons move into surroundings that provide limited opportunities for selecting which identities to reinvoke.

The Identity Theory, therefore, becomes relevant in this research by emphasising the fact that identities are one of the most important elements that inspire people to choose a tourism product. Ballesteros and Ramirez (2007) observe that identities and representations are affected by tourism. As pointed out earlier in the discussion, identity could be defined as a description that someone made about him/herself. Identity could refer to ordinary things such as biographical information, such as gender, name and occupation (Ndlovu, 2015). It could also refer to personal things such as personal characteristics, moral values or traits. These factors would influence someone deciding which tourism destination he/she wants to visit. In this research, one's choice of visiting individual memorials, tourist destinations such as Rhodes' memorials, Joshua Nkomo's representations, David Livingstone statue and many others, would be highly influenced by personal, multiple and group identities. For example, the push factors for choosing Joshua Nkomo's heritage sites could be driven by ethnicity, race and family ties. Political affiliation is one factor influencing individuals to visit a tourist destination. In their economic model, Akerlof and Kranton (2000) argue that people make economic decisions based on identity. For example, individuals engage in an economic action to purchase goods and services based on their identity, such as their self-sense. Akerlof and Kranton (2000) view identity as a social category that influences individuals to economically act consistently with their preferred identity. Oyserman et al. (2012) recognize the same pattern and argue that choices that people make must be congruent with their identity.

### 3.2 Social Constructionism and Tourism

Social constructionism theory suggests that understanding of the surroundings is shaped by people's social and cultural ways of life. It argues that reality is neither fixed nor objective but, rather, is created through social interaction and the construction of shared meanings. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman are the proponents of the Social Constructivism theory. The two scholars presented the theory in a book titled '*Social Construction of Reality*' published in 1966. Numerous philosophers, such as Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and George Herbert Mead inspired the two's ideas (Vinney, 2021). Specifically, the Symbolic Interactionism theory, by Mead, which proposes that social relations are liable for the production of identity, was very dominant. Three distinct academic engagements came together in the late 1960s to form the basis of Social Constructionism. The earliest was an ideological drive that probed social realities and put the limelight on the political plan behind such veracities. The literary and pretentious initiatives to deconstruct language and the way it influences people's knowledge of reality was the second movement. Thomas Kuhn led the third movement, which was a critique of scientific practice. Thomas Kuhn argued for the paradigm that scientific outcomes are not objective but, rather, are partial as they are representations of the particular communities producing them (Vinney, 2021).

The Social Constructionism theory advances that knowledge and meaning are socially created. Constructionists take "the ontological viewpoint that the meaning of the social world cannot be discovered, but is rather constructed by humans along with their histories, societies, ideas and languages" (Butowsk et al., 2021:53). Social constructs come to eminence in certain historical periods are frequently produced within particular establishments and cultures (Ndlovu, 2015). The dependence of Social Constructs on economic, historical and political situations can lead them to transform.

Social constructionists typically agree on three key ideas. The initial point is that knowledge is socially constructed. Social constructionists accept that human relationships produce knowledge. Historical and cultural contexts provide humans with what they take to be true and objective as a result of social processes. There is no truth that is more authentic than the other in the field of sciences or humanities. The second point is that language is significant to social construction as it stands by particular rules. The language rules shape how people comprehend their surroundings. Consequently, language is not neutral. Therefore, language emphasizes some things, ignoring others. Accordingly, language limits what people can express as well as perceptions of what they experience and recognise. The last point is that knowledge construction is politically motivated. Communities produce knowledge that has cultural, political and social significance. A community's understanding of particular truths, actualities and values, and is accepted and sustained by people in that community (Ndlovu, 2015). The knowledge spreads further when accepted by new community members and the knowledge becomes ideas, policy about power and honour in the community turned into codes. These socially constructed concepts then generate social representativeness, and if they are not observed, start to appear permanent and unalterable. The scenario can lead to unfriendly interactions between communities that particularly do not share a similar appreciation of social reality (Vinney, 2021).

The social Constructionism model has been applied to the field of tourism to comprehend how tourists' experiences and perceptions of travel and leisure are shaped by social and cultural factors. According to Bukowski et al. (2021:62), constructionism enables the "conceptualisation of tourisms that encompass multiple worldviews and cultural differences as well as research praxis that recognizes and reflects the plurality of multiple positions, practices and insights." This theory suggests that the meaning of tourism is not fixed but, rather, is created and influenced by the

relationships among tourists, locals and the places they visit. For example, tourists' perceptions of a destination may be influenced by how it is portrayed in the media or by their expectations based on cultural stereotypes. This understanding of tourism has implications for how destinations are marketed as well as for the experiences of both tourists and locals. Pernecky (2012) as cited in Butowsck et al (2021:62) argues that tourism is associated with social constructionism theory in that "tourism as an activity of contemporary societies is nothing other than constructionism in action, as evidenced by socially constructed meanings of things (e.g. airline tickets, souvenirs), places (e.g. tourism destinations, resorts) or social roles (e.g. host, guest, tour guide)". This assessment is shared by Pritchard et al (2011) who observed that tourism embraces several worldviews and cultural transformations. Tourism research also recognises and echoes the plurality of several situations, practices and views.

### **3.2.1 Social Constructionism and Identity**

Social Constructionism Theory advances that identities are not fixed or innate but, rather, are shaped by the social and cultural factors that influence them. Social Constructionism highlights the role of power and privilege in shaping identities. According to this perspective, identity is not something that exists independently of the social world but is, instead, a product of the interactions and relationships that individuals have with others. As such, Social Constructionism challenges the idea that identity is a 'true' or 'essential' self and instead suggests that identity is fluid and dynamic. This has significant implications for the study of identity, as it suggests that identities are not static and can be changed and influenced by social factors. Constructionism Theory advances that nations can adopt several identities that are socially constructed through contact with other players. Identities are symbols of a people's understanding of who they are, which also signals their interests. Hopf (1998) observes that constructionism is an analytical tool when used

from a methodological point of view. Constructionism targets to “denaturalize” the social world to give an understanding of how identities, establishments, and practices are created and to observe social phenomena within the social surroundings in which they are entrenched (Hopf (1998). Constructionists postulate that social organisations not only have administrative but also constitutive effects on people by leading them to redefine their identities and interests through the course of interaction. Constructionist approaches help explain how individuals, communities, and nations assist in shaping and remaking identities. Heritage tourism allows people to perceive, envision and sanction their belonging to the country (Palmer, 2005). Heritage tourism sites are a central constituent in the building of national identity (Ndlovu, 2015; Pretes, 2003). Visits to heritage sites are anticipated to inspire citizens to feel part of, and associated with, the country’s past in their national imagination. In this study, heritage is a sign and symbol of people’s ethnicities, nationalities and identities, but subject to different meanings and multiple interpretations. It is also important to look at the unofficial and informal mechanisms of the formation of identities using heritage tourism. Park (2010:120) posits “that the socio-psychological dimensions of heritage are of paramount importance in understanding how personal perceptions, individualised meanings and subjective sentiments concerning collective social memories contribute to the long-standing tourism appeal of heritage institutions”.

In the case of this study, Joshua Nkomo is buried at the National Heroes Acre a structure constructed as a sign of anti-colonialism and national identity. Mpofo (2016:63) states that “attached to the Heroes’ Acre, as a permanent physical symbol of nationhood, is the people the burial site was built for, the ‘war dead’ and the living who participated in the ‘war’”. National identity in the context of this research is taken to mean “a shared structure of feeling, a largely imagined consciousness that is reinforced both through life’s daily routines as well as through

ritualised, symbol-laden, celebrations of nationhood” (Thomas, 1996:1). Soon after independence, the Zimbabwe ruling elite embarked on a nation-building exercise which involved the use of symbols, among others. The symbols chosen were not agreed upon by the people and this has led to arguments by scholars like Masunungure (2005), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009), and Mpofu (2014), that they are chasing an elusive Zimbabwean national identity.

It is important to note that national identities are fluid, contested and complex in which citizens are not passive, but sometimes they contest the ideologies that are produced by the elites. The ruling elite in Zimbabwe derives political legitimacy from ancient myths, historical events and prominent characters from the past. One such myth is that they were chosen by their ancestors to wage war. Most narratives, therefore, hinge on this imagination and this has opened up the Zimbabwean national identity to be a reflection of the choices made by the powerful political elite who chooses historical figures that become national heroes and establish the historical incidents that become the formative events of the nation’s identity. Joshua Nkomo is accorded a national hero status and buried at a Heroes Acre, where heroes are buried. The site is designated a national monument, the highest any monument can get in the country, according to the NMMZ Act. According to Mpofu (2017:66), “The national shrine has historically been deceptive as it is space nationalists have encoded with messages that facilitate selective and politically expedient forms of remembering and forgetting.” Joshua Nkomo is buried at the Heroes Acre, which is a discriminating space where some people are deliberately excluded from being buried on racial, political, sexual orientation or ethnic grounds (Mpofu, 2014). Some of this is informed by its structural presence, which scholars of commemoration and heritage studies concur is meant to encode selected historical narratives and memories (Mpofu, 2017).

In the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence, the Heroes Acre was the second part of national identity construction, besides Great Zimbabwe. Onslow (2011) suggests that heroes are used as spiritual ancestors, definers and unifiers of the imagined national community in every given epoch, especially when the national project is under strain (Anderson, 1991). The researcher concentrated on the Heroes Acre because of two reasons: The first one is that Joshua Nkomo was declared a national hero and the second is that the monument is also a national monument protected by law. This is substantiated by Mpofu (2017:63), who argues that rituals of national identity formation are performed at the Heroes Acre. Nkomo and the Heroes Acre have been used as part of national identity narratives by the ruling ZANU PF party. National identity is a construct of the ruling elite. A person's ethnic identity may be influenced by their family's history, the community they live in, and the broader political and historical context (Ndlovu, 2015). Constructionists argue that ethnic and nationalistic aspirations are at the mercy of political elites who continuously redefine and reconstruct them (Özkırmılı, 2010). Brass (in Özkırmılı, 2010: 88) further argues that:

The study of ethnicity and nationality is in large part the study of politically induced cultural change. More precisely, it is the study of the process by which elites and counter-elites within ethnic groups select aspects of the group's culture, attach new value and meaning to them, and use them as symbols to mobilise the group, to defend its interests, and to compete with other groups.

Constructionism is also used to analyse ethnic identities. According to Conversi (2006:16), constructivism "conceives ethnicity as a dependent variable, externally controlled according to its strategic utility for achieving more secular goods." The theory's trait is that it views citizens in any nation as being loyal because the society is progressive and its vision is being formed, rather

than the primordial case where the community vision is anchored in the myths of the past (Brown, 1999). Özkırımlı (2010:88) observes that “ethnic and national identities become convenient tools at the hands of competing elites for generating mass support in the universal struggle for wealth, power and prestige.” Constructionists believe that ethnic identities change in both content and boundaries within a changing nation according to circumstances and are not fixed, but are socially constructed and negotiated through interactions with others (Ndlovu, 2015). This perspective challenges the idea that ethnic identities are simply a matter of biology or ancestry and instead, suggests that they are created and maintained through social interactions and relationships.

This perspective has been influential in the study of multiculturalism, as it suggests that ethnic identities are not necessarily fixed or bounded and can be shaped by a variety of factors, including culture, language and religion. This study engages the concept of ethnicity in its interconnection with identity as outlined in Chapter One. Ethnic minority groups usually have a strong sense of their identity. This identity, however, does not correspond to that ascribed to them by the majority. The minority refers to the group of people different from the social majority who hold positions of power. Wagley and Harris (1958) have come up with five characteristics that distinguish a minority group, which are unequal treatment and less power over their lives, awareness of subordination, involuntary membership in a group, and distinguishing physical or cultural traits. Issues such as institutional mechanisms which control or attempt to control relations between governments and minority groups affect minorities, which are part of complex stratified societies (Mpofu, 2017). There is a lucid relationship between identities and ethnic politics. This study considers ethnic politics or considerations that promote or defend the central values of an ethnic group or embody the promotion of the material interests of an ethnic group without necessarily bringing it into direct contact with others.

The politicisation of identities occurs at both social and national levels and these politics essentialise and create conflict. In this study, identities will particularly focus on ethnic identity and the resulting ethnic politics of such identities. The study area is placed in three areas, one rural area and two major cities in Zimbabwe, Bulawayo and Harare. Zimbabwe is largely divided into two ethnic groups, the Shona and Ndebele (Vambe, 2012) and there have always been tensions between them about their ethnic positions. Competition for political or public offices has tended to assume an ethnic dimension and has split into memorialisation practice. Depending on the context of issues being articulated, explanations take a Constructionist approach in terms of Nkomo's identity and heritage. This study is anchored on the view that identity can be traced primordially, while heritage is constructed. The Social Constructionist approach used in this study also assists in exploring the implications of transforming Joshua Nkomo's legacy into tourism space through ethnic identity lenses. He rose from an ethnic leader image into a national one. Even within the Ndebele ethnic group, it is accepted that Nkomo originated from the Sotho but assumed Ndebele identity by construction (Nkomo, 1984). Joshua Nkomo's ethnic identity has been the subject of debate, with some claiming that he is a Kalanga (*The Herald*, May 5, 2015).

The memorialisation practices in Zimbabwe have been marked by contestations which have traces in ethnic identities. During Robert Mugabe's rule, there were arguments that he favoured the Zezuru clan at the expense of other ethnicities. There are ZAPU high-ranking people who were not accorded national hero status and were buried at the Lady Stanley Cemetery in Bulawayo (Magadzike, 2011). The same is being alleged of the 2017 coup government led by Emmerson Mnangagwa. In the memorialisation practices, the so-called 'New Dispensation' is trying to recognise some people who were not recognised by the Robert Mugabe regime. All this is to be done to seek political legitimacy. Most families of national heroes from the former ZAPU party

have called for the burial of their relatives at other places than the National Heroes Acre. This has exposed the political minefield and to some extent ethnic divisions in Zimbabwe. Nationalist discourse calls on the citizens to participate in the national project by using emotion or nationalist historiography to “reinforce a sense of common destiny, and therefore a common future” (Harris, 2009: 59). Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009) and Ranger (2004) think that for the nationalist discourse to be effective, there is need for it to bring strong images, memories or feelings to mind and retell old stories to invoke memory and prepare the nation to face new challenges. Harris (2009:59) concurs by stating that “[W]hile this memory-invoking discourse is the staple of nationalist discourse, often, even more, effective is a memory-creating narrative.” In Zimbabwe, this is done through national commemorations, conferment of hero status and in public media, among others.

Hutchinson (1983) stresses that constructionists advocate for a cosmopolitan nation that cuts across cultural differences. He goes on to suggest that the main aim for constructionists is the “achievement of a representative national state that will guarantee its members’ citizenship rights (without discrimination)” (Hutchinson, 1983:124). Under Constructionist Theory, ethnic identities are viewed as socially constructed and are at odds with the primordial assertion that nations are fixed, natural and pre-determined (Mpofu, 2014). More often, monuments create ethnic, national, or place identities with the aid of official narratives or rhetoric to inspire extreme sentiments amongst their visitors (Ndlovu, 2015). “Therefore, museums featuring daily materials and ordinary culture could serve as an empirical basis for analysis to advance understanding of national identity and museum tourism” (Zou et al., 2022:3).

The elite use political and economic interests in their competition for state control and power usually leading to ethnic tensions. Özkırımlı (2010:89-90) suggests that the “competition also influences the definition of the relevant ethnic groups and their persistence... because the cultural forms; values and practices of ethnic groups become political resources for elites in their struggle for power and prestige.” Mpfu (2014) concurs by stating that, “these symbols can easily be used to facilitate the construction of political identity and generate political support.” Ethnic identities can be transformed into nationalism to gain political power (Ndlovu, 2015). The idea of setting up culture houses throughout every province in Zimbabwe was a step in trying to neutralise ethnic and promote political differences soon after independence. Park (2010:4) argues “that heritage is an essential element of national representation with the potential to perpetually remind nationals of the symbolic foundations upon which a sense of belonging is based”. A key feature in the realisation and maintenance of a national identity is visits by domestic tourists to tourism destinations specifically when nationalism is assumed as an “imagined community” (Pretes, 2003). Heritage tourism sites might function in a similar approach as museums in Benedict Anderson’s classic study of nationalism, as places offering the defining features of nationhood and demonstrating historical confirmation of its presence. The political approach is relevant to the study by assisting with the analysis of political contestation that arose as a result of Joshua Nkomo’s memorialisation. Finally, the theory can be used to understand the growing sense of ethnic, political and national identities through the memorialisation of prominent individuals.

### **3.2.2 Social Constructionism and Memorialisation**

The Social Constructionist perspective has important effects on the study of memorialisation. The theory proposes that memorials and commemorations are not neutral or objective. Memorials are not just about the past but, rather, they are tools that are used to shape and influence the way the

past is remembered and understood. Constructionism Theory has been widely used in qualitative research. This research uses the Constructionism Theory to explain memorialisation practices. It draws on the Social Constructionism principle that social subjects and practices are constructed and not exogenously given as developed (Oztig, 2023). This approach is an inclusive framework for understanding tourism, identity and memorialisation practices. It, therefore, helps in the understanding and analysis of representations in tourism and its impact on memorialisation. The framework is “underpinned by the view that socially meaningful objects and events are embedded in interpretations about the world, which are themselves “based on a shared system of codes and symbols, of languages, life-worlds, social practices” (Guzzini, 2000).

Constructionism is an approach used to analyse social constructs (Hwang et al. 2015). According to Oztig (2021), representations act as the pivot for the memorialisation of distant events, including violence, through museum exhibitions, tour guides, images, statues, and graves. Oztig believes that Constructionism brings an innovative understanding into the literature by giving an account of how heritage tourism sites, particularly memorial museums, perform as an intercessor amid people, tourism, memorialisation practices and processes. Oztig (2023) explains that memorialisation produces heritage structure with interconnected identities, tolerances and views of agents. In this case, the study is concerned with the memorialised individual’s social organisation that comprises collective cultural traits associated with people. Further, Verztberger (2005) asserts that both sovereign states and opposition groups use and abuse the commemoration of traumatic events to challenge political systems that produce ethnic cleansing, violence and war. In light of the same, Constructionism is used in this study to analyse the construction of Joshua Nkomo heritage tourism sites and the generated perceptions from communities and contestations among stakeholders involved in transforming his legacy into tourism.

### **3.2.3 Criticism and relevance of Constructionism theory**

Whilst the Social Constructionist Theory is very useful in explaining phenomena in tourism, identity and memorialisation processes, in this thesis it must be noted that it has its flaws. “Some scholars believe that by asserting that knowledge is socially constructed and not the result of observations of reality, Social Constructionism is anti-realist” (Butowski, et al 2021:57). First it can be difficult to verify whether something is truly socially constructed or whether it is an objective reality. Social Constructionism is similarly critiqued based on relativism or the idea that all opinions are equally valid. This can lead to a loss of meaning and value to the research. No construct can be more legitimate than another by arguing that no objective truth subsists and that all social constructions of the same process are equally authentic. This is mainly challenging in the context of scientific research. There is no clear path forward for research to make a meaningful impact on society if an unscientific explanation about a practice is considered as genuine as empirical research about that phenomenon. The Social Constructionist Theory has also been criticised for simplifying complex processes and important elements in its clarification of the construction of national identities. The theory makes it difficult to act on important issues, as people may believe that reality is simply a matter of interpretation. Mpofu (2014:90) further asserts that “nationalism under instrumentalist thinking is imagined as monolithic and applicable to all situations regardless of the community’s historic, political, social and economic past.” Brown (1999:293) argues that constructionist nationalists use the language of ancestry and nature in referring to the past in tying civic nationalism and cultural nationalism. Myths and historical continuity shape memorialisation practice and this is fully accounted for under this study. Despite the limitations cited above, social constructionism remains a valuable perspective for

understanding the world. Other theories have been used in the study bearing in mind the weakness of social constructionism.

### **3.3 Critical Heritage Studies**

The study was also guided by the emerging scholarship referred to as ‘critical heritage studies’ (henceforth, CHS). CHS crucially highlights how the most crucial advances in heritage have happened as a consequence of the specific degree of heritage development in colonial settings and how the independent systems reacted (Harrison and Hughes, 2010). Silverman (2014), also points out that the re-theorisation of heritage discourse into CHS centres on various topics of concern in the humanities and encompassing social sciences. The many topics of interest are as follows; bodies of knowledge, class, colonialism and post-colonialism, dominant rhetoric and authoritative discourse, gender, globalization, identity, ideology, institutions, memory work, nationalism, and tourism, among others (Silverman, 2014). CHS is primarily also about addressing contemporary world challenges. Winter (2013) argues that addressing critical issues can be done by using a critical perspective to analyse complex issues entangled with heritage. In this study, the CHS conceptual approach is used to analyse the complex link between tourism and heritage that has led to the discourse of heritage tourism. Winter (2013) “argues that at its most significant level, CHS means better understanding the various ways in which heritage now has a stake, and can act as a positive enabler for the complex, multi-vector challenges that face the world today, such as cultural and environmental sustainability, economic inequalities, conflict resolution and social cohesion, among others”. Heritage is featured in many debates and policies on sustainable development, climate change, conflict resolution, multiculturalism, and innovation (Ndlovu, 2015). The link between tourism and the politics of heritage has been elaborated by Butcher (2020). He argues “that the notion of a single culture, often linked to the nation, has, in recent decades, been

challenged by cultures in plural, linked to multiple identities”. The CHS approach is conscious of contestations, memory and identities and is used to analyse complex multi-vector challenges that require an interdisciplinary approach to solve problems (Winter, 2013). This study is cross-disciplinary, whereby tourism and heritage discourses are explored. Tourism, in some cases, has been related to rehabilitating personal and collective memories through the revival of traditional cultures, resulting in politics being “influenced by cultural politics that often involves challenging official culture and traditional notions of national identity” (Butcher, 2020:7). Despite the colonial administration attempts to distance indigenous people from their way of living, the people remained in connection with the indigenous languages and environment. Challenges by the indigenous people to colonialism, and its methods of managing cultural heritage in countries, have been effective in drawing attention to the policies of proprietorship and control of the past. The assumption is that after colonialism, the natural reaction would be to establish more inclusive forms of heritage that reflect the complex ethnic and cultural mix of the postcolonial state (Harrison, 2008). CHS is used to explore the heritagisation of Joshua Nkomo in post-colonial Zimbabwe in the framework of a response to colonialism.

### **3.4 Chapter Summary**

The chapter presented the theories which guided this study. They provided a framework for analysing and interpreting the implications of the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo on Zimbabwean tourism. The chapter was divided into three parts of which the first to be outlined were identity theories, followed by Social Constructionism Theory and, lastly, the Critical Heritage Studies approach. The genesis of the theories and their weaknesses were discussed. The differences between Social Identity Theory and Social Constructionism Theory were discussed in line with the three major variables in the study, which are identity, memorialisation, and tourism.

The chapter has demonstrated that identities are formed by tourism landscapes. Visitors to heritage tourism attractions are influenced to some extent by self-identities. The following chapter focuses on the research methodology that was employed in this study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **4.0 Introduction**

The former chapter offered the theoretical foundations that guided this study. This chapter describes the research design, research approach and methodology that were used in this study. Instruments used in data gathering, self-reflexivity, the study population, sample size, data collection process, document analysis, and exhibition analysis are specified in this chapter. Self-reflexivity on the part of the researcher is discussed under methodology and how advantageous and restrictive it is to the study. Furthermore, the justification for using the carefully chosen methodology is presented and the instruments for collecting of data are explained. The advantages and drawbacks of the procedure used are in the same way presented, at the same time revealing the applicability of the selected research instruments. Data collection procedures, analysis and research ethics are also presented in this chapter.

### **4.1 The area of study**

The research was undertaken in Kezi, Bulawayo and Harare. Kezi was selected because it is the birthplace of Joshua Nkomo. So, any serious quasi-biography study of him begins by tracing his genealogical roots to Kezi, the place where he was born. Bulawayo and Harare were chosen because they have the highest number of Joshua Nkomo heritage sites and places where attempts towards translating his image into a tourism product are being made. Joshua Nkomo Museum, Joshua Nkomo statue and Joshua Nkomo Memorial Hospital are in Bulawayo, and his grave is in Harare. Bulawayo and Harare are also areas where he worked and lived. These are also regions with great tourism potential. Information was drawn from various spaces that helped construct Joshua Nkomo's persona and where his sites have been developed for tourism. Some of the spaces

host his political homes, such as ZAPU, ZANU and the Government of Zimbabwe, where he spent most of his last years of adult life.

#### **4.2 The Research Design**

This inquiry makes use of a case study. Kerlinger (1986:300) “describes the research design as the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data made up of the plan, structure and strategy of the investigation, conceived to obtain answers to the research questions and to control variance.” Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007:135) refer to “a variety of relevant different types of research designs which comprise experimental, ex post facto, survey, observation, case study, statistical, grounded theory, ethnography, action research, exploratory, causal, descriptive, simulation, cross-sectional, and longitudinal designs”. This study used a case study approach hence it is descriptive and explanatory.

A case study involves an in-depth examination of a particular event, situation or phenomenon to gain a deeper understanding of the subject, often by using multiple sources of information such as interviews, surveys or historical records. Benbasat et al. (1987) “define a case study as an examination of a phenomenon in its natural setting, employing multiple methods of data collection to gather information from one or a few entities (people, groups or organisations)”, whereas, Robson (2002) defines “a case study as a strategy for defining research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, using multiple sources of evidence”. A deeper understanding of phenomena is made possible by a case study. The investigator can ask the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions to comprehend the nature and intricacy of developments taking place, and phenomena can be studied in a natural location. Community members and visitors were interviewed in their communities and at Joshua Nkomo

heritage sites, respectively. This study of human experience and perception research design permits the researcher to gain admission to community and visitor observations, with the foremost concern of this study being unpacking the effects of memorialising and transforming Joshua Nkomo's legacies into tourism products in Zimbabwe. A case study research design allows the adjustment of data collected and research questions according to what one learns from the field which makes it interactive. Conrad and Serlin (2012) argue that a case study research design permits the “understanding of social phenomena from participants' viewpoint in their natural setting”. To find out how people view Joshua Nkomo’s tourism landscape, the researcher had to go into the natural setting of the community and Joshua Nkomo heritage sites where people visit, using Social Identity Theory, Identity theory Social Constructionism and the Critical Heritage Studies approach.

### **4.3 Research Approach**

Qualitative research methodology has been used in this study. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007:117) “identify two approaches to research, based on either a deductive (quantitative) or an inductive (qualitative) approach”. The qualitative approach was used to gather information and respond to the major research question on the implications of the memorialisation and transformation of Joshua Nkomo's legacies into tourism products. Qualitative research enabled the researcher to use probing research questions in this study. It was used to increase an appreciation of essential motives, ideas, and inspirations of perceptions, behaviour and decisions by community members and visitors on the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo and the tourism landscape created. Yates (2004) describes qualitative research “as an approach that uses any methods that rely upon primary source information, where very often the “data” are not numerical”. Hancock (1998) states that qualitative research endeavours to increase peoples’ understanding of how the social world is

organised and what is behind the behaviour of people. Qualitative research tries to clarify human behaviour.

Qualitative research is considered by its goal to enable an appreciation of some aspects of social life through its methods that use generated words rather than numbers when analysing information (Bricki and Green, 2007). This research methodology offers tools and techniques which permit the researcher to afford ornate explanations of phenomena without being reliant on a numerical dimension that is provided by quantitative research. The emphasis is on determining accurate internal meanings and novel insights. It is generally acknowledged that qualitative methods are related to the appraisal of social measurements. Qualitative research approaches make available outcomes that are commonly opulent and meticulous, contributing concepts and ideas to enlighten the study. A qualitative research approach has been selected for this study as it resonates well with the semi-structured interview questions of the research. Qualitative research, as noted by Steinke, Flick and Kardoff (2004:8),

is related to the everyday aspects of the participants, and allows for the use of a range of research methods, each selected according to the research question being addressed. Data is collected in a natural environment with the researcher interacting with participants in real-life situations. This approach takes into consideration the diversity of participants' views in data analysis and interpretation and is text-based as the data is in the form of notes through interviews or fieldwork.

Interviews were administered in an ordinary setting with participants, in ordinary settings and the multiplicity of informants' opinions is revealed in the data analysis and interpretation. Berg (2009)

opines that there is a danger in research that conclusions might fail to fit reality if human beings were to be studied symbolically and statistically without taking into account the various settings in which these human beings operate. A test tube inquiry into the various social dimensions which impact individuals will not suffice. This argument is appropriate in the present study, where the researcher endeavours to determine the immaterial, namely the social, political and economic progressions and how these influence the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo and tourism landscapes in Zimbabwe. Consequently, the qualitative techniques permitted the researcher to share in the considerations and views of others and to explore how people create and give meaning to their lives, symbols, social constructions and customs. Qualitative techniques provide researchers with an understanding of how people acquire information and make sense of their environments (Berg 2009). In this case, the qualitative methodology allowed the investigator to get a comprehensive understanding of the implications of the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo and various attempts by his family and the government to turn his legacy into a tourism resource.

This research was also partly concerned with people's interaction with Joshua Nkomo's tourism landscape. The researcher, therefore, wanted to gain perceptions of the inspiration behind the opinions and actions of participants on the implication of tourism on the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo. The researcher used face-to-face interviews with carefully chosen key informants to allow a thorough understanding of the interpretations of the research (Boyce and Neale, 2006).

#### **4.4 Self-reflexivity**

The methodology is partly influenced by the researcher's background in cultural heritage studies and experience while at work with the ZMHS that is under NMMZ as a Senior Curator of Archaeology. Mann (2016), as cited in Attia and Edge (2017: 35) "describes reflexivity as being

focused on the self and ongoing intersubjectivities. It recognises mutual shaping, reciprocity and bi-directionality, and that interaction is context-dependent and context renewing” (p. 28). “Reflexivity is characterised by two interrelating features, which are ‘prospective’ and ‘retrospective reflexivity’, with the former concerning itself with the effect of the whole-person-researcher on the research and the latter with the effect of the research on the researcher” (Attia and Edge, 2017). The study was inspired by the researcher’s interest in the memorialisation of iconic individuals who participated in the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe and the contestations associated with the practice. The researcher examined the institutional archives with a long history spanning the colonial and post-colonial periods, read government and institutional policy documents on memorialisation practice and tourism, attended and observed commemoration ceremonies and followed up these with targeted interviews.

The experience is hereby linked and assisted with explaining the role of the memorialisation process in identity construction, heritage making and tourism in Zimbabwe. The researcher participated in meetings and discussions over the presentation and the conception of Joshua Nkomo’s effigy, among some of his representations. The researcher tried to be as factual and as academic as possible when analysing issues coming out of the data gathered. Events obtained in Zimbabwe inspired the researcher to revisit the interface between identity, heritage and tourism development. The sudden interest by the state in proclaiming heritage sites after 2000 inspired the researcher to examine the Zimbabwean heritage tourism context, focusing on the only individual given prominence by the government among other participants of the independent struggle in Zimbabwe where the government, communities and private operators offer divergent views of the practice.

During working at NMMZ, the researcher was involved in various acts of commemoration and gazetting of monuments. Consultations with stakeholders over these acts of commemoration and declaration of monuments were also held. Responses were observed by interaction with the general public as well as through reading academic papers and newspaper articles from the leading editions in Zimbabwe and some from abroad. Working with NMMZ made the researcher aware of how deeply linked issues to do with memorialisation practice, identity construction, heritage making and tourism are. Although NMMZ is mandated with the protection of heritage, the publicity and promotion of tourism lies with ZTA. One of the researcher's responsibilities as a Senior Curator of Archaeology was compiling nomination dossiers for national monuments. This allowed the researcher to meet various stakeholders concerned with the process of nominating heritage landscapes and sites.

The stakeholders with interests in the nomination of heritage varied from family members, government, non-governmental organizations, chiefs, associations, to pressure groups. The researcher collaborated within and outside NMMZ and successfully had some monuments listed. The researcher was inspired by his profession and experiences within the heritage sector to investigate the influence of memorialisation on identity, heritage and tourism in Zimbabwe. The researcher observed that NMMZ was heavily involved in the commemoration practice and once the memorials were in place, marketing became negated. Furthermore, interested parties in the nomination of national monuments did not always agree on certain aspects. NMMZ is, therefore, preoccupied with dealing with contestations as in the Nharira Hills (2000), Upper Mazowe Valley (2007), and conservation and preservation of the nominated places such as the Manicaland Provincial Heroes Acre, Gonakudzingwa Restriction Camp (2013), Sikombela Restriction camp (2013), among other monuments gazetted after independence. The former monuments are

entangled with contestations over ownership, while the latter represents the liberation war heritage. Marketing of these monuments is peripheral. The listed memorials have been accorded national monument status, but have not received many visitors.

Thus, the experience of working in NMMZ offered an introspective approach to the methodology and analysis of data gathered. This research, having been carried out five years after leaving NMMZ, gives the researcher a considerable degree of connectedness to the NMMZ, tourism and heritage in Zimbabwe. The advantage of this connectedness is that the researcher had a good level of exposure to NMMZ, which meant that he became familiar with the materials he was working with. It was also easy to locate them, thereby reducing the data collection efforts. However, to be objective, the researcher had to step out of the past links with NMMZ examine the documents and policies and carry out new interviews with NMMZ staff, ZTA officers, community members, and politicians. The researcher also examined newspaper accounts related to Joshua Nkomo's representations.

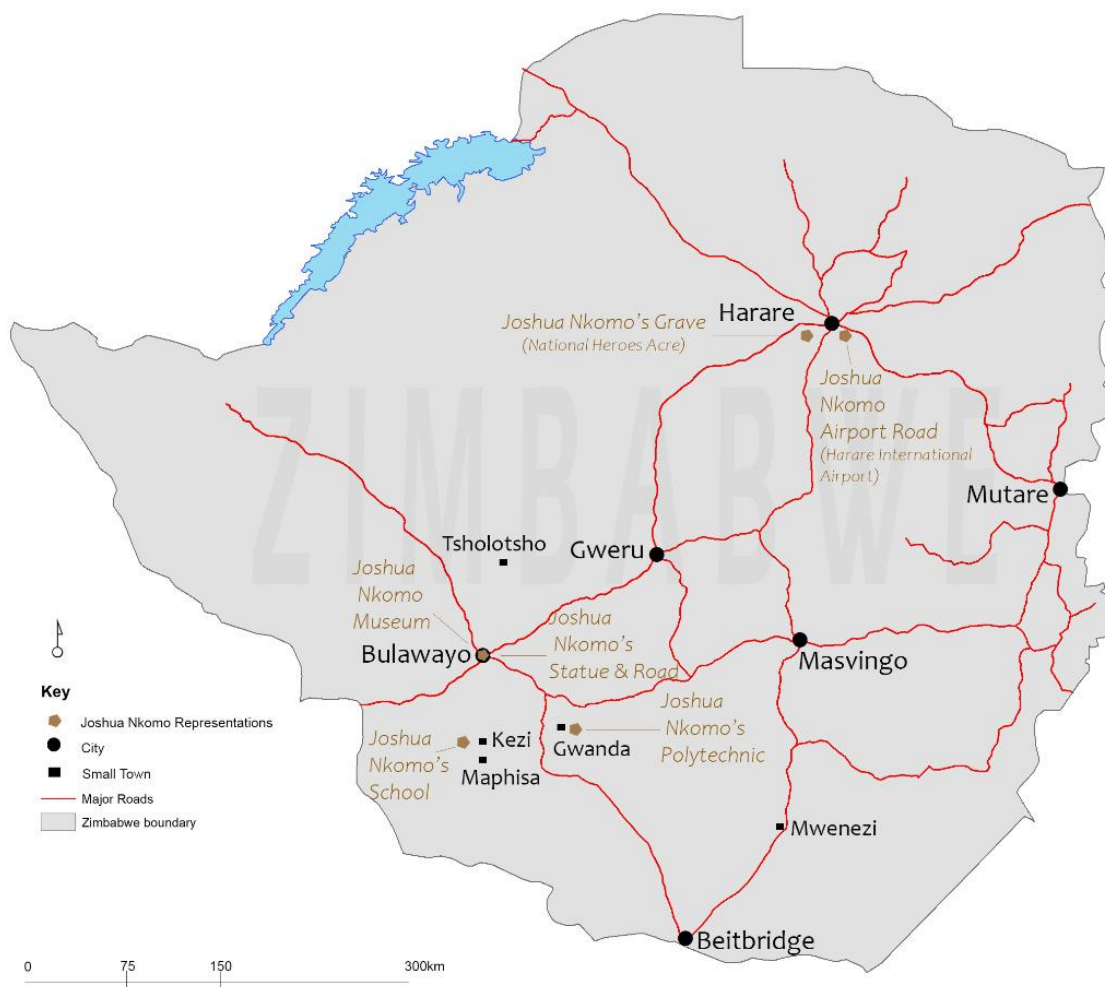
#### **4.5 Study Population**

In this study, the primary population was made up of people from Matabeleland, Bulawayo, Harare and notable individuals in Zimbabwe who worked closely with Joshua Nkomo, community members and visitors. The study population comprised people involved in the tourism and heritage field, family members and acquaintances, politicians, tour operators, cultural associations, traditional leaders, and community members. Matabeleland and Harare were the study's areas of focus because these are the two areas with the largest concentration of Joshua Nkomo's representations (Fig. 1). The information was collected from fifty (50) informants and the sample from each group was carefully chosen as offered in the illustration below. The research ended up

with 50 participants after reaching saturation level. This was the period at which new information was not adding value to the understanding of the topic. The researcher had gathered enough data to form a complete and accurate understanding of the subject. The research had reached a point of diminishing returns and this guided the end of data collection.

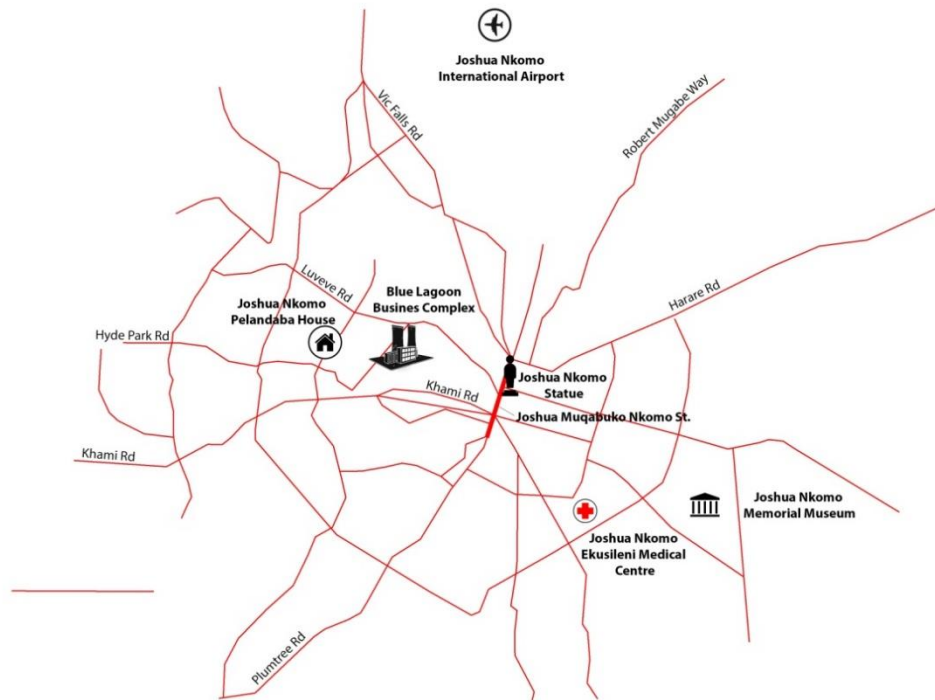
<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
National Museums and Monuments Head office	0	2	2
Natural History Museum (Bulawayo Museum)	1	0	1
National Heroes Acre	1	0	1
Museum of Humana Sciences	0	3	3
Zimbabwe Tourism Authority officers	0	1	2
Tour Operators	0	2	2
Bulawayo City Council	1	0	1
Family Members	1	2	3
Photographers at Joshua Nkomo's statue	0	5	5
Politicians	0	1	1
Cultural Association	0	2	2
Traditional Leader	0	1	1
Community members	8	9	17
Tourists to Joshua Nkomo's representations	4	6	9
<b>Total</b>			<b>50</b>

**Table 1:** Sample Characteristics



**Fig. 1:** Major Joshua Nkomo's Representations in Zimbabwe

**Source:** Map curtsey of Russel Kapumha (2018)



**Fig. 2:** Joshua Nkomo’s representations in City of Bulawayo

**Source:** Map curtesy of Russel Kapumha (2018)

#### 4.6 Sampling procedure

A sample is a subgroup of the populace used to represent the entire study population. Samples are selected from the population to to make conclusions about the population as a whole (Welman and Kruger, 2000). A representative sample is essential for producing reliable and valid research results (Brikci and Green, 2007). A sample is a subdivision of the population carefully chosen to represent the entire population. The study adopted Brikci and Green's (2007) explanation that the number of people to be chosen for a study is determined by the research objectives and study population features such as size and diversity. Purposive and convenience sampling techniques were used in this study. In respect of the foregoing, the thumb rule regarding sample size is that quality is more

imperative than quantity. A sample of twenty-five participants is regarded as adequate for minor projects (Charmaz, 2006). Ritchie et al. (2003) put forward that qualitative samples are regularly under fifty and typically the data reaches saturation levels at over fifty. A sample of fifty informants was chosen for this study based on that circumstance. The participants were carefully selected and clearly defined to have proper limitations for guaranteeing the reliability of the populace itself.

#### **4.6.1 Purposive Sampling**

This study applied a purposive sampling technique to select key informants in this study. The key participants in this study were Tourism and Heritage Officers from ZTA, NMMZ and its subsidiaries, Natural History Museum, Museum of Human Sciences, National Heroes Acre, Ministry of Environment, Climate, Tourism and Hospitality Industry, Bulawayo Town Council (Tourism and Heritage Office), and tour operators. The key informants were carefully chosen based on their familiarity with tourism, heritage and the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo. This study followed Patton's (2002) "definition of purposive sampling as a non-random method of sampling where the researcher selects "information-rich" cases for in-depth study". Bernard (2012) and Lewis and Sheppard (2006) similarly refer to the purposive sampling technique as a form of non-probability sampling that is used to select informants for a study grounded on the investigator's decision. With purposive sampling, the researcher selects participants who they believe are the most appropriate for the study. In this regard, the researcher confined the sample to those people who are unique; having different circumstances and the variances they display from other individuals in the population because of their experiences and knowledge. Purposive sampling was chosen so as not to exclude vital informants involved in the development of Joshua Nkomo's tourism product and his memorialisation.

Qualitative research aims at understanding, from inside, the subjective reality of the study informants. Elmusharaf, (2012) argue that researchers reach out to various people in the study area who have unique information which can be shared. The people's knowledge can representatively be applied to the population. Research participants should be carefully chosen for their unique attributes. It is the special properties that attract the attention of the researcher, hence sample sizes are by and large small, typically one to more than a few cases. Investigation in these categories of studies concentrates principally on their crucial case features and the variances they unveil from other people in the population (Brikci and Green, 2007). The rationality and clout of purposive sampling is in the selection of cases with abundant information for comprehensive study. Cases with plentiful information are those from which one can pick up a great deal about subjects of vital significance to the objective of the study instead of from a large statistically representative sample of the programme (Patton, 1990). People and sectors that are noteworthy in the development of tourism and heritage production in Zimbabwe were identified and selected by the researcher. The main aim for adopting purposive sampling was to concentrate on informants with important information on the growth of tourism and memorialisation practices in Zimbabwe.

With purposive sampling, participants are selected according to pre-selected criteria relevant to a particular research question (Brikci and Green, 2007). A point of reference is secured on what makes a respectable or bad informant. Delang (2005) assert that purposeful sampling lessens duplication and the person who reads possibly will correspondingly be led to interrogate the vigour of information. Key informants were purposively selected in this study. These included immediate Joshua Nkomo family members, that is, his brother, son and daughter, relatives, politicians, professionals in heritage tourism, community members, and tour operators. The researcher also managed to interview two politicians out of the targeted five, as senior politicians who interacted

with Nkomo always said that they were busy. The interviews were complemented by existing sources in circulation. Visitors to Joshua Nkomo's statue, the memorial museum and the remaining community members were selected through convenience sampling. The subsequent participants were selected for a distinct motive.

#### ***4.6.1.1 National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe***

NMMZ was selected because it is the custodian of heritage in Zimbabwe and was at the forefront of the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo. NMMZ is legally mandated to preserve, conserve, and exhibit the country's cultural heritage. Two of Joshua Nkomo's sites, the statue and grave, are national monuments being managed under the NMMZ Act, Chapter 25.11 of 1972. NMMZ was the most important partner in the establishment of the Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo Museum by providing experts and professional advice. As such, officers from NMMZ were also key informants in the study.

#### ***4.6.1.2 The Ministry of Environment, Climate, Tourism and Hospitality Industry***

The ministry was selected because of its mandate, which "is to manage, conserve and promote the sustainable use of natural resources and facilitate the delivery of high-quality tourism products that contribute to the economic development of Zimbabwe" ([envirotourism.org.zw](http://envirotourism.org.zw)).

#### ***4.6.1.3 Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA)***

ZTA was selected because of its obligation of developing, supervising, supporting and publicising the country as a tourist destination in both the local and international markets. "ZTA is responsible for tourism promotion, planning and development, as well as research and enforcement of standards and services. Its overarching goal is to promote the sustainable growth and development of tourism in Zimbabwe for the social and economic benefit of the nation through setting and

monitoring of standards, market research, product development, investment promotion and destination marketing” (zimbabwetourism.net).

#### ***4.6.1.4 Bulawayo City Council***

Bulawayo City Council (BCC) owns the land where the Joshua Nkomo statue was erected. Permission to install the statue was granted by the city council and a number of meetings were held at the city council among the city fathers, NMMZ, Joshua Nkomo’s family members and other stakeholders on the positioning of the statue in Bulawayo. BCC was selected because of its role in the positioning of the statue in its town and for granting a Building Operating Permit to convert Joshua’s house into a museum.

#### ***4.6.1.5 Tour Operators***

Tour operators were selected because they are responsible for preparing holiday tours. They bring visitors to Joshua Nkomo’s sites and, therefore, are key informants in the study.

#### ***4.6.1.6 Politicians***

Political actors from both the ruling party and the opposition were selected as key participants, as some of them interacted personally and in government business with Joshua Nkomo.

#### ***4.6.1.7 Visitors to Joshua Nkomo Heritage Tourism Sites***

Those who visited Joshua Nkomo’s representations were selected to obtain their perceptions on the revitalisation of Joshua Nkomo as well as the identities coming out of that process. These people are the consumers of Joshua Nkomo Heritage sites.

## **4.7 Data Collection Methods**

There are diverse categories of data collection instruments used in collecting data depending on the embraced design and study. The researcher used interviews, participant observation and document analysis in this investigation. Literature review and data analysis as part of secondary sources were used in this study. According to O’Leary, (2004), there is no data collection method that is better than the other and gathering reliable data is tough undertaking. More than one method was used by the researcher so as to triangulate data and address the research problem.

### **4.7.1 Interviews**

Data was collected by the researcher through interviews using semi-structured questions. Kothari (2004) regards semi-structured interviews, at times referred to as focused interviews, as a type of qualitative research interview in which the interrogator has a list of questions to query the informant and there is flexibility in how the questions are asked and how the conversation develops. According to Rutledge and Hogg, (2020), semi-structured interviews can be useful for exploring complex topics and understanding the participant’s perspective. In the study, the in-depth interview method was used to elicit residents’ perceptions on the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo. Respondents were free to respond as much or as little as they wanted. In the case of an interviewee having a challenge in responding to a question or providing a short answer, the investigator used indications or stimuli to inspire the informant to further reflect on the question Kothari (2004). “The interviewer also has the freedom to probe the interviewee to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the interviewee in a semi-structured interview” (Kothari, 2004). Beverley (1998) suggests that “the interviewer can decide in advance what areas to cover but is open and receptive to unexpected information from the interviewee”. This can be mostly important if time is constrained for each meeting and the interviewer wants to

be certain that the main topics will be covered. Therefore, it was easy to change the course of the interrogations so that fundamental matters were covered.

In the course of interviews, the researcher tried to cover all the questions, assessed the answers and explored further for opinions, ideas and extra information. Enquiry aims to gain a deeper appreciation of the informant's experiences and viewpoints (Beverley, 1998). Qualitative, In-depth interviews are archetypally much more like tête-à-têtes than official proceedings with prearranged answer categories. According to William (2001), this method is essential to qualitative research as a phenomenon is understood from the participant's perspective and not the as how the researcher views it. The study employed semi-structured interviews to understand in detail the respondent's own perceptions and accounts. It is used on topics for which less is known by the researcher, which information is the preserve of the respondent and therefore it is imperative to achieve an all-inclusive understanding of the information from the respondent.

Interviews were also carried out with some people who were uncomfortable talking openly. In situations where interviewees might be uncomfortable speaking openly or when the researcher wants to ascertain individual viewpoints that might be predisposed or biased by a group view, such as focus groups, in-depth interviews are suitable for such scenarios (Rutledge and Hogg, (2020). Some interviewees were not comfortable talking openly to the researcher, hence the interviews were held in areas where they were comfortable. The assumption with in-depth interviews is that it is commonly applied to capture the social reality of the participant. This was appropriate for community members who requested to be interviewed in privacy. Interviews permit informants to express anything that they think is significant and some of the interviews can be used as quotes and stories (Finn and Jacobson, 2008). The disadvantages of an interview are that they may be

time-consuming and predisposed to bias. They are time-consuming if multiple interviews are to be conducted. As a result of the above, costs are high owing to the more time spend interviewing informants and scrutinising the responses (Jacobson et al. 2009). An interview involves personal interaction and the co-operation of the respondent is necessary. Some of the interviews during the research took more than an hour. Russ-Eft and Preskill (2001) posit that interviews are more expensive than other data collection methods. The progress of the study was not stopped by some interviewees who were unwilling or felt uneasy about sharing information.

NMMZ workers were verbally interviewed by the researcher. The aim of interviewing the department was to assess how they managed Joshua Nkomo's heritage and the subsequent memorialising of Joshua Nkomo from death, the development of an exhibition to his honour titled 'Joshua Nkomo the Man', the museum, and the statues. It was noteworthy to start with NMMZ to explore how Joshua Nkomo was heritage and its relations with other stakeholders like other ministries, community members and visitors to Nkomo representations in their charge. The first to be interviewed was the NMMZ Executive Director at NMMZ head office, and its affiliates ZMHS, National Heroes and Natural History Museum also known as Bulawayo Museum. The following were also interviewed: The Chief Curator based at NMMZ head Office, and the Regional Curator of Historic Buildings, who in one way or the other was involved in the preservation, research and exhibition of Joshua Nkomo's heritage. The Curator of Militaria stationed at the National Heroes Acre where Nkomo's grave is located was also interviewed. At the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo, The Curator of Archaeology and the Monuments Inspector in charge of monuments based at Bulawayo Museum, in the Western Region, were also interviewed. The researcher also interviewed the Natural History Museum Display Officer who was once attached to the Joshua Nkomo Memorial Museum and played an important role in designing the Joshua Nkomo Museum

exhibition and the erection of the statue in Bulawayo. During the interview with the Natural History Museum Display Officer, the researcher discovered that she was related to the Nkomos.

ZTA Harare referred the researcher to the Bulawayo Region office as they felt the Regional Manager was the more appropriate person for the interview. These experts helped to provide a sense of the motivations and background of those committed to the management and cultural tourism issues of Joshua Nkomo's representations. Their interaction with the state, community and visitors helped shed light on the challenges they faced in covering the development of Joshua Nkomo's tourism landscape. Interviews were also carried out with politicians who interacted with Joshua Nkomo to get the political side of his life. The Chief Executive Officer of Amakhosi Cultural Tours operating in Bulawayo was interviewed because the organisation provides tours that include some of Joshua Nkomo's representations in Bulawayo.

Joshua Nkomo's family members provided a sample for the research. The problem with carrying out research on an individual is that some family members may be unwilling to disclose information that they consider to be uncomfortable or too sensitive or can expose the family in one way or the other. To deal with the challenge of failure by family members to give information, the researcher went beyond the core family and interviewed some extended family members and friends. The researcher interviewed one respondent who constantly referred me to the book Nkomo wrote. He thought that the written word was the law. The respondent initially said that the researcher must have been sent by the government, implying that the researcher was a Central Intelligence Organisation operative. Being a Shona language speaker did not make matters simple. The researcher was granted an interview after doing some convincing. Nine ordinary visitors to Nkomo's representations were interviewed. Other respondents, especially the young people,

thought it was political fieldwork and, as such were scared of being interviewed. The fear emanates from political instability and polarization in the country, as some revealed that some information genuinely released may be taken as a betrayal of the ruling party and, as such, they could face political persecution. For example, the question on divergent views on Joshua Nkomo was avoided out of fear of taking a side that might expose one to the risk of persecution.

Pathisa Nyathi, a local historian, culturalist, educationist, poet and biographer referred the researcher to interview the Matongeni Cultural Association (MCA) Director. Pathisa Nyathi is one of the leading voices in cultural history in Bulawayo. Friends of the Joshua Nkomo Trust were also interviewed to gain an understanding of the purpose of the Trust and why it was established. Friends of the Joshua Nkomo Trust has a very large pictorial exhibition of Joshua Nkomo that it displays on commemorative events. The interviews generated a lot of data and this was in line with Creswell's (2008) observation of interviews. The data were captured through tape recordings, interview notes and photographs. The data were then organised to identify key themes and issues.

#### **4.7.2 Participatory Observation**

In this study, the researcher used participant observation to collect primary data. Kumar (2005) defines the observation method as the collection of primary data by involving the researcher's direct observation of appropriate persons, activities and conditions without questioning the participant. Observation can produce information that individuals are generally reluctant or not capable of making available. Participant observation was used to observe relevant people, actions, behaviour and situations about events to tourism and events in memory of Joshua Nkomo.

The researcher attended and observed Joshua Nkomo's July 1 death anniversary and the 22 December Unity Accord celebrations in Bulawayo and Harare, respectively. The events were attended on the 1st of July 2015 and 2016, as well as the 22<sup>nd</sup> of December 2015. The Unity Day was organized by the Ministry of Information, Publicity and Broadcasting Services. However, it is worth noting that Unity Day is not specifically about Joshua Nkomo but a day whose history he was also involved in. This participation greatly assisted in observing how the community behaved and the actions taken over tourism and the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo. The researcher was able to observe through activities at events, speeches read and the reaction thereof, and comments by visitors during tours of the Joshua Nkomo tourism landscape.

The researcher also observed part of a group of primary school pupils who visited Joshua Nkomo's Memorial Museum. The group was given a guided tour by a university student intern at the Museum. Observation was carried out at the statue for two days. The researcher visited the National Heroes Acre in Harare on one occasion during Heroes' Day commemorations when families, friends and people visit the site to pay homage to their loved ones. Heroes' Day is an official holiday to honour Zimbabwe's outstanding individuals. The other observation was when army cadets and a secondary school visited the site. The visits provided the researcher with an opportunity to observe visitors' reactions to, and interactions with, Nkomoscapes. The observation method assisted the researcher in understanding visitor patterns at Joshua Nkomo heritage tourism sites. One of the most important advantages of the observation method is the unveiling of information which people are reluctant or not capable of making available. Some people comment on the events and the comments were not solicited, meaning that they were not influenced by the researcher's questions. However, Kumar (2005) notes that the observation method has its limitations in that attitudes, feelings and beliefs motivating people to do something cannot be

observed. Interviews were used to overcome the limitations associated with the participant observation method.

#### **4.7.3 Document Analysis**

Document analysis is a logical process that involves analysing documents such as historical records, literature, journals or newspapers that are in either print or electronic form (Bowen, 2009). According to Gay (1996), document analysis can particularly be useful for studies that focus on historical events or periods. Documents used in the study took a variety of forms that included minutes of meetings, reports, books, brochures, newspapers, organizational and institutional reports and photographs, among others. Documents in various institutions dealing with heritage tourism were examined. The documents are located at BCC, NMMZ Head Office, Natural History Museum, Joshua Nkomo Museum, NAZ, and *The Herald*, and online. Prior (2003) argues that documents are useful in understanding how people in the past thought, acted and how events unfolded. The documents were used in the study as they are records of how Joshua Nkomo was memorialised and marketed as a heritage tourism resource. The documents were also used to support the data from interviews and put it into perspective. For the researcher to understand the importance of the documents, they have to study them with their context in mind. In the case of this current study, the documents that were analysed included what has been documented about Joshua Nkomo, not forgetting his biography, *The Story of My Life*, archival sources, newspaper reports and secondary sources in the form of books. However, for document analysis to be effective, it has to be taken in conjunction with other methods of data collection so that there is complementarity.

The documentary archive from NMMZ was part of the largest documentary evidence that was used by the researcher to analyse the practice of memorialising Joshua Nkomo, especially files at NMMZ Head Office in Harare and Bulawayo Museum. The NMMZ archive arrives in Joshua Nkomo's history at the heritagisation point of his life and the National Archives contains most documents about his life and political history, as well as newspapers and magazines with information on how Joshua has been portrayed in media. The documents from NMMZ files included official correspondence within the organization and the parent Ministry of Home Affairs, heritage managers' reports, policy documents, speeches, newspaper cuttings, annual reports and newsletters. NMMZ is under the Ministry of Home Affairs and Cultural Heritage.

Newspaper archives from *The Chronicle*, *The Herald*, *The Sunday Mail*, *Newsday* and *Daily News* also formed part of the primary sources used to understand the responses to the practice of memorialisation, identity construction, heritage-making and tourism in Zimbabwe. The newspaper stables archived papers according to subject and this enabled the review of stories related to Joshua Nkomo's representations. The researcher spent time analysing newspaper reports about Joshua Nkomo in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Chronicle*, *The Herald*, *Daily News* and *Newsday* from 1960 to the present, and magazines like *Moto*. The *Newsday* began publishing on the 4th of June 2010. A challenge faced when analysing newspaper documents is that of political bias. The bias was divided in terms of who sponsored the newspapers and it was obvious that the *Sunday Mail* and *The Herald* are pro-government and *Newsday* and *Daily News* are privately owned and regarded as anti-government (Dombo, 2017). A deep analysis of what each report contains is the way that a researcher can deal with diverging information. The bias in newspaper reports was dealt with by carrying out interviews. One interesting outcome of the observed trends from both stables was that all concurred that Joshua Nkomo was indeed a national hero and contributed significantly to the

emancipation of Zimbabwe. As a result of his hero status, both the private and the national papers were agreeable to the fact that Joshua Nkomo deserved to be memorialised. So, the study also benefitted by deriving a lot of historical knowledge from diverging reports through conducting a careful analysis of the issues that could influence writers from the different stables to write differently on one subject. Other documents like fliers, brochures and booklets from various organisations and individual writers were also examined, to supplement data from the interviews.

It has been noted that one of the advantages of document analysis is assisting the researcher to get hold of distant people or issues (Cohen et al; 2007). Written documents are important in that they were written on events that were not personally witnessed by the researcher. So, one can reconstruct a history of events that took place many years ago through an analysis of how such events were captured in written documents. Further, document analysis eliminates the researcher's reactivity as it was written in their absence just like non-participant or indirect observation. This is so particularly when the document was not written as part of any research information. Document analysis was also convenient in analysing issues over time, as it disclosed how the state of affairs have progressed over time. Specifically, in this study, the variations in time involved the perceptions of Joshua Nkomo by the ZANU-PF ruling party during the 1980s and when he signed the Unity Accord in 1987 and the community on his memorialisation and subsequent transformation into a tourism product. According to Cohen et al. (2007), active documents within public institutions may catch the dynamic situation at the time of writing. The document analysis method is very efficient as it involves data selection rather than collection. Bowen (2009) argues that documents are available, especially on the internet, and do not require the other's permission to read them. The researcher found this method cost-effective as the data in documents were

already collected and what remained was to select quality data and analyse them. Documents used in this study had a broad coverage and had many events and different settings.

Documents are not always valuable, as they occasionally bring in some impediments (Bailey, 1994). Documents could be exceptionally subjective and selective, as they were not expected to be considered as research data but on the other hand were written for a different purpose, audience and viewpoint. Documents may not contain information that is 100% correct or true but they alert us about certain events having taken place. Evaluation reports on the first Joshua Nkomo Exhibition held in Harare at the ZMHS were examined. Although the reports captured the major developments in Joshua Nkomo's political life, they missed his contribution to his immortalisation and did not focus on tourism, probably because their main thrust was on heritage and nation-building.

#### **4.7.4 Exhibition Analysis**

Exhibition analysis is research on museum exhibitions and their narratives (Kolaříková, 2022). According to Kolaříková (2022), "exhibition analysis is an attempt to explore and understand the exhibition as a whole, without overlooking the individual parts of this whole, which are assumed to contain meaning that mirrors not only the thinking and research background of the museum in question but also the cultural and social aspects of society, that is, that dominant social discourses are involved in its form". Others define exhibition analysis as an analysis of the thesis or central argument of the exhibition (Bjerregaard, 2020). Exhibition analysis provides a comprehensive study of a broad social reality by observing the exhibitor and the visitors' understanding of the display. The researcher analysed the displays at Joshua Nkomo Museum. The objects and texts displayed were analysed. The museum holds the largest collection of Joshua Nkomo's items. The

exhibition is especially dedicated to Joshua Nkomo and it was studied to see how it fits in the matrix of the development of Joshua Nkomo's tourism landscape and the impact it had on his memorialisation.

Exhibitions and exhibits are used by museums to convey messages in a social way (Kolarikova, 2022). The memory of artefacts influences social awareness through the exhibition in museums. Exhibitions are made up of objects which are central to it. In most cases, a display is made up of a series of exhibits, which can be a disadvantage. The exhibits might have different themes and meanings. To overcome this, the researcher used interviews to supplement the missing information. Joshua Nkomo Museum is categorised as a house museum. A house museum is a dwelling that is museumised and presented as a dwelling (Young, 2007). The museum displays Joshua Nkomo's property, from a car to household furniture and other paraphernalia. All the exhibits were used in the construction of a narrative by the museum on Joshua Nkomo. The researcher used the museum narrative to gather data on the development of tourism and its bearing on the memorialisation of the subject under study. The term 'museum narrative' refers to oral or written narratives about the museum. Kolarikova (2022) argues that when evaluating exhibitions, it is fitting to consider to the social discourse that inspires the arrangement of the exhibition and also the understanding of visitors.

#### **4.8 Data Collection Process**

The data collection process make known the researcher's role during the course of data gathering. The data collection plan involves the chronological stages engaged in data collection (Marimba and Moyo, 1995; Wiesman, 2005). Qualitative research involves preparation and carrying out fieldwork. The process comprises selection of participants, gaining access, and collection of data.

To gain access to various institutions, permission was sought from heads of departments through gatekeepers' letters. The researcher requested, and was granted authorisation from the NMMZ, ZTA and NAZ. NMMZ and ZTA permitted the researcher to interview the organisation's staff and read through files. NAZ permitted the researcher to use archival files associated with Joshua Nkomo. Appointments for interviews were arranged with participants and the researcher individually carried out the interviews. The conversations were documented on voice recorders and handwritten notes. The researcher conducted interviews where other questions emerged during the interviews. The researcher set aside two weeks for the inspection of documents relating to Joshua Nkomo's representations. Observation visits were carried out at the Joshua Nkomo Museum, Ekusileni Memorial Hospital, Joshua Nkomo's Pelandaba house and the National Heroes Acre.

#### **4.8 Validity, Reliability and Rigour**

The researcher made an effort to improve validity, reliability and rigour. The three concepts are important for ensuring that research is credible and trustworthy. When planning and conducting research, the researcher must consider the ideas of validity, reliability and rigour. The crux of research is to collect information to corroborate or discredit theories. For collected data to be relevant, correct and relate to the subject for it to be considered valid and reliable. In this study, validity and reliability are established on its accuracy value, its transferability and the regularity of the study.

##### **4.8.1 Validity**

Validity has challenges in qualitative research and in order to understand it, one has to know what validity is. Validity refers to the degree to which the research measures what it is supposed to

measure. Bell (2012) states that validity specifies whether the article measures or explains what it is supposed to measure. It will produce constant outcomes throughout the narrative, conclusion, analysis or other sorts of interpretation (Creswell, 2010).

Validity threats were counteracted by the use of different strategies employed by the researcher during the investigation. Information was collected through interviews, document analysis, exhibition analysis, and observation methods and double-checked and corroborated using different sources. Sufficient notes were transcribed in notebooks and the interviews were taped by recorders. This assisted in reducing the problem of impreciseness or the incompleteness of the information. The key threat to an effective explanation of what the researcher observed or picked up is inadequate and incorrect data (Maxwell, 2006). Validity measurement is critical so that other researchers assessing this research may well access the data to authenticate the correctness of the interpretations given. It was indispensable to confirm whether the questions were intended to respond the investigation questions.

The researcher had lengthy visits with the public to regulate validity and rigour to gain confidence and an affable relationship with the community. Everything was carried out to increase the integrity of the research. Improved credibility of the research was achieved by lengthy stay in the community, recorded interviews and field notes which were frequently referred to by the researcher. To ensure credibility, the researcher familiarised himself with the organisational structures of the institutions involved in providing data before data collection.

#### **4.8.2 Reliability**

Reliability in qualitative research can be defined as the credibility of the processes and information produced. Bryman (2001) argues “that reliability is concerned with the extent to which the results

of a study or a measure are repeatable in different circumstances”. Data have to be reconsidered in different conditions in order to endorse the research results. To overcome bias on the part of the researcher in the analysis of information and as an appraising measure, an independent researcher may be given to substantiate how much agreement there is about results and inquiry (Weber, 1990). Trustworthiness in qualitative studies closely relates to the idea of reliability in numerical investigation (Lincoln and Guba, 2010).

#### **4.9 Ethical Considerations**

In some cases, the researcher and the research subjects are two strangers. However, they are made to interface with the research study, whereby one of them, the researcher, seeks information which resides in the research subject. This information can voluntarily be given by the research subject, coerced out of the research subject or unduly obtained by the researcher. It is against this background that ethics in research is part of this study.

Research ethics deals predominantly with the interface between researchers and the general public they study. A foundation for common trust is established between researchers and informants using a set of principles for research ethics that have been decided by the two parties. The agreed-upon standards must explicitly consider the needs and concerns of the subjects under study. The researcher was aware of the Belmont Report recommendations and he adhered to their key tenets during his field studies. The Belmont Report (1979) initially expressed three essential values that are the foundation of the research ethics generally agreed upon by researchers worldwide. The main principles of ethics followed in this study are debriefing, voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, and withdrawal of participation.

Participants were debriefed by the researcher to address their concerns. The researcher allayed fears among the participants since the research was on Joshua Nkomo, a decorated Zimbabwean politician. Politics in this study was unavoidable and, therefore, the researcher unmistakably clarified his position that the investigation was only academic and not intended for other things. All questions by participants were answered by the researcher, with some of them asking about monetary benefits and others requesting the researcher to share the results of this study with them.

In qualitative research, discretion of information given by research subjects is important and the privacy of informants must be guaranteed. Sensitive subjects every so often oblige interviewees to be granted confidentiality and anonymity in qualitative research (Dougherty, 2021). Informants signed an informed consent form which was designed by the researcher. Before the interviews began, the researcher explained to the informants about their guaranteed privacy through the informed consent form. The researcher obtained informed consent from the engaged informants. The researcher informed all participants in the research about the objective, methods and scheduled uses of the research results, and what their participation in the research brought about. This was done at the time the researcher pursued the informants' agreement to take part in the research. The information provided to participants by the researcher was designed to ensure that participants understood what it meant to play a part in the investigation and for them to make a conscious, deliberate and educated decision as to contribute or not to the study. In this particular study, written consent was obtained.

The researcher endeavoured to comply with the ethical values in research. Interpretations of data were grounded on the data collected. Personal judgments have had no influence on the analysis and the results presented. Participants were not subjected to a diagnostic assessment of their

personalities. The researcher was gratified to conduct the study in a way that guaranteed that value did not influence the outcome, that is, in line with UKZN ethical guidelines.

#### **4.10 Limitations**

Some trials were encountered by the researcher and actions were taken to address them. It was not practical to study Bulawayo and Harare provinces as wholes, as they are huge. The researcher constricted the study areas by concentrating on a limited number of participants and involving key informants. The research was also entangled in national, local social, economic and political contexts. The researcher had problems interviewing people, especially youths, who expected to be paid in exchange for information. Most said there was no need to answer political questions when they were unemployed. The popular question that was asked before the commencement of the interview was, “What do I get in return?” This left the interviewer with no choice but to look for respondents who did not require information payment.

Generally, people are wary of strangers. Compared to the elderly interviewees, young people portrayed some degree of indifference to issues under discussion. Some interviewees would try to give ‘right answers’, avoiding what they considered to be politically sensitive issues and policies. The researcher framed questions so that they did not look political but gave the same information. One of the challenges encountered was the language barrier with some interviewees. Fortunately, most of the interviews were held in English and where Ndebele words were used, an interpreter was used to avoid loss of critical and pertinent information.

#### **4.11 Data Analysis**

The collected data and assigned codes to specific phrases that presented a common theme. The data was then presented, deliberated and deduced as an approach to adding the researchers’

expression to the study. The thematic analysis encompasses detecting themes or patterns contained in a set of information (Boyatzis (1998). Content analysis was carried out to categorise themes that derived from interviews. The emerging themes were assigned codes using keywords. Thereafter, all the responses were categorised under the main themes and to conclude, the themes and reactions were combined into a report. The thematic approach was chosen because it helps uncover unexpected findings or relationships between different aspects of data. Braun and Clarke (2006) state that thematic analysis classifies patterns of themes contained in the information and makes it easier to identify and understand the main ideas and concepts.

Cooper and Schindler (2003) reasoned that in qualitative research information is biased and that has to be taken into consideration when preparing the presentation. Under the circumstances highlighted by Cooper and Schindler (2003), the researcher based the structure of the presentation of the research on the sets or themes that arose from coding. Sub-themes were drawn from the data collected. The themes were presented as sections and pertinent subcategories. This assisted in arranging for a nuanced understanding of data. The researchers' prolonged meeting with informers in the study area increased the reliability of the research.

#### **4.12 Chapter Summary**

This chapter deliberated the methodology that was deployed to get the data used in the writing of this thesis. The methodological approaches that were deployed by the researcher that have been discussed in the chapter include interviews, documentary sources, participatory observation and analysis of archival data, among other strategies. These approaches were useful in obtaining information that is crucial to comprehend the life history of Joshua Nkomo and, memorialisation and his subsequent post-life heritagization.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION**

### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter is a presentation of the findings which emerged from this research. It presents data derived from the application of several research methodologies that were employed in this study. As stated in the former chapter, the several research methodologies that were deployed in this study included individual face-to-face interviews, site visits and archival research. As far as the said interviews are concerned, these were mostly done with people and institutions identified in the study as constituting what can be referred to as the stakeholders in Joshua Nkomo's affairs. These stakeholders were drawn from groups and people such as Joshua Nkomo's family members, local community members from areas such as Kezi, Bulawayo and Harare, and officials from organisations tasked with the safeguarding of historical legacies and improvement of tourism in the country, who were interviewed. In line with the principles of the Social Identity Theory that underpinned this study as expounded by Tajfel and Turner (1982), members of socio-political groups that Nkomo associated with during his lifetime were also interviewed and provided some of the data presented in this chapter.

Since the analysis of secondary literature was also one of the approaches that this study resorted to for data-gathering purposes, the resultant data derived from such an approach are also presented in this chapter. As far as the nature of the secondary literature resorted to is concerned, this was mostly publications that captured the life of Joshua Nkomo, either as autobiographic or biographical texts, journal publications and history books. Lastly, as discussed in the previous chapter, archival research was another approach that was deployed as a data-sourcing methodology in this study. As such, this chapter also presents data derived from the usage of this approach during the time of this study. From a closer investigation of the stated data sourcing methodologies

that were deployed in this study, what emerges are three broad categories in which data that came out of this study can be presented. From the interviews, the category that emerged was stakeholder perspectives. As for secondary literature analysis, the category that emerged was historical perspectives and lastly, from site visits, the category that emerged was individual site data. As such, it is through these categories and the subcategories that emerge from these broader ones that data from the field studies for this research are presented in this chapter.

Finally, the researcher would like to reiterate that this chapter is only designed to present the research results through the above-stated categories. The chapter does not attempt to interpret the data and neither does it attempt to conclude the findings presented. Instead, the interpretation of the data and concluding such data is a task that will be pursued and accomplished in the succeeding chapter (Chapter 6).

### **5. 1 Demographics of the respondents and interviewees**

50 respondents were interviewed, whereby 25 were from Bulawayo, 20 from Harare and 5 from Kezi. The data was collected through interviews, exhibition analysis, participant observation and documentary analysis methods which have been presented in detail in the preceding chapter 4 on methodologies. It can be noted that the majority of respondents were drawn from Bulawayo and Harare as most of Joshua Nkomo's Heritage sites are located in these two cities which was convenient for the research. Harare is the largest and administrative city. Bulawayo is the second largest city in Zimbabwe. The two cities host a high number of heritage tourism sites. The demographic profile of the interviewees was made up of 16 females and 34 males. Of the 16 females, 7 have educational qualifications above a diploma to a degree level, 7 with basic ordinary-level certificates and 2 are school dropouts. 10 females were formally employed, 2 were informally

employed and 4 not employed. 15 males had educational qualifications up to degree level, 14 with ordinary level certificates and 6 were school dropouts. 18 males were formally employed and 16 were informally employed. Interviewees from Tourism and Heritage organisations range of services to their organisations ranged from 5 to 15 years. Their work experience was invaluable to the research. Those interviewed held positions from management levels and general staff members. The ethnicity of interviewees were made up of 26 people of Ndebele ethnic affiliation, 18 were Shona, 3 were non-Zimbabweans but of African origin and 2 were Chinese nationals.

## **5.2 Stakeholder Perspectives**

As stated in the previous chapter, several people and groups were identified as key stakeholders in the memorialization of Joshua Nkomo's legacy and in the more recent attempt to market such legacy to the outside world as tourism products. As stated in the introductory remarks for this chapter, these people were interviewed at different locations throughout Zimbabwe and volunteered their views on the subject matter of the possible implications of translating such a legacy into tourism products. As stated in the introductory section again, these groups were interviewed in their capacity as either family members, local or community members, representatives of government organisations or members of the socio-political groups that Joshua Nkomo associated with during his 80-year-old history of existence on earth. As such, for purposes of presenting data derived from interviews, the groups, whose capacity people were interviewed in, are considered as subcategories of the main stakeholder category. Hence, the researcher now commences the presentation of data derived from the research through these sub-categories of stakeholders.

### **5.2.1 Family Members' Perspectives**

As is the case with all humanity, Joshua Nkomo, the subject of this study also belonged to a family.

At the time of this study, the profiles of people identified as his surviving members were comprised of his children and his younger brother. Although Joshua Nkomo had four children with his wife, Joana MaFuyana Nkomo, that is, Thandiwe Barbara, Thutani Ernest, Sibangilizwe Michael and Sehlule Louise, only two of the children participated in this study. These were his eldest and first-born child, Thandiwe Barbara Nkomo Ibrahim and his surviving son, Sibangilizwe Nkomo. At the time of the study, his only surviving sibling was Edward Nkomo and he also participated in this study. As the eldest-born child of Joshua Nkomo, Thandiwe Nkomo Ibrahim considered herself as the rightful spokesperson for both the Nkomo legacy and family affairs. According to the information that she volunteered to the researcher, she has superintended over several projects and foundations meant to publicise the legacy of Joshua Nkomo. According to her, she has been in these projects with the full concurrence of all the Nkomo family members. As a result, her efforts have resulted in the formation of foundations such as the Joshua Nkomo National Foundation (JNNF), which was established in 1999 and legally registered in 2007 as a non-profit organisation. According to Thandiwe Nkomo, JNNF is run by a board of trustees and all of Joshua Nkomo's surviving children are members of the board of trustees. At the time of conducting this study, JNNF had successfully hosted a couple of annual events at different locations around the country that were meant to keep the memory of Joshua Nkomo alive. These events included the Umdala Wethu Music Festival, the Joshua Nkomo Chess Challenge, the Joshua Nkomo Golf Classic, and a Joshua Nkomo Charity Soccer Cup. According to Thandiwe Nkomo, the foundation was also advocating to have the 1<sup>st</sup> of July, the date when Joshua Nkomo passed on, declared a national

public holiday in his honour. Additionally, the foundation has also managed to source scholarships that have been aiding learners at both primary and secondary school education levels.

As far as promoting the legacy of Joshua Nkomo to the wider world is concerned, Thandiwe Nkomo reckons that the museum project which was established by the family, in cooperation with the JNNF, has perhaps been the leading flagship in the endeavour. This museum project is located in Matsheumhlope, at one of the properties of the late Joshua Nkomo. Thandiwe Nkomo, who has business offices at the property, also acts as the custodian of the museum.

Although Thandiwe Nkomo stated that all the Nkomo family members were always in agreement with most of the decisions being made by the government concerning the Joshua Nkomo legacy and its promotion as tourism products, it seems as if such a suggestion was not universally accepted by other family members. Instead, some of Thandiwe's siblings, notably her uncle Edward preferred to disagree with her suggestions. According to him, although he was fully aware that Joshua Nkomo was national property whose belonging was beyond the confines of a family institution, instead, now belonged to the nation whole, certain resolutions still required the primary input of immediate family members like him. As such, according to him, he was not always happy that sometimes he was invited to meetings where he would be informed about the resolutions that would have been adopted about his brother's legacy instead of being asked to contribute to the discussion of what was supposed to be done. According to Edward, one such meeting that he attended and found out that resolutions had already been adopted was the one that took place at the Bulawayo City Council offices.

Apart from Edward's discontentment with the way that government and other public offices were dealing with the Nkomo issues without considering the family's position, Sibangilizwe was not

happy with how the same issues were also dealt with at the family level. According to him, all the family affairs were supposed to be handled by him as the only surviving son of the late Joshua Nkomo. Instead, it seems most of these issues were being referred to his sister instead of him, as per the dictates of local African cultures which prescribe the eldest surviving son as the custodian of his father's estate and affairs. Although Edward Nkomo, an uncle to both Thandiwe and Sibangilizwe, was in support of the latter's gender-biased argument, he believed that any decisions about the late Joshua Nkomo's affairs were supposed to be ratified by him first in his capacity as the only surviving sibling of the late Joshua Nkomo and also as the most senior Nkomo family member. As such, he was not happy that key decisions, especially concerning the Joshua Nkomo statue issue, were adopted without his input and most of the decisions to do with his brother's legacy were now being erroneously referred to his niece and nephew, in direct disregard of African cultural practices that must consider him as the father figure of the Nkomo family. Just like his nephew Sibangilizwe, the justification for his argument was based on tradition.

However, apart from disagreements in the family, this study also found out that Sibangilizwe Nkomo was also not happy with how the nation had been dealing with some of the social ills that his father fought against during his long political career. One of these ills was that of ethnic animosity prevailing in the country. According to Sibangilizwe, contrary to his father's philosophy of an ethnicity-free country, the current government was, instead, going against this by promoting ethnic divisions. This was even though Joshua Nkomo had fought for a Zimbabwe that was free from ethnic categories such as Shona, Ndebele, Black or White. Sibangilizwe Nkomo also added that apart from the government, ordinary people can also contribute in nation-building. He is cited as saying, 'People should do some self-introspection and embark on a national healing so that all

Zimbabweans could come together and champion the interests of his late father that people live as one and guided by values enshrined in their cultures' (See also, Southern Eye, 30 September 2014).

### **5.2.2 Local Community Perspective**

That Joshua Nkomo belonged to a community or communities was one of the findings made in this study. Whereas this finding was not specifically new, what is unique about Joshua Nkomo is that the community or communities that he is said to have belonged to were not confined to one specific geographical location of the country. Instead, about four locations were identified as having been Joshua Nkomo's communities during his lifetime. However, according to the findings of this study, the community of Kezi was the one which Joshua Nkomo first belonged. According to the findings of this study, Joshua Nkomo was born in Kezi and as such, it was the first community that he belonged to from birth and during his early life. Thereafter, he resided in several other communities, either through work or through purchasing of residential properties. In no particular sequence, these other communities were identified in this study as the Pelandaba Township community, the Highfields Township community, and the Matsheumhlope Suburb community. Over the years, since Joshua Nkomo was born as a Ndebele language speaker, this study also found out that most Ndebele language-speaking communities of the country started to regard themselves as part of Joshua Nkomo's communities. This resulted in the three broad Matabeleland provinces of the country, namely Bulawayo, Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North, regarding themselves as part of the core Joshua Nkomo communities. Furthermore, it was also found out that due to history, Joshua Nkomo was also at some point alienated from his other community of Highfields located in the city of Harare, which in itself is a predominantly Shona language-speaking community.

However, regardless of the above-stated appropriation of Joshua Nkomo by the named communities and alienation from one of the communities, what is important is that people from these communities consider themselves as key stakeholders of Joshua Nkomo's legacy and endeavours to package this as tourism products. As such, as this study found out, people from these communities have been following closely the developments around the memorialization of Joshua Nkomo's legacy and the recent attempt to create a tourism brand out of the same. Even people from his first local community of Kezi were also aware of these developments. For example, according to one respondent from the Kezi community, they were happy that one of their sons was receiving the recognition that he deserved as a national and international icon. According to the respondents, although they were happy about how the memory of Joshua Nkomo has continued to be remembered by both his people and the country at large, the only limitation that they were not happy about was that his grave was located far away from the place where his umbilical cord had been buried. Furthermore, locating his grave in Harare, meant that people from his first local community were practically barred from interacting with his grave as is supposed to be the case with African cultural practices. According to the respondent, African cultural practice prescribed that the living continue to interact with the dead's grave in many different ways. One of these critical interactions was through seeking solace and guidance from the dead by speaking to his grave. However, all this was now impossible due to the location of Nkomo's grave in a faraway place where access was almost impossible for people from the Kezi community. Regardless of the limitation, the community was happy with how the memory of their departed son had been kept alive through several ways.

Despite the above sentiments and commendations from a respondent from Nkomo's primary community of Kezi, it seems other respondents from his other communities in Bulawayo had

different perceptions altogether. For instance, one of these respondents who is also a cultural activist, Phatisa Nyathi, had several problems about Nkomo's memorialization and attempts to create a tourism brand from his legacy. According to Nyathi, these problems were centred on issues of favouritism, regionalisation and commodification of the dead. For Nyathi,

*The commodification of Joshua Nkomo's legacy could overshadow the work of other nationalists and activists who contributed to the struggle for freedom in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, before Nkomo, many other great leaders had been accorded the same treatment such as Kings Mzilikazi and Lobengula as well as other nationalist leaders who also deserve to have their legacies translated into tourism products.*

It also seems Nyathi was not happy with the meanings that can be derived from the confinement of most of the ceremonies and sites related to Nkomo in Bulawayo and Matabeleland region. For instance, Nyathi had this to say about the launch of the Joshua Nkomo statue in Bulawayo:

*The first erection of the Joshua Nkomo statue in Bulawayo was felt to be regionalisation by the people. The portrayal of Joshua Nkomo as a regional figure rather than a person of 'Father Zimbabwe' figure. The timing of the unveiling of the statue was meant to pacify the people to whom he belonged (Phatisa Nyathi, personal interview, 2015).*

On this, Nyathi was ably supported by another respondent who concurred by saying”

*Joshua Nkomo was a national figure who, despite being harassed first by the colonialist and later post-colonial government, never gave up his quest for peace and unity among Zimbabweans. He even accepted a post lower than that of the president and his party being swallowed by ZANU-PF simply because he always wanted to wish well for the country. His vision was Zimbabwe and not just Matabeleland (Mangena Silithethe).*

In addition to his worry about the dangers of regionalisation and commodifying Nkomo's legacy, it seems that Nyathi also had a problem with the omissions and silences that characterised Nkomo's memorialization and commodification. According to him,

*Joshua Nkomo's representations are an addition to the historic Bulawayo cityscape whose narrative would have been stronger in a context alongside the statues of Kings Mzilikazi, Lobengula and Cecil John Rhodes. The statues would have managed to fit well in telling a story of not only Bulawayo but also Zimbabwe as a whole. Nkomo's dream of one nation constantly comes out of the process of developing his heritage sites into tourism but, on the contrary, Nkomoscapes are mainly largely confined to Matabeleland despite assuming the moniker 'Father Zimbabwe' at death.*

However, although Nyathi had problems with the regionalisation of Nkomo, it also seems as if the confinement of Nkomo to Matabeleland was the main wish of many in that region. As Nyathi himself noted,

*For the Ndebele, the direction facing the statue was problematic. The statue was facing Mashonaland and this was not supposed to be the case. According to some Ndebele elders, the statue was supposed to be facing Kezi where he was born (Pathisa Nyathi, personal interview 2016).*

The views of the Ndebele elders, as noted by Nyathi above, were also aptly supported by a military cadet who was also of the opinion that Nkomo's grave was not even supposed to be located at the National Heroes Acre in Harare. For the cadet, doing so was an attempt by the state to stop people from posing many questions related to the country's history whilst visiting Nkomo's grave. According to the Cadet,

*No one would be able to ask questions about what happened to Joshua Nkomo in 1982 when he was fired from the government whilst there (at the National Heroes' Acre). It is also very difficult to ask questions about what happened in Matabeleland and some parts of the Midlands in the early 1980s. I cannot even ask about the attempts on Joshua Nkomo's life by the present ZANU PF ruling party. Neither can I ask about anything to do with current politics at the National Heroes Acre (Anonymous Trainee Cadet, interview, 2016).*

Despite Nyathi's problem with what he referred to as commodification and preferential treatment of Nkomo's legacy over that of other nationalists, it seems not many people from local communities shared his views. Instead, during this study, this researcher observed that during the initial unveiling of the Joshua Nkomo statue on 22 December 2013, the majority of people who attended the ceremony were excited about such a development. As the researcher found out, the ceremony was accompanied by great ululation by those in attendance, as well as the blaring of vehicle horns. Many were heard speaking on top of their voices, clearly stating that '*Umdhala with Uvukile*', loosely translated meaning that our old man has risen again. Although the event was unofficial in that it was not sanctioned by the government, it was an indicator of the values that local people ascribed to Joshua Nkomo's legacy.

The assertion by those who attended the unofficial ceremony discussed above, that forms of memorialization like the statue recreated by Joshua Nkomo, was representative of other local community-based pro-Nkomo cultural groups, such as the Matonjeni Cultural Association. According to one Khubani Mhlanga, the secretary of the Matonjeni Cultural Association group,

*Nkomo still has a family and relatives who have fond memories of him. Physically he is represented symbolically by the statue in Bulawayo and his grave at the Heroes acre in Harare. The family and Kalanga community represented by the Matonjeni Cultural Society appease Joshua Nkomo's spirit at the statue. The statue becomes a symbol of identification. Consequently, Joshua Nkomo's statue is a representation of his body thereby becoming a medium of his spirit. Appeasements, commemorations and pilgrimage can take place at the statues (Khumbani Mhlanga, personal interview 2016).*

Khumbani Mhlanga went on to state that his group also looked to Nkomo's life-like image, the statue, for guidance. According to him, members of his group sometimes performed some rituals at the statue. One such ritual that they carried out at the statue was when they used traditional beer at the statue to ask for appeasement from Joshua Nkomo.

According to Mhlanga, it was not the statue that was important for such ritual ceremonies. Instead, according to him, his group could also have used Nkomo's grave for such ceremonies but were unable to do so due to its location in Harare. However, despite the setback, the site of a grave was important in Ndebele culture in that it is the one where ceremonies such as *umbuyiso* (evoking the spirit of a dead person) are performed. When ancestors do not deliver, they are scolded, meaning protesting at the spiritual level. Among Zimbabwean indigenous communities, the important thing is the spirit of a dead person that can be summoned to any part of the world. Nkomo, according to the informant, exists in two forms, material (grave) and intangible (spiritual). Nkomo is expected to provide spiritual guidance to blood relatives and his followers as he used to do when he was still living. Khumbani Mhlanga equated Nkomo to a Mhondoro (territorial spirit) and only chiefs can become Mhondoro to guide the land that they used to rule on, in the Shona religion. In the African

cosmology, graves are not supposed to be viewed for tourism purposes, as they are regarded as sacred, hence opening up of graveyards to massive tourism adventures is akin to defiling the dead and causing potential conflict with the relatives. Statues can be addressed as representing human beings, hence the prayers, commemorations and pilgrimages held over the statues.

Apart from his group, Khubani Mhlanga also stated that he had also witnessed other people performing rituals of their own at the statue. According to him, unlike his group which had used traditional beer as the medium for the rituals, the group he had observed had used feathers and snuff in their rituals at the statue. Despite the differences in stuff used, this study found out that this behaviour shows how people have continued to regard Nkomo in his post-life.

However, spirituals and cultural groups are not the only ones that seek solace from the Nkomo statue, as this study found out. Instead, according to Mhlanga, even fans of one of the biggest football clubs in Zimbabwe, domiciled in Bulawayo, Highlanders Football Club, have also appealed to the statue for salvation. According to Mhlanga, he had also once observed the team's players performing a ritual at the statue by kneeling before it, apparently as a gesture of respect, to say thank you for the win that they had just recorded.

However, this thinking that the graves or statues of great people like Joshua Nkomo could give guidance to the living was not only limited to Mhlanga or the group he had observed and Highlanders alone. Even Pathisa Nyathi who, as we have seen, had been critical of some of how Joshua Nkomo was being memorialized and transformed into a tourism product, was also in agreement with the powers vested in such legacies. According to Nyathi,

*Africans attach symbolic meaning to Joshua Nkomo's representations. People visit graves to seek spiritual veneration. Dead people's spirits are thought to protect the living. The*

*spirits have to deliver and if they do not the spirits are scolded. Africans do attach significance to material things. Death marks the end of the flesh. The spirit is in the remaining partner that is the grave and bones that are used to symbolically partner the spirit in life. However, if there has been a ritual to marry the statue and the spirit e.g. taking soil from the grave to the statue the statue transforms into a spiritual dimension. What do Africans benefit from a statue or a grave? If a statue takes a spiritual dimension just like a grave it becomes utilitarian. The spirit of the departed person is invoked to protect the living and perpetuate the immortality of a lineage (Pathisa Nyathi, personal interview 2016).*

However, apart from the above local communities' stakeholder concerns and perspectives, others felt that the Joshua Nkomo legacy reflected many issues that had to do with identities, starting from the self to the national. The following sub-subsections explain the nature of these identities as they emanate from the local communities.

#### **5.2.2.1 Ethnic Identity**

Sibusiso Ngwenya was of the view that the memorialisation and transformation into a tourism product of Nkomo is an honour to the Ndebeles, as he is the 'first person' to be honoured in Matabeleland in such a way. He represented the Ndebele culture in the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. Other informants interviewed symbolically equated Joshua Nkomo to the last Ndebele King, Lobengula, who died fleeing from the white settlers who had deprived him of his kingdom. According to the understanding of these local communities, as found out in this study, Joshua Nkomo promoted unity among the Ndebele and Shona people. As such, he was the leader of the Ndebele people whose vision was beyond the parameters of the Ndebele ethnic group only. As such, when they visit the National Heroes Acre in Harare, they will be driven by the need to see

the place where their leader is resting. This view that most people view Joshua Nkomo as the leader of their ethnic group was also supported by the Curator of Militaria based at the National Heroes Acre in Harare, who concurred that she had also observed that most of the people who normally request to see Joshua's grave when they visit the burial site will be coming from the Matabeleland Region of the country. According to her, this must be because they feel more associated with Joshua Nkomo's legacy than any of the other heroes from that region and ethnic groups.

#### ***5.2.2.2 Self Identity***

This study also found out that visitors to any of Joshua Nkomo-related sites do so because they reflect senses of self-identity. The reason for visiting Joshua Nkomo's heritage tourism sites was to satisfy an individual's sense of values, beliefs and sense of belonging. Tourists claimed that the museum, statue and grave provide them with opportunities to explore their own identities and connect with others who share similar identities. Visits to Joshua Nkomo heritage tourism sites were shaped by several factors, such as personal experiences, cultural background and political views.

There are a variety of reasons why people visit heritage tourism places associated with iconic individuals, which connects them to self-identities. Some people visit as a way to feel a sense of connection to a place or time they may not otherwise be able to experience. Others visit for personal reasons, such as the desire to come to terms with their own past experiences. One informant a veteran of the liberation war stated that,

*I visit the Heroes Acre to connect with my comrades who are departed. It gives me time to reflect on the sacrifices that we made for the country (John, Chitakatira 2016).*

Thus, what these testimonies reveal is that some people are influenced to visit heritage tourism sites due to the fact they identify themselves with the histories reflected at such sites.

### ***5.2.2.3 National Identity***

The study also found that national identity was one of the issues that local communities associate Joshua Nkomo with. According to them, Joshua Nkomo's legacy is intertwined with the history of Zimbabwe as a country. There is no history of Zimbabwe's liberation and its aftermath that can be retold without including Joshua Nkomo. For instance, when asked into what category one would classify Joshua Nkomo's representations in Zimbabwe, Michael Sibangilizwe Nkomo claimed that he would categorize Joshua Nkomo as someone whose legacy can fit into national identity. According to him, the reason for this was that everything that Joshua Nkomo did was for the well-being of Zimbabwe as a whole. Nhlanhla Nkomo, not related to Joshua Nkomo, concurred with the above, seeing Joshua Nkomo as a national figure and, therefore, someone who worked to unite the nation. Some people also viewed Joshua Nkomo as having been a nationalist leader who had the nation in his heart because, in 1980, he chose peace after having been defeated in an election and agreed to join the lowly position of Minister of Home Affairs in Robert Mugabe's ZANU government. This sentiment by local community members was also supported by Pathisa Nyathi, who was also of the view Joshua Nkomo was an individual whose stature was appreciated even by those who opposed him such that they also wanted to use him for their nation-building endeavours and this was despite their disdain for him. According to Nyathi,

*After independence, ZANU-PF dismantled PF-ZAPU's political structure on tribal influence and pursuit of a one-party state. The state wanted a homogenous political identity by advocating for one-party state. Joshua Nkomo's political and social standing could be used by the government to draw support for the one-party state initiative. There is no doubt*

*that the enormous respect that he commanded among the Ndebele could have influenced them to do anything at his directive. In the 1985 general elections, PF-ZAPU won all Matabeleland seats amidst voter intimidation and election violence. Some PF ZAPU leaders were incarcerated on charges of either being dissidents or supporting dissidents. Eventually, Joshua Nkomo signed the Unity Accord in 1987, to avoid further civilian massacres. Despite all the victimisation, Joshua Nkomo joined hands with his adversaries for the benefit of the country (Pathisa Nyathi, personal interview, 2015).*

Nyathi's views were also ably corresponded by those of Respondent 17, a photographer based at Joshua Nkomo's statue who was also of the opinion that Joshua Nkomo is a national figure. According to Respondent 17, 'despite being harassed first by the colonialist and later post-colonial government,' Joshua Nkomo 'never gave up his quest for peace and unity among Zimbabweans.' The informant supported this by citing Joshua Nkomo's acceptance of a post lower than that of the president and his party being swallowed by ZANU-PF. He unified the conflicting Zimbabweans.

### **5.3 State Agencies**

Just like the family and local communities discussed above, this study also found out that state-owned parastatals are also some of the key stakeholders to Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation and subsequent attempts to package these into tourism products. These two organisations are the NMMZ and ZTA. Ever since the death of Joshua Nkomo in 1999, these two organisations have been involved in the affairs related to Joshua Nkomo in several ways. The researcher now discusses the findings related to individual organisations' involvement in the subsequent sub-sub sections.

#### **5.3.1 The NMMZ**

In terms of its operations, this study found out that in its operations, the NMMZ is guided by an Act of Parliament known as the National Museums and Monuments Act, Chapter 25:11 of 1972.

This Act enables the NMMZ to preserve and conserve features of the country's heritage, including those related to the memorialisation of legacies. Consequently, by being a declared national hero, Joshua Nkomo's legacy or sites created out of his legacy, such as the statue and grave, automatically fall under the jurisdiction of the NMMZ. However, as this study found out, although the Act of Parliament gives the NMMZ autonomy to administer its affairs independently, it seems about Joshua Nkomo, there are limitations to such autonomy. What this means is that the NMMZ is sometimes compelled to act in consultation with other stakeholders. However, as the NMMZ Chief Curator, Kundishora Chipunza noted, sometimes the relationships between the stakeholders are not always rosy. In fact, for Chipunza, the presence of stakeholders in issues that must otherwise be within NMMZ's mandate is problematic as this sometimes results in long, monotonous and boring consultations which sometimes do not augur very well for the NMMZ's mandate, which is to be the custodian of all heritage-related matters in the country. However, contrary to Chipunza's assertion, his superior in NMMZ, Dr Godfrey Mahachi, then NMMZ Executive Director, seemed to downplay the issue of tensions or contradictions on the issue of stakeholder involvement in affairs to do with issues that are within NMMZ's mandate. According to Mahachi,

*There have never been contestations about the development of Joshua Nkomo's legacy into a tourism product of Joshua Nkomo particularly to do with the Museum project and the grave. Instead, it is within the Joshua Nkomo Foundation's rights as an interested stakeholder to raise issues with NMMZ and that cannot be regarded as conflictive (Godfrey Mahachi, personal interview, 2016).*

However, contrary to Mahachi's assertions, one of his officers at the Bulawayo Natural History Museum, who is also the Chief Display officer, Philomena Silonda, had other thoughts on the impact of conflicts among stakeholder consultations concerning some of the projects related to Joshua Nkomo. She aptly summarised the conflictive debates around the Joshua Nkomo statue thus:

*One of the issues that stirred a lot of controversy was the government's resolution to have the statue made in North Korea. The North Korean government was accused of training Zimbabwe's 5th Brigade, an army battalion answerable only to the then Prime Minister Mugabe. This is the brigade widely associated with the brutal repression of dissidents and supporters of ZAPU. The Korean company, Mansudae Overseas Project Group of Companies, was given some photographs from which it created the statue. The then Minister of Home Affairs, Kembo Mohadi, showed the artist's photographs showing the full figure of Joshua Nkomo supplied by Thandie Nkomo, the daughter of Joshua Nkomo. These were the photographs that were then used to create the statue. The family was not consulted on which photographs were to be finally used in the creation of the statue and this caused some tension. The family wanted to be consulted and have their input on the photographs to be used. When the Bulawayo statue was erected, it was on a black granite pedestal and it was wrapped in a black cloth, waiting for the official opening. The family and the Foundation were not involved in the initial setting up of the statue in Bulawayo. As a result of the mistrust between the two parties, the trustee initiated an independent assessment of the new statute. Another contentious issue was the size of the pedestal, which was very low, standing at 1.5 m from the ground. Before independence, the statue of Cecil*

*John Rhodes, which had been located on the same spot, had stood on a much higher pedestal* (Philomena Silonda, personal interview, 2015).

Apart from the issue raised by Silonda on the controversies that mired the statue that was eventually made in North Korea, it seems also that the history of controversies around the project to remember Joshua Nkomo through a statue project pre-dates the controversy raised by Silonda above. Instead, as this study also found out, the initial decision to honour Joshua Nkomo through a statue did not originate from the NMMZ *per se*. Rather, this was an idea that originated from their superiors, the Zimbabwean government. For instance, when the Zimbabwe government mooted the idea to honour Joshua Nkomo through a statue, the NMMZ's position in that project only became that of facilitator and not originator. However, despite its facilitatory role, the NMMZ still found itself mired in controversies that later engulfed such plans. In this regard, it is imperative to note that as soon as the idea of the statue project was mooted in 2006, the government of Zimbabwe initially wanted to make four Joshua Nkomo statues that were to be erected in all of the country's major cities of Bulawayo, Harare, Masvingo and Mutare (NMMZ/Joshua Nkomo/E10). The Ministry of Home Affairs, the NMMZ's parent ministry, wanted the NMMZ to award a local sculptor, David Mutasa of Nyathi Gallery in Snake Park near Harare, the contract to cast the statues that were to be erected in Masvingo and Mutare cities. However, when the sculptor unveiled his work, both ordinary people and the Ministry of Home Affairs found it unsatisfactory in many regards. According to them, the statue was far from being a representative of the life-like image of Joshua Nkomo.

David Mutasa the sculptor's situation was further compromised by the fact that he was a stone-sculpting specialist and not a bronze one. This made his task an ill-fated one right from the

beginning. The only option that he would have resorted to was to carve the statue in stone. However, this too was found to be impossible, especially when considering factors like weight, accuracy and the technicalities required in the installation. This, then, resulted in a decision being taken to discard Mutasa's statue. The government, the NMMZ's superiors, then approached North Korea's Mansudae Overseas Project Group of Companies, which had assisted the government in building the National Heroes Acre and in making the statues and murals at the Heroes Acre, to make Joshua Nkomo's statue (NMMZ/Joshua Nkomo/E10). The North Korean company then proceeded to make two bronze statues of Nkomo, which were acceptable as representing his life-like image. This further resulted in one of the Mansudae Joshua Nkomo statues being erected in Bulawayo, before being unveiled on 22 December 2013 by Zimbabwe's then President, Robert Mugabe at a ceremony that was attended by a huge crowd. Presently, Nkomo's statue is a gazetted National Monument. It was gazetted as National Monument Number 181, through a Government Notice 610 of 2013 on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December 2013. Such a notice implies that the NMMZ, through its regional office, the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo, is compelled to manage and protect the statue as a national monument.

However, notwithstanding the setting up of the statue in Bulawayo, this study also found out that such an erection did not herald the end of conflicts or rather controversies about Joshua Nkomo's issues that also roped in the NMMZ. Instead, there has also been controversy in Harare on the location of the second Joshua Nkomo statue. For instance, when NMMZ identified an open space near the intersection of Julius Nyerere Street and Kwame Nkrumah Avenue as the site where the second statue was to be mounted, a furore arose between NMMZ and other notable stakeholders in Joshua Nkomo affairs. To start with, Karigamombe Centre, the main structure near the space that had been selected for the erection of the statue, derives its name from Karigamombe, an

ancestor of Joshua Nkomo's former nemesis, Robert Mugabe. Coincidentally, Karigamombe, itself as a Shona language lexicon also means 'one who feels the bull' when translated into English. Interestingly before its disbandment in 1987 through a unity accord with ZANU PF, PF ZAPU, the political party that had been led by Joshua Nkomo since its formation, had also used the bull as its party symbol. Therefore, in this case, erecting Joshua Nkomo's statue in the shadows of a multi-storey building whose name was seen as glorifying Nkomo's past predicament was viewed as humiliating. Nkomo's family and other people from Matabeleland were the leading stakeholders who voiced their anger against the decision to set up the statue within the vicinity of Karigamombe Arcade.

In addition, the Nkomo family and people from Matabeleland are not the stakeholders who challenged the NMMZ's decision to erect a statue near Karigamombe. Instead, another organisation, which was not necessarily a stakeholder, the Mining Industry Pension Fund (MIPF), also challenged the decision (NMMZ/Joshua Nkomo/E10). In this case, unlike the above stakeholders who had challenged the NMMZ on symbolism grounds, the MIPF challenged the NMMZ on the grounds of being the owners of the space which had been selected by the NMMZ to erect the statue. As a result, the MIPF took their complaint to the High Court of Zimbabwe for adjudication. In turn, the High Court advised the MIPF and NMMZ to settle the matter out of court.

As this study later found out, the two parties had already reached a settlement in which NMMZ was in full agreement with the contention that the MIPF were indeed the owners of the land which they wanted to utilise for erecting Nkomo's statue. In fact, according to Chipunza, representing NMMZ, the consideration to erect the statue in that particular space had not been taken because the NMMZ thought the space had no owners. Instead, according to Chipunza, the reason why

NMMZ had selected the spot was that it was just an open space that was currently being used as a private taxi rank. As such, NMMZ, thought erecting a statue in that location would give it the visibility that is expected when a monument is put up in space located at the intersection of busy avenues such as Samora Machel Avenue, Kwame Nkrumah Road and Julius Nyerere Street. Furthermore, according to Chipunza, it also turned out that when the NMMZ took that decision, they had been ill-advised by another stakeholder, the City of Harare, which had given them the impression that the space was vacant and had no owner. In this case, the City of Harare had not done their job properly.

Consequently, although the MIFP later consented to incorporate the Joshua Nkomo statue within their plans, NMMZ declined to accept MIFP's gesture of goodwill because the visibility of the statue was going to be compromised. According to Chipunza, MIPF had plans to construct a double-storey structure in that space. As such, it was deemed that the double-storey structure was going to dwarf Joshua Nkomo's statue and, thus, coupled with the concerns that had been raised by other stakeholders, the NMMZ later declined the offer and they are currently searching for another alternative space to erect the second Joshua Nkomo statue in Harare.

Despite the contestations discussed above, this study also found that contestations have not been the only thing that has characterised the NMMZ Joshua Nkomo memorialization discourse and subsequent developments into tourism. According to Mahachi, representing NMMZ, the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo or rather the association with Joshua Nkomo's legacy is a development that has been beneficial to his organisation's outlook. For Mahachi, ever since the association, NMMZ has been able to exploit Joshua Nkomo's legacy positively whilst ensuring that his values are propagated to a wider audience through the heritage tourism endeavours of his

organisation. As such, Mahachi was also positive that Zimbabwe as a country can fully exploit the positive values that can be derived from legacies such as that of Joshua Nkomo through learning from other countries that have also exploited such legacies for the benefit of their heritage tourism businesses. Mahachi's sentiments were also supported by those of Chipunza, who was also of the view that the development of sites related to Joshua Nkomo's legacy for tourism purposes was a positive move that could aid Zimbabwe's endeavour to develop its new brand of heritage called liberation heritage for tourism purposes. According to Chipunza,

*The idea of honouring and developing of Joshua Nkomo tourism sites is in the broad framework of conserving and promoting the liberation heritage of Zimbabwe. Individuals who participated in the struggle, memorabilia, guns, books, photos etc are preserved by NMMZ. On a grand scale, NMMZ is in charge of National Heroes Acre. It was also found proper to honour Joshua Nkomo as one of the founding fathers of the struggle and people came and see them as part of tourism attractions (Kundishora Chipunza, personal interview 27/07/2016).*

In addition to Chipunza's idea of Joshua Nkomo as a pillar of liberation heritage, it is also the contention of the same organisation that his legacy can also trigger the rise of tourism premised on historic buildings. As Godfrey Nyaruwanga, the NMMZ Curator of Historic Buildings noted, "Nkomo's houses by being memorial houses", can also ably support new types of tourism such as township tourism and dark tourism. According to Nyaruwanga, "township tourism is that brand of tourism whereby tourism is taken to townships to experience township life." As such, for him, by being located in townships, Nkomo's properties such as the one in Highfields and the other in Pelandaba can also act as pillars for such township tourism. NMMZ and ZTA initiated a

programme to assess the tourism potential and market readiness of Highfield to develop strategies to enable the attractions to realise their full potential as part of Zimbabwean tourism mix. The township tourism is premised on site identification and conservation, enhancement of investments and associated urban infrastructure improvements in selected places or sites of historical and cultural significance. The places and sites include houses belonging to Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo, Leopold Takawira, George Nyandoro, Morton Malinga, Cyril J Hall, Enos Nkala, Josiah Chinamamo, Herbert Chitepo, Morton Malinga, Mushandirapamwe hotel and Zimbabwe Grounds in Highfields as well as Stordart Hall, Mai Misodzi Hall, mupedzanhamo Market Centre and Pioneer Cemetary in Mbare. (Township Tourism Development Project- Highfields and Mbare, NMMZ, 2013). Mr Nyaruwanga pointed out that the focus of development of Nkomos's houses were regional with total silence on his house in Highfields Harare. Joshua Nkomo's house in Highfields started to gain attention from authorities after the removal of Robert Mugabe from power.

That Nkomo's legacy can trigger or has already attracted visitors at National Heroes Acre. This was an idea that was ably supported by the organisation's Curator of Militaria, Miss Rumbi Bvira. In NMMZ, the Curator of Militaria based at the National Heroes Acre is the person in charge of managing the National Heroes Acre and its assets, such as the graves of declared national heroes and as well as the site museum located within the Heroes Acre complex. However, about Joshua Nkomo, the Curator of Militaria noted that it was one of the most sought-after graves by tourists at the National Heroes' Acre, with the other popular grave being that of the national heroine, Sally Hayfron Mugabe. She explained the impact of the Joshua Nkomo grave at the National Heroes Acre thus:

*Besides the family members, some groups have requested to see Joshua Nkomo's grave but generally, these people are given a tour of the National Heroes Acre as a whole and then they are allowed their choice of the grave and chief amongst them is Joshua Nkomo's grave. Sally Mugabe's grave is the other popular one. Regional government visitors from Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia have specifically requested to see Joshua Nkomo's grave because they have worked with him during the liberation struggle. This has resulted in the visitors requesting to see Joshua Nkomo's grave as the first preference. Most international visitors to the National Heroes Acre, notably the Chinese, have requested to see Joshua Nkomo's grave (Rumbi Bvira, personal interview, 2016).*

Although it might appear as if it has been the NMMZ that has been impacted by the Joshua Nkomo legacy more than vice versa, as denoted in most of the NMMZ officials' testimonies above, it seems also that the operations of NMMZ themselves have also in a way positively impacted Joshua Nkomo. For instance, as one Jesmael Mataga, a former curator at the museum, testified, after the declaration of Joshua Nkomo as a national hero in 1999, it was the NMMZ that made the first strides to portray his legacy in the public sphere through the medium of a public exhibition. Mataga himself explained how he conceptualised the idea of a public exhibition to honour thus:

*The exhibition came as a result of my casual conversation with the then Regional Director, Mr Masona the late Masona who was an economic historian in our usual one-on-one with him I remember just proposing to him soon after the death of Dr Joshua Nkomo that perhaps as an organisation located in Harare, we needed to pay some sort of homage to the late vice president. For me, I had read his autobiography 'The Story of My Life' which was somehow a little bit controversial within the context of the contemporary political set-*

*up but for me it said a lot about sort of complexities of ZANU-ZAPU relationships leading to the so-called Unity Accord. Really as a museum at that time, we just felt that we should play our role in educating the country on the role that he had played which I personally felt was not being given a lot of emphasis given the immense role that he had played in the liberation struggle...But our intention at the Museum was just to give some kind of public existence to the narrative of the contribution that ZAPU and particularly Joshua Nkomo had made to the country. In the conversations between me and Masona we wanted to humanise Joshua Nkomo not just as a political figure, if you looked at the title of the exhibition, we entitled it Joshua 'Nkomo the Man' and that's what we wanted to highlight much more even in addition to his political accomplishment to show him as a family man, as father, as a grandfather. That was what we tried to show (Jesmail Mataga, personal interview, 2016).*

After the idea of the exhibition was accepted, it was then mounted at the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences located in the City of Harare in 2002. The exhibition then went on to be very popular in Harare and thereafter, the NMMZ decided to make the exhibition a travelling one, whereby it was going to be taken to other major towns in Zimbabwe. However, this idea did not materialise but only went as far as the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo, due to financial constraints. Following the success of the exhibition, the NMMZ and the Nkomo family signed a Memorandum of Understanding that gave birth to the Joshua Nkomo Museum in Bulawayo. The nucleus of the museum was the material used at the 2000 exhibition held at the Museum of Human Science in Harare. According to NMMZ files, at the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo, NMMZ wanted the exhibition to be displayed at Joshua Nkomo's Pelandaba House. The choice for the Pelandaba property was based on the accessibility and historical importance of the house.

The fact that Nkomo largely led the liberation struggle from the Pelandaba house made it ideal for a museum. The government, through NMMZ, expected the Joshua Nkomo Museum to be run as part and parcel of the national network of museums.

Even though NMMZ was part of the process, the Joshua Nkomo Foundation remains in charge of the Joshua Nkomo Museum in Matsheumhlope Low-Density Suburb in Bulawayo. NMMZ seconded one of its Exhibition Officers to that project for more than a year because of the significance that NMMZ placed on the project. NMMZ had very little scope to input in the location of Nkomo Museum because it was the choice of the family rather than the community or NMMZ.

### **5.3.2 The ZTA**

This study also found out that the ZTA was one of the stakeholders in the discourse about Joshua Nkomo's legacy. Unlike its counterpart, the NMMZ, the ZTA's relationship with Joshua Nkomo's history is more about the publication or the marketing of his legacy to the outside world. However, before the current drive to market Joshua Nkomo to the outside world, this study found out that the ZTA's first relationship with Joshua Nkomo's legacy was when it partnered with its counterpart, the NMMZ, to initiate a new brand of tourism that they referred to as township tourism. ZTA, just like Nyaruwanga discussed in the previous section, also defines township tourism as one in which 'tourists are taken to the country's townships to experience the lifestyles therein.' However, ZTA, its brand of township tourism is intertwined with the country's history. It was for that reason that they decided to partner with the NMMZ to market the political histories of the nation using the houses of the nation's leading politicians such as Joshua Nkomo as a basis. However, unlike NMMZ whose current focus was only limited to the houses of political leaders such as Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, Enos Nkala and others, the ZTA wanted to extend their township tours to cover other important landmarks in townships that were also at the centre of the

country's political struggles. As such, according to a ZTA official who requested anonymity, Mushandirapamwe Hotel located in Highfields and Joshua Nkomo's Blue Lagoon Complex located near Renkini Bus Terminus in Makokoba have already been identified as some of the important landmarks located in townships upon which Zimbabwe's new brand of township tourism can be premised upon. According to the ZTA official, it was at hotels like Mushandirapamwe where nationalist leaders used to meet and discuss how to tackle the colonial regime.

However, as stated in the opening remarks for this section and according to the anonymous ZTA official, of late "the ZTA marketing department was ceased with the promotion of Joshua Nkomo as part of brand Zimbabwe." According to the official, "the eastern markets of Russia and China" were currently the ZTA's main focus to market both brand Zimbabwe and Joshua Nkomo's legacies. The reason for such a focus was political, especially Zimbabwe's fallout with its traditional tourism markets of Western Europe and the United States of America. However, according to the official, although the tourist figures have not been that pleasant, the ZTA's drive to market legacies such as that of Nkomo to new markets such as the East has realised positive benefits in that of late, the country has been receiving favourable numbers of tourists from the Asian market.

On another note, it is essential to state that this study also found out that the decline in tourism figures was not only about the foreign markets. Instead, according to one informant whose tourism-related business is based around the statue of Joshua Nkomo, the number of local tourists visiting such sites was also on the decline. This resulted in the number of tourist visitors visiting such places being comprised and reduced to mostly those of school-going children. The informant, nevertheless, attributed this decline to the prevailing economic environment in the country.

According to him, such a trend was not reflective of the decline in the power of Joshua Nkomo as a brand that can attract tourists. However, Respondent 26's sentiments were somehow refuted by his compatriot, Respondent 27, who is also a photographer who attributed the tourists' decline to what he referred to as the "polarised politics in Zimbabwe." According to the informant, the Zimbabwe government has for long been "ostracised for its land grabbing policy which resulted in them being isolated by the international world." As such, "it would be less likely for Western inclined tour operators to take visitors to an icon linked to a government that is demonised."

However, as far as interactions between the ZTA and other stakeholders to the Joshua Nkomo legacy are concerned, this study found out that just like its counterpart, the NMMZ, the ZTA stakeholder relationships have also been marked by both positive and negative attributes. On the positive side, ever since the ZTA incorporated new tourism dimensions such as the inclusion of Joshua Nkomo's legacy on their itinerary, some tourism operators have been empowered by the gesture. On the other hand, just like with the conflicts between ZTA's counterpart, the NMMZ, the ZTA itself has also been engulfed in conflicts with some of the stakeholders. For instance, according to Sibangilizwe Nkomo, a member of the Joshua Nkomo family, "ZTA was once involved in an incident that was somehow disrespectful to the memory of Joshua Nkomo." According to Sibangilizwe, in this incident, an exhibitor at the ZTA-organised United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) program in Victoria Falls once neglected a photographic exhibition that depicted Joshua Nkomo's life that had been mounted at the conference in 2013. According to Sibangilizwe, the exhibitors "left the exhibition unattended in a metal cell." (See also, *Southern Eye*, 28 October 2014). As such, Sibangilizwe Nkomo found it unusual that "material associated with a person whom the country, through its leadership, called Father Zimbabwe, can be allowed to decay in that manner" (*Southern Eye*, 28 October 2014).

### **5.3.3 Political Groups**

Social groups are some of the stakeholders associated with Joshua Nkomo's history that were identified in this study. Consistent with the tenets of the Social Identity Theory that an individual associates himself or herself with social groups of his choice, this study also found out that Joshua Nkomo associated with different social groups during his long life of living. The political organisations of ZAPU and later ZANU PF are two such social groups that Joshua Nkomo associated with the most during his long life have some members took part in this study. As this study found out, before Joshua Nkomo associated himself with the activities of ZAPU and later ZANU, he had also been a member of other political organisations. These other political organisations that Joshua Nkomo also associated with were identified in this study as the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) and the National Democratic Party (NDP). Although no member of these other political organisations that Joshua Nkomo also associated with took part in this study, this study found out that it was the two organisations of ZAPU and ZANU that helped to shape his identity as it is known today. In ZAPU, Joshua Nkomo was the founding president until its disbandment in 1987. During the period of turbulence in the early 80s, it was his acquaintances in PF ZAPU who relocated him from his house in Pelandaba to a new property that they bought for him in the Matheumhlope Suburb of Bulawayo. In ZANU PF, he was appointed their Vice President from 1987 until he died in 1999. It was through his association with ZANU PF that Joshua Nkomo was also made first the country's Senior Minister before being promoted to Vice President in 1989. After his death, the study also found out that it was ZANU PF that officially asked the government to declare him a national hero. Therefore, as far as the memorialization of Joshua Nkomo in various ways, including tourism, is concerned, this study found out that his social organization of ZANU PF has been supportive of such endeavours. As a

result, most of the members of that organisation, who were also Joshua Nkomo's colleagues, are happy with the way he has been treated in his post-life.

Although the majority of the members of the two political organisations that he mostly associated with are happy with how Joshua Nkomo has been memorialised and also with the translation of his legacy into a tourism product, it seems such support is not universal within those social organisations. For instance, it is vital to note that since Joshua Nkomo's death, some of his former associates in ZAPU who had accepted Joshua Nkomo's idea to disband ZAPU in favour of inclusion into ZANU PF ranks have since left that party and went on to revive PF ZAPU. Two of the notable individuals to do away with Joshua Nkomo's idea were the late Dumiso Dabengwa, his former Chief of Intelligence in the guerrilla movement of ZIPRA that Nkomo had commanded as Commander in Chief, and his son, Sibangilizwe Nkomo. After the revival of ZAPU in 2008, Dumiso Dabengwa became the President of the revived party on inception. After Dabengwa's death, Sibangilizwe Nkomo then took over as PF ZAPU President. However, as it turned out, not only were these two individuals and those who followed them to the revived ZAPU the only ones in disagreement with the idea of the Unity Accord that ZAPU led by Nkomo had initially entered into with ZANU PF. Instead, it seems also that even some former ZAPU members who remained in ZANU after Nkomo's death, and later departure of Dabengwa and others, have remained suspicious of the Unity Accord. According to WC, who had been a close acquaintance of Joshua Nkomo, the grounds upon which the whole Unity Accord had been constructed were shaky from the beginning. According to him,

*Nkomo only joined the government for purpose of peace. He knew that Mugabe was ruthless. During his time in government, Nkomo was fighting for the return of ZAPU properties but Robert (Mugabe) was adamant. Also, before his death Nkomo wanted to*

*retire but Robert refused to accept his resignation. He said there was no policy on retirement in ZANU (WC, personal interview, 2019).*

WC's belief that all agreements between ZANU and ZAPU, or rather, everything that is being done on Joshua Nkomo, including the tourism drive, have never been constructed on grounds of trust, was also ably supported by another former ZAPU combatant and meaning another of Joshua Nkomo acquaintance who was of the view that,

*The initiative to develop Umdhala Nkomo heritage tourism is appreciated but not genuine considering the history of tension that characterised Nkomo's long political history. Where is [sic] Zipra properties and archives confiscated by the government? When are we going to have Gukurahundi closure? (Anonymous, personal interview, 2016).*

Despite the reservations of former ZAPU members to the Unity Accord and the idea to memorialize Joshua Nkomo through various ways, including tourism, this does not mean that other people were not impacted by Joshua Nkomo. In fact, as this study found out, even those in opposition parties that oppose ZANU PF, the party that Joshua Nkomo died in, have also been impacted by what they refer to as the man's illustrious and exemplary history. Nelson Chamisa is one of those leaders who claim to have been impacted by Joshua Nkomo. For instance, after visiting Joshua Nkomo's house museum in Matsheumhlope, Chamisa had this to say about Joshua Nkomo:

*I was so touched when I went to Dr Nkomo's Matsheumhlope house. I was going there to see the history of this nation. However, the family told me one thing, they said ever since the death of Dr Nkomo, I am the first national leader to visit the house, and they even offered to give me Dr Nkomo's traditional knobkerrie. Our late leader, Morgan Tsvangirai*

*represented what Dr Nkomo represented, this being unity, peace, tolerance and giving oneself to the people without being selfish. That is what President Tsvangirai represented, so I am walking in the footsteps of President Tsvangirai and VP Nkomo (Bulawayo24, April 9, 2018).*

Nonetheless, although Sibangilizwe Nkomo later disputed some of Chamisa's claims, the fact that Chamisa had wanted to associate his political career and that of his party with the legacy of Joshua Nkomo means that he was positively impacted by such a legacy. Chamisa and his political party, MDC Alliance, have not been the only ones to be impacted positively by Joshua Nkomo's legacy. Another corporate organisation, Econet Wireless owned by the businessman Strive Masiyiwa, is also one organisation to have been impacted in that way. In fact, according to the findings of this study, Econet Wireless was impacted positively by Joshua Nkomo whilst he, Joshua Nkomo himself, was still alive. What had happened was that when Econet Wireless had been denied an operating licence by the Zimbabwe Government represented by its then Minister of Information and Telecommunications, Joice Mujuru, it was Joshua Nkomo who, as Acting President, stood with Masiyiwa and then went on to issue him with a third operating licence. As such, after the death of Joshua Nkomo, Econet Wireless has found it prudent to reciprocate the positive impact by creating various scholarship funds which they named after Joshua Nkomo. These scholarship funds support children from primary school up to tertiary level of education.

Housing cooperatives, both those deemed to be operating legally and those that have been classified as illegal, located in different urban centres around Zimbabwe, are some organisations that have also been positively impacted by Joshua Nkomo's legacy. As this study found out, all of these cooperatives have named themselves after Joshua Nkomo. When asked about why they

were using Joshua Nkomo's name when they had been classified as an illegal cooperative, one executive member of the cooperative stated that,

*Mudhara Nkomo (Joshua) was an icon of our liberation struggle. Moreover, before he died, Mudhara remained a proponent of land reform. He wanted the blacks to enjoy their land which they rightfully inherited from their ancestors. As such we found it plausible to name ourselves after such a man with an illustrious history. The claim that we are an illegal cooperative means nothing to us since Nkomo died fighting such ascriptions of illegality (Mr X, personal discussion, 2017).*

#### **5.4 Historical Perspectives**

One of the main findings made in this study is the fact that the subject matter of Joshua Nkomo's legacy is a historical subject. Whilst this is not necessarily a new finding, accepting that Joshua Nkomo was already a historical subject allows us to examine how Joshua Nkomo was depicted in major historical texts and how such depictions help us to explore the central question guiding this study, and that is to cognize the effect of translating the legacy of an iconic individual who has a history such as Joshua Nkomo into a tourism product. Moreover, the same historical perspectives also help to explain the influences behind the stakeholder viewpoints already discussed in the previous section. As such, this study found that the depiction of Joshua Nkomo in historical texts has been done in two ways. The first pertains to him as a subject of history. The second pertains to contemporary events of his legacy being a subject of contemporary debates such as memorialization and tourism. As such, the researcher now turns to a discussion of the outcomes that arose from an exploration of Joshua Nkomo through these sub-categories of the historical perspectives' category.

#### **5.4.1 Joshua Nkomo as a Subject of History**

As explained in the introductory chapter, Joshua Nkomo has indeed been a historical figure. He first entered mainstream historical texts when he became a member of the political organisations that were then existing in the country in his country of birth, then known as Southern Rhodesia. Joshua Nkomo then became a subject of more historical curiosity when he was elected to lead the only political organisation in existence in the country. It should be known that when Nkomo was elected to lead the political organisation of SRANC, the country had only one such political organisation fighting the settler colonial regime then governing the country. When that political organisation was banned, Joshua Nkomo was accorded the privilege again, to lead the new political organisation that replaced the banned SRANC, the NDP (Nkomo, 1984). However, when the settler colonial government banned the NDP, Joshua Nkomo was not accorded that privilege again to lead a single party and then confront the colonial regime. Instead, although Joshua Nkomo was elected the leader of the political party that he went on to associate with, ZAPU, another party, the Zimbabwe Liberation Movement (ZLM) led by Michael Mawema, was also in existence at that time. Although ZAPU's membership during that time comprised most of the leading nationalists of the time, the party was split again in 1963 after other leading members of the party left to form ZANU (Bhebe, 1999). However, when the other nationalists left, two things happened. Firstly, Joshua Nkomo remained the leader of ZAPU. Secondly, unlike the minor split that had seen Mawema forming ZLM, the ZAPU-ZANU split of 1963 was characterised by violence between supporters of the two-party formations, notably in Highfields Township, a location where Joshua Nkomo was already owning a residential property. Although some historical authorities have attributed the split to issues of tribalism, such an argument is difficult to sustain, especially when

considering that most of the violence unfolded in Highfields, a predominantly Shona language-speaking community and not in other areas.

Nonetheless, despite the violence, the two organisations then pursued their political careers separately. Later, the leadership of the two political organisations, including Joshua Nkomo, was eventually arrested and put into prisons before being sent to separate detention camps. Thus, Joshua Nkomo and other ZAPU leaders were detained at Gonakudzingwa, a site which has become synonymous with the history of ZAPU as a political party (Munochiveyi, 2013). Upon his release, Joshua Nkomo then went into exile, where he led the military wing of his party, ZIPRA, in the war of liberation against the Rhodesian regime and his party, ZAPU, in several conferences held to find ways of ending the war. In 1980, Joshua Nkomo led his party, now known as PF ZAPU, in the elections that were held that year. His party won a sizeable number of seats in the House of Assembly. ZANU, which was now known as ZANU PF and had been ZAPU's nemesis but had formed an alliance with them in the later years of the struggle, won most of the seats.

It should also be known that during the formative years of nationalism, Joshua Nkomo earned the praise name *Chibwechitedza* (The Slippery Figure), and post-independence praise names 'Father Zimbabwe' and *Umdhala Wethu* (Our Father) (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems, 2013). Praise songs were also composed in his honour. The names and songs have been captured in Zimbabwe's collective memory as they reflect on his status as a national figure. Amongst the honours that he received during his lifetime are the Presidential Citation Award, an Honorary Doctoral Degree from Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia USA in 1979, the 1980 Liberation Medal Commemorative and the Silver Bravery Award and an Honorary Doctoral Degree from the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) in Bulawayo in 1998 (Joshua Nkomo

Museum, Guide book). Joshua Nkomo was also given the Freedom of the City of Bulawayo. All these honours and awards helped to build the image of Joshua Nkomo and also to immortalise him.

Despite the numerous accolades mentioned above, it should also be known that Joshua Nkomo was a subject of history for other reasons that were not necessarily glorification. After being indicted of conspiracy against the ZANU PF government of Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo became a target of both state and ZANU PF supporters' vilification. Some ZANU PF supporters were even captured in the media asking for Joshua Nkomo to be hanged ([twitter.com/NewsHawkslive/](https://twitter.com/NewsHawkslive/) 100 per cent, the first mistake was made in 1980, Dec 15, 2023).

On the other hand, the Government of Robert Mugabe deployed a brigade of the National Army that went on to commit violence against ordinary civilians in the regions that had overwhelmingly voted for Joshua Nkomo in the 1980 elections. At some point, Joshua Nkomo himself had to flee into exile after his nemesis, Robert Mugabe, had uttered words that insinuated that the only way to end the conflict, likened to a snake, was to destroy its head, meaning Joshua Nkomo (Nkomo, 1984). The tensions even proceeded to the next elections held in 1985, whereby most of Joshua Nkomo's supporters were uprooted from their homesteads in the Shona-speaking provinces of the country. This was after Mugabe again had called for the removal of the 'stumps amongst them' and meaning ZAPU supporters, from their midst. The tensions only ended in 1987 after the event of the Unity Accord already discussed in the previous section. It was the restoration of Joshua Nkomo as an important component of the national discourse that has culminated in this current study that sought to explore the meanings of his memorialization and subsequent moves to translate his legacies into a tourism product.

### **5.5 Joshua Nkomo as a Product**

One of the outcomes of this study was the fact that contemporary efforts to transform Joshua Nkomo's legacy into tourism products are not an issue that is specifically confined to Zimbabwe alone. Rather, this current endeavour dovetails with the SADC and UNESCO programs which emphasise on the preservation and promotion of a brand of heritage known as liberation heritage in the region. Such an emphasis is coming against the backdrop of the fact that the Southern African region where Zimbabwe is located is a region that witnessed protracted wars of liberation that were fought against colonial and apartheid systems then governing the countries. As such, liberation heritage then emerged as a brand of heritage that was meant to remember the efforts of individuals who led such struggles and also the events and histories of the proceedings of such struggles. It is within this scope that Joshua Nkomo was identified as one of the most prominent leaders of the struggles against colonialism in the region and the current emphasis to translate his legacy into tourism products is engrossed within this scope of liberation heritage. Hence, not only has the development of Joshua Nkomo heritage sites into tourism become national, but also regional. McGregor and Schumaker (2006) argue “that funding from interstate heritage bodies such as UNESCO has further reinforced state power, not only by increasing the finance available but also by enshrining state responsibility in the mechanism for defining sites of national or global importance”.

As discussed in the previous sections, NMMZ has been instrumental in the transformation of the Joshua Nkomo legacy into heritage tourism sites. Joshua Nkomo's past has produced an indispensable 'heritage industry' that is being utilised predominantly by the state. The government's role in the promotion of the Joshua Nkomo legacy has been very central with the funding of the statue, the renaming of streets, buildings, a museum of legacy, as well as activities

such as musical galas. Consequently, the state is leading the social act in the transformation of Joshua Nkomo into a tourism product. This study found that NMMZ and ZTA have played pivotal roles in influencing public perceptions on the development of Joshua Nkomo's tourism landscape. The transformation of Joshua Nkomo's legacy into tourism and its implication in Zimbabwe is not only embroiled in politics but has other social messages. Therefore, the creation of Joshua Nkomo heritage landscapes or Nkomoscapes, as the cultural activist Phathisa Nyathi refers to them, in Zimbabwe, is meant to serve different purposes to different stakeholders.

For instance, by developing new tourism products and putting them on the market as is being done by the ZTA about Joshua Nkomo, the government of Zimbabwe's intention is to derive economic benefits out of such endeavours. It should also be known that apart from the Zimbabwe government's efforts to commodify Joshua Nkomo, other private groups were also interested in having Joshua Nkomo's legacy commodified. One such private group is the Trans-Limpopo Spatial Development Initiative, which was established in 1999 to promote economic development and foster closer relationships amongst identified stakeholders within the development corridor that stretches from Polokwane in the Northern Province of South Africa, Victoria Falls and Matabeleland North in Zimbabwe. The development initiative was ratified by the South African and Zimbabwean governments through the Polokwane Declaration (Bulawayo City Council Report, undated). The committee was the first group to advocate turning Joshua Nkomo's Pelandaba house into a tourism centre to raise money for disadvantaged children in Matabeleland. The project was expected to strengthen ties between Bulawayo and the Northern Province of South Africa. The proposed Joshua Nkomo Tourism Centre was expected to boost the economy in the Trans-Limpopo Corridor and subsequently, business in Matabeleland. The tourism centre was meant to create a platform to showcase Joshua Nkomo and other liberation heroes' history, and

that of ZIPRA. The centre would have been run as a museum, research centre and data bank. Unfortunately, the Joshua Nkomo Tourism Centre based at his Pelandaba residence did not see the light of day as the plan was not fully explored. Instead, a museum that has already been mentioned elsewhere in this thesis is the one that was established at Joshua Nkomo's Matsheumhlope house.

The Joshua Nkomo Legacy Restoration Project Trust (JNLRPT) was another non-governmental entity that was interested in translating the legacy of Joshua Nkomo into tourism products. Ever since the organisation's conception, it has lined up three tourism projects for Joshua Nkomo. They intended to set up the Joshua Nkomo Revolutionary Project at his Pelandaba house in Bulawayo, the Joshua Nkomo Cultural Village and Heritage Centre to be established at the Joshua Nkomo family homestead at St Josephs in Matobo South, Matabeleland North Province and a National Heritage Monument Park that was also to be established in Matobo. The group assumed that all the intended projects were going to spur the growth of both township and rural tourism. The researcher now turns to discussions of other tourism products that were envisaged from the Joshua Nkomo legacies in the sub-sub sections below. The Trust hosted the Legacy Walk and Umdhala Dance in Bulawayo in July 2019. The activities ran under the theme: "I am because you are" in commemoration of the late national hero Joshua Nkomo. JNLRPT was partnered by ZTA is host the events. "ZTA is not new to the "Joshua Nkomo Brand", having been a partner in the launch of the Tourism and Heritage Trails last year" (Newsday, July 2 2019).

### **5.6 Memorial Tourism**

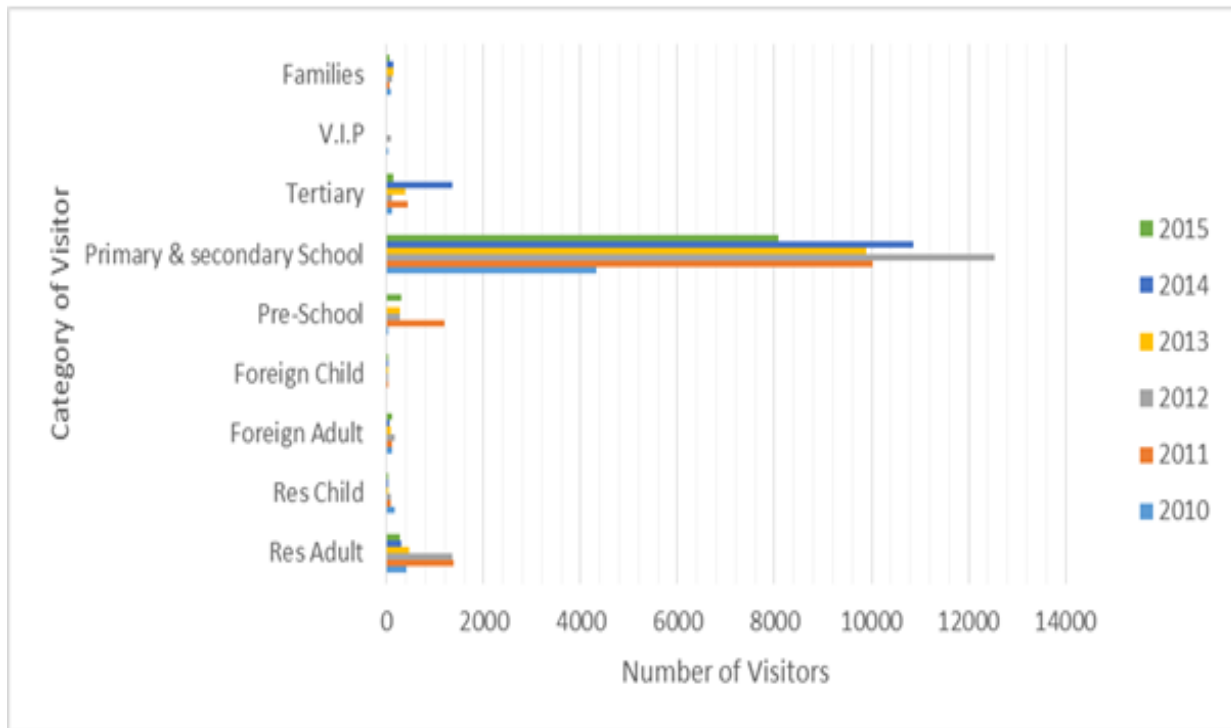
Memorial tourism was another brand of tourism that Joshua Nkomo's legacy was supposed to spur which was found out in this study. It was planned that Joshua Nkomo's heritage sites (JNHS) such as the Joshua Nkomo Memorial Museum, statue, grave and memorial hospital were going to form the backbone of such a tourism brand. Each of these sites offers visitors a unique insight into

Joshua's life and the history of Zimbabwe making them tourist destinations. Apart from educating visitors about the history, the sites also educate them about the importance of Joshua Nkomo's legacy to the country. Government institutions and private and local communities are the main drivers of the development of memorial centres. However, it was noted that there is inadequate packaging and coordination of the tourism products by the key drivers, leading to inadequately developed memorial tourism products in Zimbabwe. Memorial tourism is closely linked to a nation's past. According to Vilojoen and Henama, (2017), "the past is in many respects turbulent and characterised by the intergroup contest for supremacy, military conflict, economic exploitation and cultural supremacy". The subsection now shifts to the analysis of potential memorial tourism on selected Joshua Nkomo memorials.

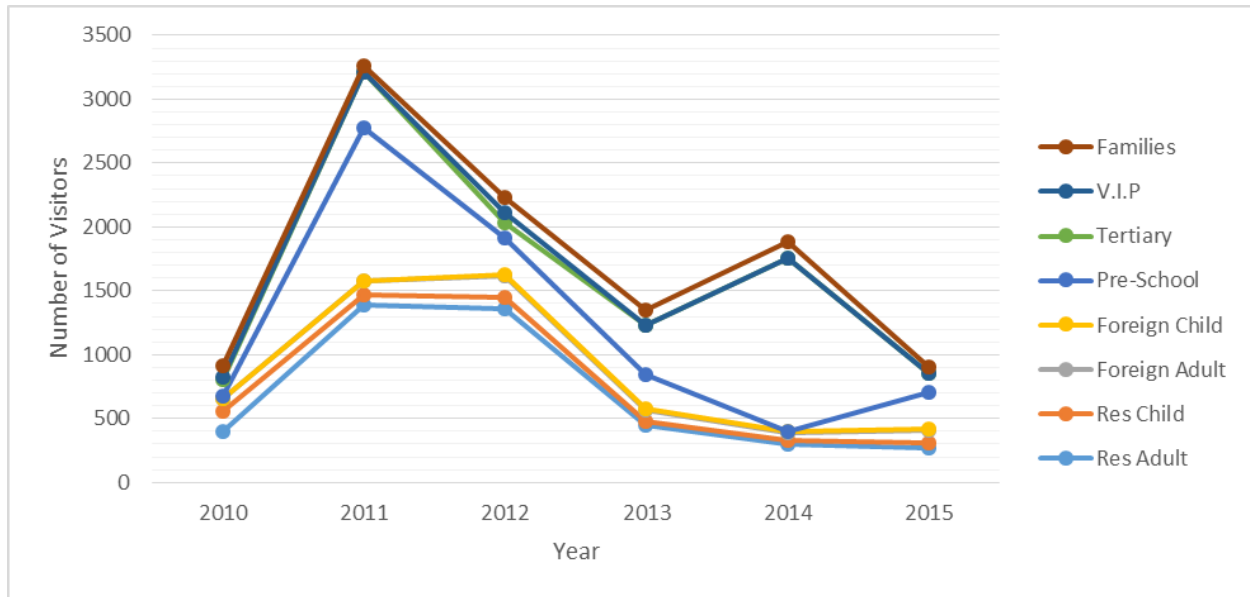
### **5.7 Dark Tourism**

This study also found out that Dark Tourism was one of the brands of tourism expected to come out of Joshua Nkomo's legacy. The term 'dark tourism' is one that was coined by Gibson (2006:20), who defined it as "tourism involving locations associated with death and great suffering." In this regard, the sites that are earmarked for such kind of tourism associated with Joshua Nkomo are the liberation heritage sites located in Zambia, where ZAPU, Joshua Nkomo's party, was based during the liberation struggle. These sites were bombed by the Rhodesian army during the liberation struggle. Prisons and detention sites where Joshua Nkomo was incarcerated during the liberation war are also expected to be part of such a heritage tourism trail. Surprisingly, as this study found out, sites associated with the Matabeleland disturbances of the 1980s, also popularly known as Gukurahundi sites, being sites where thousands of people who had sympathised with Joshua Nkomo after independence in 1980 were buried in mass graves and disused mining shafts, are not part of this proposed heritage trail. However, ever since its inception,

dark tourism has contributed to tourism growth, as seen in the figures, derived from tourism visitor data at the National Heroes Acre in Harare.



**Fig. 3: Visitor trends at the National Heroes Acre (source NMMZ)**



**Fig. 4: Adult visitor statistics to the National Heroes Acre from 2010 to 2015 (Source: NMMZ visitor statistics)**

As the data reflected in the above figures indicate, it is clear that people who visit the NHA do so for purposes of the need to understand dark histories as reflected in the histories of the protracted liberation war that was meant to weed colonialism from the country. At the NHA, the main histories presented there are about the atrocities that were committed by the Rhodesian Army during the war of liberation. In 2021, 1607 local and 67 foreign visitors visited the National Heroes Acre (ZTA, 2021).

### **5.8 Site Visit Findings**

This section describes the findings about the visits that were made to sites associated with the Joshua Nkomo legacies. As described in the previous chapter, these site visits were carried out for the purpose of understanding the nature of the sites as well as some of the discourses and activities that were taking place around them. Discussed in the sub-subsections below are the sites that were found to be associated with Joshua Nkomo's legacy during this study.

### **5.8.1 Joshua Nkomo Statue**

The bronze statue was moulded by a North Korean company, Mansudae Art Studio, and is established at the intersection of Joshua Nkomo Street and 8th Avenue in the City of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second largest. Some people questioned why the government chose a company from North Korea. North Korea trained the 5<sup>th</sup> Brigade army which was involved in atrocities in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces. The company made two identical bronze statues and the second one is yet to find a home. The initial location was again refused by the family and other stakeholders who felt that setting up the statue at Karigamombe Centre was disrespectful to Dr Joshua Nkomo. ZAPU used the sign of a bull and Robert Mugabe's nickname was Karigamombe, hence the displeasure with the location. The statue is one of Joshua Nkomo's memorial pieces that feature prominently on tourism promotional materials in Bulawayo. Nkomo's statue is one of the nine prominent historic monuments marketed by the Bulawayo Tourism Association, among such attractions as the Natural History Museum, Bulawayo Railway Museum, Khami Ruins, Old Bulawayo, Bulawayo National Gallery and the Provincial Heroes Acre. Bulawayo is endowed with several unique historic places but the nine have been selected for their significant history in one of the oldest cities of Zimbabwe. Several independent photographers derive income by working on the statue. Those who package cityscape tourism will not miss the statue of Joshua Nkomo because it is the first statue, and one of only two together with the recently set up bust of Mbuya Nehanda in Harare's Central Business District, to be placed within an urban Central Business District in Zimbabwe. Their professional photographers have turned the statue into a business venture. The researcher observed people taking photographs at the sites with a group of visitors who were on a guided tour.

### **5.8.2 Pelandaba House**

This is a property owned by Joshua Nkomo which is located at Stand No. 61274/5 in Pelandaba Township, about 15km to the west of Bulawayo City Centre. The house is in the high-density side of Bulawayo which was reserved for Africans during the colonial period. The property is one of the two houses, together with the one located in Highfields Township, Harare, that Joshua Nkomo owned during the colonial era. According to Jabulani Hadebe, Chief Executive Officer for Joshua Nkomo Trust, there are ideas to convert Pelandaba House into another museum for Joshua Nkomo. At the time of the visit that the researcher conducted for this study, Sibangiliswe Nkomo, Joshua Nkomo's son, was also living at the house. When the researcher discussed with him the future of the property, Sibangilizwe indicated that the government, through NMMZ, had already engaged his family to discuss the idea of turning the house into a museum. There is a plaque inscribed 'Remembering Father Zimbabwe' outside the house.

### **5.8.3 Matsheumhlope House**

This is a residential property home to Joshua Nkomo Museum and is located at Number 17 Aberdeen Road, Matsheumhlope Suburb, Bulawayo. This property is located in the low-density suburbs of Bulawayo. According to information gathered during this study, this property was bought by Joshua Nkomo's sympathisers after independence at a time when it was deemed unsafe for him to continue residing at the Pelandaba house in the high-density townships. Thus, according to the Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo Foundation, this property can also be referred to as Joshua Nkomo's place of refuge. It was also found out that this property was the one that was currently hosting the Joshua Nkomo Memorial Museum. The museum displays start from outside with a bulletproof Mercedes Benz which Nkomo used to travel with. Inside the houses are various pictorial displays and text chronicling his history. The displays are arranged as follows: background information which is introductory, Dr Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo a Brief History, the

Rise of Colonialism (1850-1880), The Rudd Concession, The Royal Charter - The British South African Company (BSAC) 1898, The Pioneer Column and the Fall of Zimbabwe (1894) , The first Chimurenga, 1896 and 1897, Early Activists, Dr Nkomo – The Trade Unionist and the Founder of the Mass Nationalist Struggle, Stance against the Federation, The Southern African Congress (ANC) 1957 and Other Parties, Detention at Gonakudzingwa and UDI, Attempts Made to Settle the Rhodesian Constitutional Dispute, The government of national unity (Zimbabwe-Rhodesia) 1978, Commonwealth Heads of government conference (CHOGM) 1979, The Nkomo Family Origins, The Patriotic Front (PF ZAPU and ZANU PF and Lancaster Conference, Joshua Nkomo the Man Tells His Own History, Early History of the Armed Struggle, Attempts at Joshua Nkomo's Life During the War, Independence, Gukurahundi and the Unity Accord, Honours and Awards - During and After His Life Time, Death and Burial (1<sup>st</sup> July 1999), Lessons Learned from Dr Nkomo Legacy, Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo - Commentary, About Dr Nkomo and lastly, Economic Participation and Contribution to National Development.

#### **5.8.4 Highfields House**

This is a residential property that Joshua Nkomo also bought during the colonial era. It is located at Stand Number 4510, Old Highfield location, Harare. According to information gathered during this study, Joshua Nkomo bought the house from one Toad Kanyere who had in turn bought it from Solomon Tawengwa. According to information collected during the site visit, Joshua Nkomo lived at the house until 1987. It was also the one that he used upon his return from the liberation war in 1980. According to further information collected, Joshua Nkomo later sold the house to a new owner who is now using it as a private school. Further information gathered also revealed that Highfields Township is a historical township. It is the location where most of the early nationalists,

such as Robert Mugabe, Enos Nkala, Josiah Chinamano, George Nyandoro, Michael Mawema and George Silundika were domiciled during the early years of struggles against colonialism.

#### **5.8.5 Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo International Airport**

This is a public international airport located in the City of Bulawayo. According to information gathered during the time of the visit, the airport was established in 1959 to cater for both local and international airlines. It is located about sixteen kilometres to the northwest of Bulawayo City. The airport was renamed in 2001 in honour of Joshua Nkomo. The airport was upgraded and the new terminal was opened on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of December 2013. According to the Airports Company of Zimbabwe, the airport provides a getaway to Zimbabwe's heritage in Bulawayo, Matobo cultural landscape and Khami Ruins. It goes on to state that "Bulawayo is a cultural city and plays host to some cultural festivals such as the Intwasa. Bulawayo Metropolitan has a population of over 1,5 million people" (acz.co.zw).

#### **5.8.6 Joshua Nkomo's Grave**

This is a grave that is located at the complex of many other graves known as the National Heroes Acre. The burial site is located in a place called Warren Hills, which is about 8 km from the Harare City Centre. It is also located close to a residential location known as Warren Park Township. According to the information gathered, the National Heroes' Acre is a place where people who would have done deeds deemed as outstanding for the nation of Zimbabwe are buried. As such, after Joshua Nkomo died in 1999, he was declared a national hero. After such a declaration, he was then buried in this burial complex. Thousands of people, including international dignitaries, attended his burial ceremony. At the time of the visit for this study, it was found that the National Heroes Acre was open for visitations by the public, meaning that Joshua Nkomo's grave is also open for public viewing.

### **5.8.7 Ekhusileni Hospital**

This is a hospital project that has been mooted out of the need to preserve Joshua Nkomo's legacy through serving the people. At the time of this study, it was also established that the project was conceived out of the need to keep alive Joshua Nkomo's dream to establish a high-tech medical facility in every province so that Zimbabweans would be served locally. Before his death, Joshua Nkomo had registered the Ekhusileni Hospital project with the Zimbabwe Health Care Trust (ZHCT). However, after his death, the project was then taken over by the government through the National Security Social Authority (NSSA), who are providing funding for its construction. The first of these medical facilities has been constructed and finished and is located in the Matsheumhlope Suburb of Bulawayo. At the time of the visit carried out for this study, the hospital had not yet been open to the public.

### **5.8.8 Prison and Detention Sites**

Joshua Nkomo was detained at Gonakudzingwa and Sikombela detention sites. He was incarcerated together with other nationalist leaders. These are sites of collective memory whereby Joshua Nkomo created his legacies with other nationalist leaders. The researcher did not focus much on these sites since they have collective memory rather than the other sites which are individual to him. These sites show that Joshua Nkomo was making history with others.

### **5.8.9 Liberation Sites in Zambia**

These are also sites located in Zambia the country that neighbours Zimbabwe on the northern side of the Zambezi River. These sites are also associated with the legacy of Joshua Nkomo in that these are places where followers of his wartime party of ZAPU were domiciled for both seeking refuge from the colonial regime and also for waging war against the same regime (NMMZ/Graves outside Zimbabwe/M7 (c)). It was also found out that these sites were bombed during the liberation war, with some Zimbabweans losing their lives in the process. At the time of this study, it was

established that the government of Zimbabwe was already in the process of rehabilitating the mass graves located at such sites. The sites were also part of the tourism itinerary for the country, as discussed in the previous sections.

### **5.9 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has presented the findings that emerged from this study which was meant to understand the implications of the transformation of Joshua Nkomo, an iconic individual in contemporary Zimbabwean history into a tourism product. The study has also revealed that various stakeholders have been interested in the life of Joshua Nkomo ever since his death. These various stakeholders attach different meanings to the legacy of Joshua Nkomo and they also have different perspectives with regard to how he must be memorialized in his post-life and also on the pertinent issue of commodifying his legacies for tourism purposes. The chapter also showed that Nkomo's historical background was also important in understanding contemporary stakeholder perspectives on forms of his memorialization. Lastly, the study also found out that there are several sites from which Nkomo's legacy can be derived. As the study found out, these sites are central to contemporary endeavours to commodify Nkomo and, therefore, should also be studied for purposes of understanding the implications that can arise from the proposed commodification endeavours.

## **CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

### **6.0 Introduction**

This chapter critically considers the findings of this study in relationship to contemporary attempts to develop Joshua Nkomo heritage sites into a tourism product in Zimbabwe. In engaging with the findings and summarizing them. The researcher did so by reflecting on the main research question of this study: What are the implications of translating the contested legacies of an iconic individual into a tourism brand? Throughout the process, the researcher also tried to find out whether the contention of other scholars on tourism brand-creation, such as Richards (2007) as well as Ndlovu and Nyakunu (2013), that local people or communities ‘must retain ownership of their culture and have power in decision making with regards to elements they wish to portray and which they want to conceal’, makes sense in the case of an individual whose legacy goes beyond the boundaries of what is normally regarded as a local community. Following Maschall’s (2017a) approach, the researcher also critically engages with the term ‘contestation’ in heritage to find where it applies in the case of Nkomo. In this regard, rather than just considering the term ‘contestation’ in generic terms about heritage, the researcher also traces the actual nature of contestation arising from the legacy of Nkomo and the subsequent memorialization process around him. As Maschall (2017a) found out with Olive Schreiner’s memorial in Kak Bay, near Cape Town in South Africa, the contestations around the heritage development had nothing to do with ideological, conceptual issues or style. Instead, the contestations were around the space that the statue was occupying. Thus, for Nkomo, the researcher critically examines whether the term ‘contestation’ of his legacy is a result of his history, his plan to translate his legacy into a tourism brand or whether they are political. The researcher also traced whether these contestations are at a family, local, regional, national or international level. In other words, the chapter deals with what exactly is being

contested as far as a memorialization process whose ultimate destination is the tourism brand creation is concerned. In doing this, the researcher merged all forms of data derived from interviews conducted for the study, archival sources and secondary sources to support my arguments and interpretation.

### **6.1 Stakeholder Implications on Identity, Memory and Tourism Brand Creation**

In this section, the researcher discusses stakeholder implications on Joshua Nkomo's identity, memorialization and tourism brand creation using data collected for this study. As revealed in the previous chapter, various stakeholders claim knowledge of the life and times of Joshua Nkomo. Some of the stakeholders even claim ownership of Joshua Nkomo's legacy. According to data derived from the study and as explained in the previous chapter, these stakeholders were identified as Joshua Nkomo's family, the local community, the political organizations that he was involved with throughout his entire political career, state institutions tasked with either perseverance and conservation of historical matters or tourism affairs, the Zimbabwe state itself, and the tourists.

Although the boundaries of Nkomo's local community were not clearly defined, these, however, emerged as including his birthplace of Kezi, located in the Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe, the township of Pelandaba, and the suburb of Matsheumhlope, where he owned properties. Moreover, after Nkomo's dismissal from the Zimbabwe government in 1982 and through the attempts by the ZANU PF government, as will be discussed in this chapter, to portray Nkomo and his political organization, PF ZAPU as both a regional politician and regional-based party respectively, the whole Matabeleland and parts of Midlands Province also come to constitute something reminiscent of what can be considered his local community. The development of Joshua Nkomo Heritage sites is concentrated in Matabeleland provinces. This provincialisation of Nkomo,

to borrow from Dipesh Chakrabaty's (2000) thinking, was also the reason why the township of Highfields in Harare, Zimbabwe's capital city, where he also owned a residential property, has never been considered as constituting Nkomo's local community. In this regard, by viewing the confinement of Nkomo to the western regions of the country as provincialisation, my approach in this study differs slightly from other scholars like Mahomva (2018), who views the Bulawayo and Matabeleland areas as the 'traditional affirmative appropriation spaces' of Nkomo's histories. In my view, accepting such an assertion without qualifying how Nkomo was eventually confined to these regions when he was a political leader of national stature is tantamount to accepting the provincialization of an individual's tourism development, who should be a national icon and was against societal ills such as tribalism (See, Nkomo, 1984:144 and Vambe, 2009). Nonetheless, despite this study disagreeing with this provincialization of Nkomo, it accepts that through such provincialization and by being born there, the western region where he was eventually confined can be considered as also constituting his local community and has the highest number of his heritage tourism sites. This agreement is also in line with data emerging from some of the research's sources, which view the said region as that which has most of Nkomo's developed heritage sites.

As for the government institutions that are tasked with specific duties related to the key issues of memorialization and tourism product development under discussion, these were identified as the NMMZ and the ZTA. As already indicated, these organizations deal with the preservation of historical legacies, among other tasks, and tourism management, respectively.

Consequently, the analysis done in this chapter constitutes the implications of these identified stakeholders on every site associated with the legacy of Nkomo that is now being earmarked for

further promotion from the arena of memorialization to tourism product development. These sites, as revealed in the preceding chapter, include Joshua Nkomo's houses in Bulawayo and Harare, Joshua Nkomo's grave at National Heroes' Acre located in Harare, Zimbabwe, Joshua Nkomo statue located in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, the proposed Joshua Nkomo Memorial Hospital, and the Joshua Nkomo International Airport located in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Since his legacy also constitutes his biography, the researcher starts by examining the implications of Joshua Nkomo's family to the development of his legacy into a tourism product.

### **6.1.1 Family Implications**

As indicated above, Joshua Nkomo's biography, which also constitutes legacies being earmarked for translation to sites of tourism, starts at the family level. According to information supplied by informants in this study, Joshua Nkomo was born a member of the Nkomo family of Kezi, Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe (See also Nkomo, 1984). This is a region where the Ndebele language and culture are predominantly spoken and practised, respectively. Linguistically, the Ndebele culture is part of a broader ethnic and linguistic group known as the Nguni (See, for example, Ndlovu, 2009). The Nguni, in turn, are part of a much broader African culture. However, for the Ndebele, collectively, the cultural practice of this group is also known as Nguni culture (Ndlovu, 2009). Consequently, and in line with the dictates of the Nguni culture as part of the much broader African culture, the family unit is an individual's first institution of belonging. This is derived from the fact that an individual is born into a family. Therefore, before he or she belongs to any other group, they belong to a family first. This is in line with how the identity of an individual is constructed. Identity and Social Identity theories used in this study are well-placed to explain the concept of an individual's first institution of belonging. Furthermore, according to the Nguni-Ndebele culture, what is considered Nkomo's family includes his parents,

siblings, wife and children. People such as uncles, aunts and cousins are also considered as part of the family unit according to such cultures. However, in the same Nguni-Ndebele culture, when a male individual marries, his spouse and children immediately join his siblings and parents to constitute his core family. In this regard, it is imperative to note that as far as an individual's legacy is concerned, all persons regarded as his family members usually have a say about how the proceedings must take place. Therefore, in Nkomo's case and as revealed in the preceding chapter, it has been his immediate surviving family members such as his daughter, Thandiwe Nkomo Ibrahim, his son, Sibangilizwe Nkomo, and his brother, Edward Nkomo, who have been involved in most of the discussions around the memorialization of his legacy and the transformation of his legacy into the arena of tourism (See also, Ndlovu, 2017). Although Nkomo's spouse, Johana MaFuyana Nkomo, survived him by close to four years, she was, however, silent in most of the memorialization debates that followed his death in July 1999. Her silence or rather non-involvement in this regard might also have been consistent with the practices of some African cultures that limit the involvement of married women on issues about the families of their husbands. In African cultures, a married wife, as someone coming from another family, is usually considered an outsider to some extent. Therefore, their participation in certain matters is limited. However, as explained in this study, the ultimate aim of the continuum of Joshua Nkomo's memorialization is the plan to translate his legacy into a tourism product. In this regard, in this continuum of memorialization, the translation of an individual's legacies is considered the uppermost honour that can be conferred on an individual. This is because opening up an individual's legacies to tourism is tantamount to eternalization, albeit internationalization of that individual. Unlike the proclamation of an individual as a national hero, an act that confines a memorized subject to the boundaries of a nation, creating a tourism brand out of the same

individual is tantamount to internationalizing of the same individual through opening up such legacy for consumption by a much broader audience in the world. In contemporary times, the audience that is invited to share or to consume the legacy of an individual is reflected by tourists who visit from different countries around the globe for tourism purposes. However, for the Nkomo family, allowing the translation of Nkomo's legacy means that as a family, they would have agreed to bequeath the legacy of one of their own to the world. However, as is the case with all issues of legacies and memory, such translations are always mired in problems. These problems arise from what both memorialization and tourism aspire to do. In this regard, both memorialization and a tourism brand aspire to be permanent. Thus, in the case of Nkomo, what it means is that when the family consents to the promotion of one of their own for hero status or tourism product status, what they would have done is that they would be surrendering that individual to the nation and the wider global world. However, as this study found out, people's perceptions are not permanent. By invoking permanency in issues to do with tourism and memorialization, my analysis here is informed by Magadzike's (2012) analysis of similar phenomena. As Magadzike found out with the case of burial practices at the National Heroes Acre, "the proclamation of individuals as national heroes was not marked by permanency." Rather, such practices constituted an archiving process and meaning and were one that was subject to review by succeeding generations. These succeeding generations, as Magadzike discovered, always had the privilege of revisiting the archive that was the national heroes' acre and instilling new meanings on the site. Thus, to add to Magadzike's conceptualization, I would like to state that concerning Nkomo, the current memorialization programs and brand creation endeavours around his legacy are informed by contemporary behavioural practices. At the family level, such behaviours might have no bearing on future descendants from the Nkomo lineage. They might uphold the agreements being made

today or they might completely overhaul them. If this happens, this might have disastrous consequences for both memorialization and tourism brands being created around Nkomo's legacy and sites.

In analyzing phenomena in the above manner, the study's findings are informed by the thorough studies that the researcher conducted on all Nkomo sites that have been developed as tourism sites or earmarked for memorialization and heritagization. According to the researcher's observations and findings and about the Nkomo's family, only a few of the sites are immune to family interference as far as the development of tourism products and the permanency of a heritage site or tourism brand is concerned. As Ndlovu (2017) observes with the contestations that took place around the development of Nkomo's statue pitting the family amongst themselves and between the families and the government, such contestations are not limited to the statue alone. Such family contestations can also extend to other Nkomo sites that have been developed as a tourism resource, such as his house which has been turned into a museum, and his grave. To start with, although his grave is currently located at the National Heroes' Acre, it is not completely out of reach from possible future family contestations or scheming. A good example reifying my observation here pertains to the events that followed Robert Mugabe's death and burial. As is known, after Mugabe's death, his family refused to have his remains interred at the national shrine (See, for example, Dzirutwe, 2019). Following such a development, there were reports that the Nkomo family were also contemplating relocating Nkomo's remains to his homestead in Kezi. Therefore, for both heritagization and tourism, what this means is that there is absolutely no guarantee that future Nkomo family members will not attempt to relocate his grave to Kezi or any other place away from the national shrine (See, [Zimlive.com](http://Zimlive.com), 2019).

The Nkomo houses that are being earmarked for museumization and township tourism projects are also the other sites that might be affected by family considerations. As this study found out, one of the Nkomo properties has been transformed into the Joshua Nkomo Memorial Museum. This house that has now been museumized in this way is the one located in Pelandaba, Bulawayo. The translation of this property was a result of an agreement entered into by the Nkomo Family and the NMMZ. The agreement resulted in the creation of the Joshua Nkomo National Foundation. However, despite the formation of such a trust, its operations too, are only informed by behaviours of the present. They can easily be challenged by future Nkomo generations who might want to use the residential property for other businesses, possibly more beneficial than a museum whose success is only guaranteed by tourist visitors. In Zimbabwe, as the table in Chapter 5 indicates, the tourism business has been on the decline, especially after the Fast Track Land Reform program of post 2000 (See, Mkono, 2012; Machipisa, 2001). If future Nkomo family members decide to do away with the idea of a museum, this too will have disastrous implications for Nkomo residences as part of the Nkomo tourism brand.

### **6.1.2 Local Community Perceptions**

Using the approach of biography hinted at above, the next stakeholder in Joshua Nkomo's life is his local community. In biographical sequence, the first institution that an individual steps into immediately after the family is his or her local community. This is usually the place where he was born and grew up. For Nkomo, Kezi should be his topmost local community. However, for reasons already hinted at in the preceding section, Nkomo had other local communities than Kezi. According to the findings of this study, these include the areas where he had properties, such as Pelandaba and Matsheumhlope. Matabeleland region and parts of the Midlands community also became part of his local community at some point. In this sequence, when Nkomo was finally

considered an important component of the national discourse after the Unity Accord of 1987, the whole of Zimbabwe also became part of his local community. However, for purposes of analysis here, the former are considered his local communities.

To start with, although there were no serious matters arising from his foremost local community of Kezi as far as heritagization and the formation of a tourism brand is concerned, due to the reasons given in the previous section, there is no doubt that the Kezi community can at some point in future have some direct implication on one of the sites associated with the legacy of Nkomo, the grave at the National Heroes Acre in Harare, Zimbabwe. As already stated, when rumours began circulating that the Nkomo family was considering relocating Nkomo's grave as a response to the decision by the Mugabe family to shun the national shrine, it was to the Kezi community where Nkomo's remains were expected to be relocated. As such, as my study found out, the Kezi community will remain a rival alternative to the current location of the Nkomo grave in Harare. If Kezi becomes the destination for the Nkomo grave at some point in the future, this too will have negative implications on the status of the grave at the Heroes' Acre as a tourism site.

The observation made with the Kezi community is somehow different from the Bulawayo and Matabeleland communities. Although these communities host the largest number of sites associated with the Nkomo Heritage Trail and the tourism brand, an analysis of information gleaned during this study reveals that there can also be negative implications for both the Nkomo heritage trail and the proposed Nkomo tourism brand. Whilst Nkomo's historical legacy might have been shaped by these communities, it is their concerns and behaviour that can have negative consequences on the future of Nkomo's legacy as a brand. As mentioned above, Nkomo's life history is one that was for many years shaped by his disagreements with ZANU PF, a political

organization whose leadership and membership composition largely comprised mostly Shona language speakers. Unlike Ndebele which is a Nguni dialect and cultural group as mentioned above, the Shona are completely different. They also inhabit a geographical space that is mostly in the eastern half of the country, Zimbabwe. Although Nkomo was a leader of a national party named ZAPU, the events of post-1982, as already discussed, resulted in his portrayal as both a Ndebele leader and a regional one. In other words, he was not regarded as a national leader. The castigation of Nkomo as a Ndebele leader was further reified when the ZANU PF government of Robert Mugabe specifically targeted Ndebele-speaking people and Nkomo as leader of the Ndebele (See Ndlovu, 2017).

According to Nkomo himself, Mugabe was even quoted by the press declaring that “Nkomo is like a cobra in a house. The only way to deal with a snake is to strike and destroy its head” (Nkomo, 1984). Some senior ministers like Enos Nkala, himself a Ndebele, also made similar insinuations. In one such insinuation, Nkala was quoted regretting having been a Ndebele (See *Mail and Guardian*, 30 August 2013: Reviled in Life and Death). All these events, coupled with the war against alleged dissidents, which Mugabe himself had identified Nkomo as the head (Ndlovu, 2017), succeeded in making the whole conflict a war between Ndebeles and Shonas, thereby making Nkomo a regional leader and not a national one. As a result, for most people in Matabeleland, this ascription of Nkomo as being a leader of the Ndebele and ZAPU being a party of the Ndebele people also stuck. In some cases, Nkomo was even described as the successor of King Lobengula, the last Ndebele king and leader. Whilst these commendations were well-deserved of a person of Nkomo’s calibre, the problem was that this further made Nkomo a regional leader or that of an ethnic group.

However, for heritage purposes and tourism brand creation, both the provincialization and the making of Nkomo a leader of an ethnic group are problematic. The reason for this is that Nkomo is a national leader. He was a leading a national organization comprising people from all the country's ethnic groups. Therefore, the brand that is being created is that of a national leader who is equally eligible and befitting of a national and international leader as a tourism brand. No particular ethnic group must claim ownership of Nkomo as claimed by people who regard themselves as his local community. Therefore, the Nkomo tourism landscape is open to all types of visitors.

## **6.2 The Interplay of Organizations and Joshua Nkomo Heritage Tourism Sites**

Three organizations were identified in this study as stakeholders in the Joshua Nkomo memorialization and development of heritage tourism discourse. These are the NMMZ, the ZTA and the Joshua Nkomo Foundation (JNF). As revealed in the findings of this study, two of the organizations, the NMMZ and the ZTA are government-linked institutions authorized by the same government to implement certain responsibilities. In the administration of their duties, these organizations are guided by Acts of Parliament. In the case of NMMZ, it is the NMMZ Act, Chapter 25:1. In the case of ZTA, it is governed by the Zimbabwe Tourism Act (Chapter 14:20) of 1996. On the other hand, the operations and functions of these two organizations are different from the JNF, which is a Non-Governmental Organization or charity one. It was created out of the need to administer the legacy of Joshua Nkomo in various ways, as mentioned in the previous section. However, for purposes of analyzing how these organizations impact Nkomo's memorialization and his transformation into a tourism product, these organizations are discussed separately below.

### 6.2.1 NMMZ

As already mentioned, NMMZ is the organization mandated by the government to preserve and manage aspects of the country's heritage, both natural and human. In terms of its foundational values, the NMMZ is a direct successor to the National Museums of Rhodesia founded in 1909 and was the first scientific organization in Zimbabwe's history (Magadzike et al., forthcoming). Ever since its foundation, scientific research has been the organization's mainstay. As such, even in cases where the organization is tasked to preserve any aspect of the country's heritage, such preservation is also justified by research, especially about values and significance. However, ever since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a brand of heritage known as liberation heritage was also added to the organization's mandate. It is within this brand of heritage that aspects such as memorialization of the country's heroes and burials fall under. By extension, this also means that Nkomo's legacy is catered for by this brand of heritage. The study also found out that there are 'power relations' in the way heritage is presented. The study is in line with Poria (2010), who established that powerful stakeholders impact the exhibition and interpretation of some occasions presented at heritage tourism sites. Narratives at Joshua Nkomo's tourism sites are those of the government and those on the contrary are silenced. The government's history of persecuting Joshua Nkomo is not on display. As a result, the winners' account of events finds its way on display and the losers' account is archived. However, about this new brand of heritage, there are problems which were found in this study.

Firstly, and in line with the above, despite NMMZ's promise as a research organization, the declaration or proclamation of individuals as national or liberation heroes is not a brief that lies within the ambit of the NMMZ. Rather, these proclamations, as Werbner (1998), Magadzike (2012), and Duri (2018) found out, are done by ZANU PF, which is the country's governing party.

After the proclamation of individuals as national heroes, the ZANU PF Politburo will then inform the government, which will, in turn, inform the NMMZ, which will, in turn, manage the National Heroes' Acre, a designated national monument and burial space for most of the country's declared heroes. Although most of the respondents from the NMMZ were alive to the benefits of Joshua Nkomo's legacy to both discourses of the country's liberation war history and tourism, there are some challenges. These challenges stem from the fact that most of the declarations were not done with the NMMZ's input as far as their research impetus is concerned. In other words, as this study found out, the narrative around Joshua Nkomo being retold by NMMZ has very little or no input from their research. Rather, it can be interpreted as a ZANU PF liberation narrative or a Zimbabwe government Ministry of Information narrative, especially when considering that the National Heroes Acre book for national heroes is compiled by them.

Thus, when given the argument of permanency already forwarded elsewhere in this chapter, the Nkomo narrative being purveyed as part of his memorialization and in tourism brand creation does not reflect his history and, therefore, is subject to reviews, if not changes. The narratives pushed by the government through NMMZ are political and integral parts of various opposing forces of state formation. As will be explained in the succeeding sections, the reviews can be minimal or even extreme. The role played by the NMMZ fits into Smith's (2006) analytical discourse on what she regards as 'Authorised Heritage Discourse', in which the state constructs and makes meaning of heritage.

The state is assisted by international heritage organisations such as UNESCO in constructing such heritage. The study established that UNESCO has a program on liberation heritage in Southern Africa. NMMZ, as part of state heritage institutions, plays a significant role in constructing

identities through the way they interpret and represent Joshua Nkomo. This is done by selecting which aspects of history to emphasise and which to downplay. The institutions shape the way visitors perceive themselves and others. In developing Joshua Nkomo's heritage tourism sites, the state chose to focus on his good legacy and ignored the part in which he was a victim of the state. This has created a sense of pride but has also obscured important aspects of the past. This has led to some people asking if the government is sincere in developing tourism based on Joshua Nkomo.

### **6.2.2 Zimbabwe Tourism Authority**

According to this study's findings, the ZTA is another organization that is at the centre of the development of Joshua Nkomo's tourism product. Just like the NMMZ above, in the case of the transformation of the Joshua Nkomo legacy into a tourism product, the ZTA also uses history as the pillar of its brand creation. However, again, just like NMMZ, the ZTA is using a hegemonic narrative created around Joshua Nkomo by the current ZANU PF government. Above all, ZTA, like NMMZ, wants to use some of the Nkomo houses for its township tourism programs. However, this too has its problems as far as the implications of translating an icon's legacy are concerned. As already indicated elsewhere in this study, Nkomo properties are located in poor townships. Of late, especially with the events that followed Nkomo's death in 1999, the Zimbabwe state has been facing numerous challenges. These challenges have resulted in most urban communities, especially the ones where the majority of the people reside, being poor and afflicted by all sorts of vices, including overcrowding, sewerage spillages everywhere, lack of accommodation, and general people poverty. As a result of these challenges, the question that will then arise is: How will the ZTA manage to promote township tourism when given some of these challenges facing some of the people who are expected to be consuming the tourism products being promoted?

In response to the above, what this study found is that promoting township tourism against the backdrop of challenges being faced by the community or communities where such tourism is supposed to take place is problematic. Indeed, it will be very difficult to purvey a narrative of an iconic liberator in a community that is still being bedevilled by the same problems that they wanted to be liberated from when the country was still under colonial rule. What this means is that local people who are supposed to constitute local tourists will ask numerous questions about whether an individual like Nkomo indeed liberated them or not.

The study also found that tourism plays a critical role in cultural diplomacy. The association between Zimbabwe and China is a good example of how tourism and cultural diplomacy can be used to strengthen international relations. China is one of the top sources of tourism for Zimbabwe. The two countries have a long history of cultural exchanges. Zimbabwe has made efforts to attract more Chinese tourists by promoting its cultural heritage sites such as Great Zimbabwe monuments and the National Heroes Acre. Zimbabwe introduced the 'Look East Policy' (LEP) in the early 2000s in response to deteriorating relations with Western countries, particularly the USA and the United Kingdom. The policy aimed to shift Zimbabwe's trade and investment relations from Western countries to Asian countries, including China, India, Russia and Malaysia. This was seen as a way to lessen the nation's reliance on Western aid and to diversify the country's economy. The government opened tourism offices and participated in international expos in Eastern countries, particularly China, Russia and Malaysia. Chinese language was also promoted in Zimbabwe, with the expectation of Chinese tourism arrivals. Mudavanhu (2014) argues "that the problem with the LEP is that it is strongly linked with Mugabe and ZANU-PF and hence, appears to be nothing more than a political slogan". The ZTA respondent agreed with Mudavanhu in observing that the policy is a political rather than an economic one.

### **6.2.3 Implications of Nkomo's memorialization to PF ZAPU and ZANU PF and the Zimbabwe Government**

The findings from this study indicated that Nkomo's identity was shaped through association with various institutions, groups and organizations. That he was able to move from one institution or organization to another is consistent with Tajfel and Turner's (1986) observation on 'social mobility' as a belief system that guides the human being's functions. As Tajfel and Turner observe, social mobility is a 'belief system' that is "based on the assumption that the society in which individuals live is a flexible and permeable one." As such, if an individual feel dissatisfied with one social group, they can move to another 'that suits them better.' As such, for Nkomo, just like any other individual, several groups managed to shape his identity over time. The first institution that Nkomo is said to have associated with after leaving his primary local community, Kezi was the Tsholotsho Government Industrial School, where he studied carpentry. After leaving Tsholotsho, he then taught at Manyame School in his home area of Kezi. In the 1940s, he then joined Adams College in South Africa, where he studied social work. While in South Africa, Nkomo's biographers claim that he also visited Fort Hare University, where he met people like Nelson Mandela, who later became a leading political activist in South Africa and the country's first president to be elected in independent South Africa years later in 1994. After his return from South Africa, Nkomo is said to have joined the Rhodesian Railways as a Social Worker. It was during his tenure in the Rhodesian Railways that Nkomo is said to have joined the trade union movement. As far as political identity construction is concerned, it can be said that it was in the Rhodesian Railways that Nkomo first learnt his political skills.

Thereafter, Nkomo then joined mainstream politics in 1953 when he unsuccessfully contested for a seat in the Federal elections held at that time. Through the process of 'social mobility' as

discussed above, Nkomo was associated with two political organizations before the year 1960. After the banishment of the National Democratic Party that he was the leader of, Nkomo and his colleagues then formed another organization, ZAPU in 1960. Of all the social groups that he had associated with, it was ZAPU that then went on to shape his entire political career. Nkomo led ZAPU from its formation until December 1987 when he disbanded the organization to join another political organization, ZANU PF. As a political organization, ZANU, before its morphosis to become ZANU PF in 1977, had splintered from the Nkomo-led ZAPU in 1963. However, in between 1962, the year of ZAPU's formation and 1987, the year of its disbandment, Nkomo's life history was also shaped by many events. The first major event was his jailing and detention for a period of close to 10 years. This was later followed by a period as Commander-in-Chief of the military wing of his political organization, ZIPRA. The same period of his release from prison until Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 also saw Nkomo being involved in diplomatic initiatives, most of which were meant to end the Zimbabwe liberation war. Finally, before disbanding ZAPU, Nkomo had had a brief stint as a member of the Zimbabwe Government from independence until 1982 when he was unceremoniously removed from his government position. He then went into exile briefly, before returning to be involved in activities and initiatives that then culminated in the 1987 unity accord mentioned above.

Therefore, according to the findings of this study and as already stated, Nkomo's political identity was shaped more by his association with two groups, namely ZAPU and ZANU, and more by stints in detention and prison and also by being his organization's top diplomat in several diplomatic initiatives. Apart from identity, as this study found out, it is also these attributes that qualified him for post-life memorialization and also being packaged for transmission to the wider global audience as narratives that must be consumed by the tourism customers. However, as this

study found out, although these attributes and associations in the two political parties discussed above can indeed be successfully packaged for tourism in the same way that South Africa did with the legacy of the revered global icon Nelson Mandela (Van Niekerk, (2013), some questions can be raised about issues of brand permanency already discussed in this study.

While it is true that Nkomo indeed demonstrated a higher degree of leadership qualities and that the time in prison and when he was under siege from his adversaries in the post-independence era managed to shape his image as an individual who triumphed above all, it is essential to note that Nkomo's initiatives did not materialize in the fashioning of a real democratic trajectory in Zimbabwe. Firstly, while it is true that Nkomo's efforts resulted in uniting a country that was at war with itself, the efforts did not completely eradicate the vices that were affecting the country. For instance, the period immediately after Nkomo became part of the government was characterized by episodes of political violence that saw many Zimbabweans being injured. Although his political organization was no longer involved, it was his new political party, ZANU PF that meted most of the violence on followers of its main challengers in the 1990 election, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) which was led by Edgar Tekere, a former Nkomo adversary and secretary general of wartime ZANU PF (See, Sithole and Makumbe, 1997). In this case, it may be argued that Nkomo's legacy, concerning continued political instability after entering into a unity accord, did not materialize in total peace in the same way Nelson Mandela did in South Africa.

In South Africa, the period after the unbanning of political organizations that had opposed the apartheid state was characterized by intense and bloody inter-party and inter-ethnic clashes. In this regard, the South African conflict had pitted the supporters of Nelson Mandela's African National

Congress against those of the Inkatha Freedom Party led by Mongosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. In that war, the ANC supporters, identified as predominantly Xhosa, were attacked by those of the IFP, identified as predominantly Zulu (See, Ottaway, 1991). However, instead of advocating for retaliation, Mandela engaged Buthelezi and thereafter, inter-party political violence ended in South Africa with the two, Mandela and Buthelezi, also able to work together in South Africa's government formed after the first democratic elections in the country. Therefore, in this regard, Nkomo's efforts can be interpreted as having failed to completely stem political violence from the Zimbabwe political discourse.

Secondly, although Nkomo was at the forefront of advocating for a land reform program as indicated in several media stories in which he was recorded questioning why whites were still owning vast tracts of land in the independence of Zimbabwe, his wishes, as the events that followed Zimbabwe's chaotic land reform program can testify, did not also prepare the ground for an orderly land reform program as per his wish for the black majority to own land. Instead, in 2000, a year after Nkomo's death, the Zimbabwe government in which Nkomo had been a Vice President, started to confiscate land from white farmers. In doing this, the government was supported by the ZANU PF party, an organization in which Nkomo had also been a Vice President. When examined, all these incidences that took place can also have dire consequences on his brand when revisited in the future.

Lastly, it is significant to note that although Nkomo had entered into a unity agreement with his former adversaries in ZANU, there is also a need to examine the fate of his political organization, PF ZAPU, after he died in 1999. Although the Unity Accord of 1987 had effectively resulted in the disbandment of Nkomo's political organization, it is important to note that in 2008 less than

ten years after his death, *The Zimbabwean* newspaper reported that some of his closest lieutenants in the former ZAPU, led by Dumiso Dabengwa, had left ZANU PF to revive ZAPU (See, *The Zimbabwean*, 19 December 2008). If such a development is examined, it can be argued that Nkomo did not leave behind a binding legacy. Instead, he left behind an idea that was dismantled before even a decade of his death. Political organisations shaped Joshua Nkomo's legacy and the way it is used to transform him into heritage tourism.

#### **6.2.4 Implication of Nkomo's memorialization to Tourists**

According to the findings of this study, tourists were identified as key stakeholders who have an interplay with Joshua Nkomo heritage tourism sites. It is the tourists who consume most of the products being propagated from the Nkomo legacy. As such, the study also found that tourists' perceptions and responses to Nkomo products also mattered a great deal in the continuation of the Nkomo legacy. In this regard, the tourists who are currently consuming the Nkomo legacy were identified as being both local and foreign tourists.

##### **6.2. 4.1 Local Tourists**

This study found out that most of the tourists who were consuming the Joshua Nkomo products did so out of love for the man's iconic legacy and history. This is in line with Lin, (2022) who argued that heritage tourism has important implications closely related to nostalgic musings. Most of the consumers were also sympathetic to Nkomo's victimhood that he suffered at the hands of both the settler government of Ian Smith and the independent government of Robert Mugabe. As such, most of the visitors view him as a hero who had contributed to ending a conflict that had easily turned into an inter-ethnic one. Most of the local visitors also regard him as a nation-builder. On this, as the study found out, they point to his role in the granting of an operating license to

Econet Zimbabwe Company, a telecommunications company that had initially been denied an operating license by Joyce Mujuru, Nkomo's colleague in government and the Minister of Information and Telecommunications during that time. For this gesture, Nkomo had even received insults from Mujuru herself who referred to him as a 'senile old man.' Instead of retaliating similarly, Nkomo resorted to empathy and professionalism. He questioned why Mujuru had remained silent when Strive Masiyiwa, the Econet founder, was 'running around' trying to put his company in place. He then went on to issue a third operating license to Econet Wireless. Initially, the Zimbabwe government had planned only to issue two operating licenses. One of these licenses had already been issued to Netone, a company that is affiliated with the Zimbabwe government. The second one, which had initially been denied to Masiyiwa's Econet, had been issued to Telecel, a company that Mujuru herself had interests in. Thus, for this gesture, as the study found out, Nkomo was regarded as a professional and not a corrupt individual. It was not surprising for Joshua Nkomo to respond to the Econet saga in such a sympathetic manner as a person of his stature is expected to do. In addition, Nkomo was equated to Nelson Mandela. One attribute of Nelson Mandela similar to Joshua Nkomo is that Nelson Mandela empathised with victims of condemnation and marginalization. He was compassionate toward the victims of HIV/AIDS (Maanga, 2013).

As already stated, participating in the liberation struggle is part of Nkomo's legacy that the local tourists reflect upon when consuming the Nkomo legacy products. Most of the visitors to the sites reflect on the role that he played in leading a political organization that fought against the colonial regime. All the Nkomo legacy products are revered as sites of learning the liberation war by the local Zimbabwean tourists. However, as this study found out, most of the local Zimbabwean tourists who visited most of the sites associated with the Nkomo legacy were not yet asking

questions about both Nkomo's legacy and the notion of liberation as an idea. However, as with this study's observation elsewhere, this silence does not mean that the current situation is going to be a permanent one. Here, my analysis is supported by the fact that in independent Zimbabwe, the notion of liberation has been undergoing intense scrutiny. For instance, when Zimbabwe undertook the land reform program already discussed elsewhere, many people did not benefit from the program. Instead, it was the elite, most of them who had participated in the liberation struggle like Nkomo, who benefited from the program. By the time when this study was being conducted, they were still benefiting from the state's benevolence in many different ways, such as farming inputs, children's fees, access to jobs government incentives, and many others. Ordinary people who constitute the bulk of visitors to Nkomo sites are not benefiting from such state benevolence. As such, it was this study's finding that it will not be long before people start posing hard questions to the notion of liberation, the one on which the Nkomo brand is premised.

The interaction with local visitors reflects identities that are central in choosing what to visit at play when they visit Joshua Nkomo sites. There are a variety of reasons why people visit heritage tourism places associated with iconic individuals, which connects them to self-identities. Some people visit as a way to feel a sense of connection to a place or time they may not otherwise be able to experience. Others visit for personal reasons, such as the desire to come to terms with their own past experiences.

#### ***6.2.4.2 International Tourists***

As the data presented in the previous chapter indicates, international tourists were identified as some of the consumers of the Nkomo legacy products. As this study found out, international tourists are the target of the memorialization and product-creation programs being undertaken

around Nkomo's iconic legacy. However, according to an analysis of the data of tourist visits from other countries, a greater number of the tourists who have visited Nkomo legacy sites are mostly from the Eastern bloc, with the Chinese constituting the biggest component of international tourist visitorship. Very few of the visitors were from the Western world. Whilst these trends are not permanent and are subject to change at any time, they are, however, reflective of Nkomo's legacy itself, especially about the kind of society that continued after his death.

Indeed, a comparison of the tourist visit trends of 1999, the year of Nkomo's death, and those of the years after will clearly show a waning in the number of international tourists, especially those from the West. This decline in tourist figures was partly because of the nature of international relations between Zimbabwe and other countries after the Land Reform Program. Although some analysts have attributed the reaction of international tourists to discontentment with the country's land reform program which, as already indicated, was undertaken in 2000, a deeper analysis will reveal that this has something to do with the fractured nature of the state that Nkomo and his colleagues had created in Zimbabwe. Whilst this criticism might not directly reflect on Nkomo as an individual, the fact that the political organization that he had belonged to, ZANU PF, was part of the chaotic nature of the land reform programs, means Nkomo is not completely vindicated from criticism. As a liberator, Nkomo could have done more in building a state that adheres to the rule of law, an ingredient that was completely missing during the chaotic and bloody land reform program. As such, it cannot be completely ruled out that international tourists will continue to react to these attributes that have a link to Nkomo's legacy shortly. Most of the international tourists who visit the National Heroes Acre go there as part of organized diplomatic visits by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to Lin, (2022), tour operators should capitalize on the nostalgic lure embedded in heritage tourism sites.

### **6.3 Implication of Nkomo's memorialization to Joshua Nkomo Heritage Sites**

As shown in the previous chapter, there are some sites and activities that are associated with the Nkomo legacy that were identified in this study. As the findings of the study indicate, some of these sites were important in shaping Nkomo's identity and legacy which, in turn, were used to develop his tourism landscape. As already stated, these sites include his birthplace in Kezi and homesteads in both Bulawayo and Harare. Although not studied during this study, the prisons and detention sites are also some of the sites that were critical in the memorialisation of Nkomo and the subsequent transformation into tourism space. It was the prisons and detention sites that shaped Nkomo's identity of resilience and leadership (Interview with Nyathi). Shortly, it is also expected that the detention sites, such as Gonakudzingwa, despite Nkomo having shared this collectively with other compatriots, will also become some of the sites that will be on the Joshua Nkomo heritage trail (Interview with the late Raymond Mazorodze, 2018). In addition to the properties, some sites are associated with Nkomo's name that were named in his honour by his compatriots as a memory of his legacy after his death. These sites include the Joshua Nkomo International Airport in Bulawayo and the proposed Joshua Nkomo Memorial Hospital, also located in Bulawayo. Apart from these sites, two more sites were created in Nkomo's honour by the Zimbabwe state as a thank-you gesture for the service that he rendered to the nation, first as a liberator and later as a top government leader. These sites include his grave which is located at the National Heroes' Acre in Harare and the bronze statue that was erected in Bulawayo. However, of the sites that were studied during this study, it was found that they are also marked by strengths and weaknesses as far as issues of memorialization, identity formation and their transformation into tourism product-creation are concerned. Lastly, some activities and projects were initiated in Nkomo's honour by well-wishers and benefactors. These projects include the proposed memorial

hospital and the Joshua Nkomo Scholarship Fund, which were both created to keep the memory of Joshua Nkomo alive. The study concurs with Selby (2010), who argues that heritage tourism sites are overt in signifying particular cultures, histories and social groups.

### **6.3.1 The Joshua Nkomo Houses**

As discussed in the preceding sections, the Joshua Nkomo properties are a central component in discussions about the development of tourism based on his legacy and memory. It is one of these properties that has already been transformed into the Joshua Nkomo Memorial Museum. The other properties, as indicated, will be on the ZTA's planned township tourism trail. Furthermore, according to NMMZ, all properties are also declared heritage sites. However, although the discourse around the houses in Pelandaba and Highfields Township helps affirm Nkomo's identity as a man who lived among the poor, the house in Mahlemuhlope might contradict this narrative. As this study found out, as a property located in an affluent suburb, the property might be interpreted as an attempt by Nkomo to disconnect himself from the very people who helped shape his identity, the ordinary masses. Museums dedicated to individuals aspire to promote certain individual attributes of the person before placing them in the national narrative. In one of the displays in the museum, Nkomo is presented "as a man of empathy, transparency, honesty, discipline commitment, persistence, sacrifice, determination, accountability humility, justice, unity peace, progress, perseverance caring, love wisdom, generosity and tolerance" Joshua Nkomo Museum brochure, nd). This is similar to what Van Niekerk (2013) found out in South Africa Mandela's roles who was presented as a messiah, a saviour, a strong leader, a political prisoner, a martyr, a celebrity, a negotiator, a reconciler and a man of peace.

Another challenge also to the use of the properties as part of tourism is that of permanency, which has already been mentioned in the previous sections, but not fully discussed. In Zimbabwe's history, it should be known that the only other person who bequeathed his properties for the benefit of the state through tourism was Cecil John Rhodes. Just like Nkomo, Rhodes used to own properties that were later bequeathed to the state. Similarly, his grave is also amongst the sites that are now used for tourism, just like what is happening with the Nkomo grave at the National Heroes Acre. However, unlike Rhodes who gave the state his properties through a will that has now culminated in the Rhodes Estate Act (See, Rhodes Estates Act, Chapter 20:17), Nkomo did not write a will that has been made public that gave the state his properties for use in the tourism business. What this means is that far from being heritage sites, the properties can still be contested by the Nkomo family. This means that the place of these sites on the heritage trail is not guaranteed to last forever. Joshua Nkomo heritage sites are central to making identities. The study also found that heritage tourism sites are a means of translating 'discourses of nationalism and national inclusivity', a view that is central to Smith's (2006) wide-ranging inquiry of heritage as a cultural process. This study concurs with Watson (2010), who posits that tourism provides a shop window within which objects and aspects of culture support its important meanings and identities.

### **6.3.2 The Joshua Nkomo International Airport**

As stated in the introductory remarks for this section, this is a site that is a result of an honour bestowed on Nkomo in his after-life period. It is a result of a renaming process. The previous name for this state institution which was named after Nkomo was Bulawayo International Airport (Mahomva, 2014). However, renaming an international airport after a struggle icon or leader is not a new thing only synonymous with Nkomo. Instead, elsewhere in the region, examples of airports that were renamed after struggle icons include Kruger International Airport, which is now Oliver

Reginald Tambo International Airport, named after the iconic ANC leader, the J.G Strijdom International Airport and Hosea Kutako International Airport, after the Namibian national hero, and Lusaka International Airport, Kenneth Kaunda International Airport. Elsewhere on the continent, the one in Kenya was renamed after the country's founding father, Jomo Kenyatta. Whilst renaming airports after struggle icons has the potential to attract tourists and visitors to a city, and will also help to keep the memory of the individual it is renamed after, there is also a challenge to such a legacy.

As this study found out, the Joshua Nkomo International Airport was not built with funds donated from the national icon's estate. Rather, it is state property which is a product of a renaming process. In Zimbabwe, as Magadzike (forthcoming) found out, institutions named after icons are always endangered by similar renaming processes. In forwarding his argument, Magadzike cited the example of the Harare International Airport, which was renamed after the country's founding father, Robert Mugabe. After Robert Mugabe's dethronement from power by his former allies with the help of the military, attempts were made to remove his name from the airport. Another example that Magadzike also cited about the dangers of renaming processes was that of the renaming of a road in the city of Kwekwe from Robert Mugabe to Emerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa by a mere council worker who committed the deed without the approval of the city's council. As such, this study found out that judging by the history of renaming, there was no guarantee that Nkomo's memory was going to be preserved forever through the institution of the airport.

### **6.3.3 The Joshua Nkomo Statue**

Although it generated a lot of controversy until its final erection in Bulawayo, the Nkomo statue is a critical component of his legacy. It is the grandest of attempts that have been made to date to

preserve his legacy for posterity. As the current trends indicate and as revealed in this study's findings, the statue also has the potential to be a major tourist destination site in the city of Bulawayo. It also appears that of the sites related to the Nkomo legacy, it is the one that is least threatened by issues of removal, contestations or renaming. However, as the country's recent history shows, it is not entirely safe from possible threats. Firstly, as revealed in this study, the statue is standing in the same position as the one where that of the imperialist, Cecil John Rhodes used to stand. As is known, the Rhodes statue in Harare was a victim of changes in history, the replacement of the colonial regime by a postcolonial government. In this regard, in as much as the Nkomo statue is a product of the Zimbabwe government, it is important to note that the government which advocated for its creation and erection is a ZANU PF party government. In countries that profess adherence to the dictates of democracy, all governments are subject to be changed or retained through election processes. As such, there is no guarantee that the ZANU PF government will be destined to govern forever. If such shifts take place, it cannot be ruled out that notions such as liberation, the one upon which the Nkomo legacy is wholly premised, can be questioned, as Magadzike (forthcoming) noted.

#### **6.3.4 Joshua Nkomo Grave at National Heroes' Acre**

This is perhaps the most important site of all Joshua Nkomo sites in Zimbabwe. The reason for this is that it contains the remains of the iconic individual himself. As stated throughout this thesis, the grave is located in a memorial complex that is the National Heroes Acre. In other words, it is in a space that reveals the collective nature of the event which was the liberation struggle, the key narrative behind most of the heroes' burial in that space. That the grave is located in a space revealing collectiveness is also in tandem with Nkomo's identity as a leader who advocated for collective leadership and was always with the people. Further, as this study found out, being buried

at the Heroes' Acre, means Nkomo accepted to be buried in the same space with some of the people who tormented him during the tumultuous time of the disturbance of the 1980s, popularly known as the Gukurahundi period.

As the study also found out and according to the testimonies of some staff members working at the National Heroes' Acre, Nkomo's grave is a space that many tourists make enquires about. What this means is that for purposes of tourism, the grave can indeed be regarded as one of the pillars of the Joshua Nkomo brand which the ZTA wants to promote. Nonetheless, despite the popularity of the grave, it should be known that its position is not permanently fixed to the space of the Heroes' Acre. As already discussed, despite the family of Joshua Nkomo's initial acceptance that he should be buried at the Heroes' Acre, this position, as has been seen in recent reports that followed the burial of Robert Mugabe in the Zvimba communal area, can also be subjected to some changes. If this happens, this will also again have some negative consequences on both Nkomo's memorialization and the brand that is being created from his memory.

### **6.3.5 Prisons and Detention Sites**

Although these were not thoroughly investigated during the study, simply because they are sites of collective memory as opposed to the individual memory of Joshua Nkomo alone, this study found out that Nkomo indeed spent some time under incarceration at various prisons and detention sites around the country. Of these prisons and detention sites, the one where he spent the greater part of his 10-year imprisonment was Gonakudzingwa, which is located in the Gonarezhou National Park, South-East Zimbabwe. He also spent some time in various other prisons, such as Rutenga and Gweru prisons (Raymond Marorodze, Interview, 2018). Just like most of the sites associated with Nkomo, the narrative behind the detention sites and prisons is also that of

liberation. Therefore, as this study found out, as long as ZANU PF remains in power and as long as the liberation narrative remains relevant, detention sites will also remain relevant. As such, if this happens, Nkomo's memory will remain well preserved through the detention and prison sites. The prison and detention sites have tourism potential and can be developed into tourist attractions.

### **6.3.6 Musical Galas and Exhibitions**

Musical galas and public exhibitions were found to be some of the methods that have been used to date to remember Joshua Nkomo and to promote tourism. Since Nkomo's death, two musicals were held between 2000 and 2006 (Mahomva, 2014) and one public exhibition was mounted to celebrate his legacy and also to publicize it to the tourism community. The musical galas attracted thousands of people who celebrated Nkomo's legacy through dancing and listening to musical performances by various musical groups. Relatedly, the exhibition which was titled 'Joshua Nkomo the Man' was exhibited at the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences. In this case, by mounting the exhibition in the space of the museum, an opportunity was created to sell and publicize Nkomo's legacy to the museum's tourist customers for the 6-month period that the temporary exhibition was running. As such, as this study found out, both musical galas and exhibitions can be good approaches to publicising to a wider audience and to keep on the legacy of an iconic individual such as Nkomo. However, despite these positive attributes, this study also found that galas and exhibitions can also have negative consequences to an iconic legacy. Firstly, these endeavours are temporary and, therefore, do not have an everlasting impact as far as memorialization and tourism are concerned. Secondly, just as Mahomva (2014) also found out, this study also found out that galas can be subject to manipulation by political actors thereby doing a disservice to a legacy whose desire was to go beyond partisan politics.

### **6.3.7 Joshua Nkomo Memorial Hospital**

This study also found out that there were plans to construct a memorial hospital in honour of Joshua Nkomo's legacy. Whereas this plan is a noble one and can enhance a brand of tourism known as medical tourism, whilst also keeping alive the memory of his legacy, the idea also has challenges of its own. As already discussed elsewhere in this chapter, funds that will be used to construct the proposed memorial hospital are not coming from the estate of the late national icon. Rather, it is hoped that funding for this noble project will come from well-wishers. As the study found out, this has the challenge of the viability and operation of the institution.

### **6.3.8 Joshua Nkomo Scholarship Fund**

This study also found out that there is a scholarship fund that was established as part of the efforts to keep the spirit and memory of Joshua Nkomo alive. Known as the Joshua Nkomo Scholarship Fund and wholly funded by the Econet Mobile Telecommunications Company, the scholarship fund supports thousands of school children, from primary school to tertiary education level. On a positive note, as the study found, this is a noble idea that has the potential to keep the memory of Joshua Nkomo alive in the minds and hearts of the people. However, just as discussed in the preceding subsection, funds for the Joshua Nkomo scholarship are not coming from the estate of the national icon. This means that the continued existence of this scholarship fund wholly depends on the continued benevolence of Econet Wireless Company, its principal benefactor. The world over, as found out in the study, all scholarship funds that have survived the test of time, such as the Rhodes Scholarship (now Rhodes Mandela Scholarship), Mellon Foundation, Ford Foundation, Andrew Mellon Foundation and many others, are funded directly from the estate of the individuals such scholarships are named after. As such, at the present moment, it is only Econet Wireless which knows when the Joshua Nkomo Scholarship fund is going to continue existing.

## **6.4 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has analyzed the findings of this study. The key issue revealed in the chapter is the fact that when discussing Joshua Nkomo's memorialization and tourism product creation, there is a need to examine the permanency of such memorialization practices and the brand being created. As for Joshua Nkomo, two key issues were found out about his legacy. Firstly, the chapter found out that his memorialization and the endeavour to create a tourism brand out of such legacies depended on the behaviours of his family. As a person who did not leave behind a will bequeathing his legacy to the state, the family will remain a critical factor in determining what happens to his legacy and some of the sites that should constitute the Nkomo legacy trail. Secondly, it was also found out that his legacy is also wholly premised on the narrative known as the liberation war. Liberation in its sense, as the chapter discussed, can only make sense to a nation's citizenry if the people who were supposed to have been liberated by the event still felt that they were indeed liberated. When a country is bedevilled by ills such as corruption, nepotism, and economic decay, all of which are vices that the notion of liberation had sought to eradicate, liberation itself as an idea will be under severe threat. This is the danger that a legacy such as that of Joshua Nkomo has to face. As such, for legacies such as that of Nkomo to continue making sense, there must also be value for the things that they fought for to continue making sense to the people. In memorialization and tourism discourses the people who should both remember an individual and also consume the products that are created out of such legacies. However, regardless of such challenges, the study found that if well-planned, Joshua Nkomo's sites can indeed be a powerful tourism brand. This is because, until the time when he passed on, the man had done deeds that had very little blemishes.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **7.0 Introduction**

This thesis has been largely concerned with the making of the Joshua Nkomo brand of tourism in Zimbabwe from aspects of his identity and memory. Although the study was premised on aspects of his life history, the thesis was not an attempt at rewriting Joshua Nkomo's biography. Rather, it was a study that sought to understand the implications of contemporary attempts to promote Nkomo's image from the domain of heroism and memorialisation to that of tourism. By alluding to the fact that a brand of tourism was a much higher or superior stage in the memorialization framework, what the thesis was suggesting was the contention that whereas heroism is rather confined to the boundaries of a nation-state, the goal of tourism product-making is to internationalize an image or a life lived. In other words, what this means is that when a nation-state embarks on a process of constructing a tourism brand out of the images or an image of their leading heroes or hero, such an intention will be guided by aspirations to share the outstanding achievements of the individuals or individual concerned with the world. However, in the case of Joshua Nkomo, guided by this knowledge of what heritage tourism is all about, the thesis sought to know both the individual who was due for such promotions as well as the perceptions of stakeholders that will be affected or impacted by such plans.

Consequently, the study found out that as far as Joshua Nkomo as an individual was concerned, he was born in a place located in the western parts of Zimbabwe, in a locality known as Kezi. He then went on to acquire several hands-on skills and tertiary qualifications along the way before working in the then Rhodesia Railways, where he got his initiation into trade unionism. However, although trade unionism was Nkomo's first step into community and public work, it was when he ventured into mainstream politics that his identity was eventually shaped into an iconic status that

culminated in the brand that is now being fashioned out of it. However, Joshua Nkomo's life in politics was not always a rosy affair. Instead, it was characterized by many ups and downs. During the era of the Rhodesian regime, the ups were characterized by his appointment to lead the various political organizations that were formed to confront the regime, whilst the downs involved his conflicts with allies who were turned into enemies and incarceration in several of Rhodesia's detention sites and prisons. This was how Nkomo made his history during the colonial era. In the post-independence phase, Nkomo's ups were also characterized by leading his party in the general elections that took place in 1980, followed by his appointment into the government. These positives were then followed by a brutal removal from the same government, a flight into exile and a brutal and bloody crackdown on his supporters by the same government that he had been part of in 1980.

However, as intimated above, Joshua Nkomo was not just an isolated individual. In fact, during his lifetime, he belonged to so many communities and groups. In death, he also had other groups and people that were interested in his life history. Together, all the groups and organizations that he associated with either through biology, that is, as family members, or by involuntary association, that is, through living in the same communities as part of community membership or by voluntary association, that is, through his joining of voluntary organizations and either by being appointed to specific positions, that is, as part of government, when combined, all became what can be referred to as stakeholders to his legacy. As such, the thesis then sought to interrogate the perceptions of all these people and groups who were claiming to be key stakeholders in the transformation of Joshua Nkomo heritage sites into the tourism arena. It also sought to interrogate the type of tourism product that was going to be created out of a lived life that was characterized by intricacies of ups and downs. When the researcher was carrying out these interrogations, brand

stability, continuity or permanence were the key issues that informed the study. Through such approaches, the thesis succeeded in revealing the problems and challenges associated with the translation of Joshua Nkomo's legacy into tourism. However, importantly, as the problems and challenges were exposed, methods of how to transcend these were also revealed in the study. As such, I consider this thesis an important contribution to the discourses of memorialization, identity and tourism product creation.

Cognizant of the above, in this final chapter, the researcher first presents a summary of the findings that emerged from the study. This will be followed by a presentation of the recommendations, based on the results of the study and the analysis of findings that was done thereafter. The last section discusses the limitations of this study and how they might have influenced the findings. The thesis concludes by offering some recommendations for future research.

### **7.1 Summary of Main Findings**

The main findings of this study show that the legacy of an iconic individual can be turned into a tourism product under heritage tourism. However, although this is possible, it is the issue of brand stability and its permanence or continuity that needs to be interrogated before the legacy of an iconic individual can be declared a tourism product. Thus, as this study found out, a successful interrogation of a tourism product in the making can only be done by analyzing stakeholder perceptions and carrying out an evaluation of all the sites or aspects that are to be considered in the transformation of that heritage into tourism. This is the reason why this study was guided by a research question that sought to establish the implications of translating the legacies of an individual with multiple histories such as Joshua Nkomo into a tourism product. The thesis broadly drew on the transformation of Joshua Nkomo's image into tourism and addressed four objectives.

The objectives are: evaluating community perceptions of turning Joshua Nkomo's legacy into a tourism product, identifying and contextualising the identities shaped by heritage tourism landscapes in Zimbabwe, evaluating the implications of tourism on Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation, and assessing the use of Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation for heritage tourism development. In seeking to address the objectives of the study, extensive fieldwork was done using qualitative data collection methods that include interviews, participatory observation, exhibition analysis and archival sources. The methods enabled the researcher to explore the interplay among identity, heritage and tourism using the memorialisation of an iconic figure. Indeed, Joshua Nkomo had multiple histories that saw him associating with many groups and people along the channel of his 80-year tenure as a living individual on this planet. It is these histories, associations, sites and legacies created that were investigated from the perspective of their considerations of the process, what they offer to the domain of tourism and the challenges that can arise. Through such an approach, the study found that it will be easy to denote the concerns of each category of stakeholders to every aspect of the icon's legacy developed into a tourism product. Thus, in the following subsections, the researcher provides a summary of each category of stakeholders identified in the study for each aspect of Nkomo's legacy identified to be part of the proposed tourism trail.

### **7.1.1 Family Perceptions**

The first objective was intended to evaluate community perceptions on turning Joshua Nkomo's legacy into a tourism product. The objective was achieved. The study found out that although he eventually became a national icon, Joshua Nkomo was first a family man. His belonging to a family was biological and, therefore, was perpetually connected to the institution of the family. It is this family that has been involved in discourses of Nkomo's memorialization, including the

contemporary drive to make a tourism product out of his legacy. As the study found out, the family's efforts had already resulted in some of Joshua Nkomo's properties being turned into tourism products. At the time of the study, three of Nkomo's properties were already listed as part of the Nkomo tourism trail as either a museum or the proposed township tourism. They also contributed immensely to discussions that culminated in the setting up of a Joshua Nkomo statue in the city of Bulawayo, a city where he also made some significant histories. Nonetheless, despite the family's contribution, it was found that whatever their contemporary role in Joshua Nkomo's memorialization and current process to further eternalize his legacy, the family's perceptions are temporary and can be subjected to shifts, either in the present or in the future. The reason for this was that the current memorialization of Joshua Nkomo was an issue that was derived from the mutual consent of current Nkomo family members and institutions that are memorializing him in the present. Therefore, unless something is done to make this perception binding, the permanence and continuity of the Joshua Nkomo tourism brand would be greatly compromised. In terms of the contribution to knowledge about tourism brand creation, this finding is important in that it goes beyond approaches that only focus their discussions on processes of translating legacies into tourism brands instead of focusing on the continuity of the brand being created. Thus, instead of just thinking about Joshua Nkomo as an individual who made history that can be considered worthy of translating into a tourism brand, the current study went beyond such an approach and examined the meaning of the Nkomo family beyond the contemporary one.

### **7.1.2 Community Perceptions**

In terms of importance in the stakeholder hierarchy, this study found that the institution of the community ranked slightly closer to that of the family in terms of determining how Joshua Nkomo's legacy can be translated into a tourism brand. However, the study found that the

institution of community was also involved in the memorialization of Joshua Nkomo. They attended some of the memorialization processes such as his burial at the National Heroes Acre in Harare upon his death, and have been supportive of the whole process of such memorialization, whose starting point was his declaration as a national hero. However, despite this support, the study also found that community perceptions, in the case of an individual like Nkomo, were also static. In this regard, it was found that current community perceptions were influenced by many factors, which included current the government's heavy-handed approach to possible community organization and mutual acceptance to do away with contradictions of the past that resulted in atrocities such as Gukurahundi being perpetuated on some of the communities that regarded Nkomo as one of their own. As such, just like in the case of the family, the study found out that the community also had the potential to claim Joshua Nkomo for themselves alone. What this means is that brand permanence as well as his memorialization as a national icon will also be compromised.

### **7.1.3 The Implications of Organizations in the Memorialisation and Tourism Development of Joshua Nkomo**

The third objective aimed at assessing the implications of tourism on Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation when considering his life histories was realized. The study found that two organizations, namely the NMMZ and the ZTA, were involved in key Nkomo discourses, such as his memorialization and tourism brand creation. The study found that these two are government agencies tasked with both the preservation of Nkomo's legacy and the need to derive monetary benefits out of such legacy. NMMZ is tasked with promoting national identity using heritage as an arena. ZTA is tasked to market all aspects of Zimbabwe's tourism brands to the world. As such, this study found out that to date, these two organizations have largely been successful in their tasks

to preserve Nkomo's legacy and market it to the outside world. However, there are challenges also to the continuity of such endeavours. Firstly, for NMMZ, the Nkomo legacies that they are preserving do not entirely depend on them. Rather, it is a narrative given to them by the government. As such, in the event of changes in government, the narrative about Nkomo that is being preserved is also bound to change. This will also have disastrous consequences on their operations. Furthermore, all aspects of the Nkomo legacy do not belong to NMMZ. Instead, it is the family that has a greater say in how they want Nkomo's legacy to be preserved, both in the present and in the future. This too will have disastrous implications on the Nkomo brand.

The government derives political benefits from the memorialisation practice. Heritage and tourism agencies such as NMMZ, ZTA and touring companies are politically influenced in their quest to interpret, present and disseminate heritage information to visitors or tourists. NMMZ is tasked with promoting national identity using heritage as an arena, ZTA with promotion, Buy-Zimbabwe drive and regulating tour operators taking visitors to the sites. NMMZ's focus on memorialising African Heritage is part of the state-driven agenda to leverage heritage in fostering national unity and identity. ZTA, drawing from the Government's 'Look East Policy', has deliberately focused on attracting Asian countries to visit Zimbabwe after it was red-flagged by Western markets as an unsafe destination due to an alleged poor human rights record. Consequently, the study also revealed that tourism can be used as a tool of diplomacy, as it can help foster relationships between countries and improve international relations. Tourism can also be used as a political tool to promote specific ideologies or agendas, such as the promotion of the Joshua Nkomo tourism brand in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, tourism can also be impacted by politics, as political instability can deter visitors and affect the viability of the tourism industry. Tour operators also take visitors to sites that politically appeal to them (tour operators). This has resulted in fewer visitors to Joshua

Nkomo's memorials by Western-associated tour operators and the general public. The state actors play the most important role in guaranteeing that government ideologies are upheld in the memorialisation process. The opposition parties and private media have also given different views from that of the government-led memorialisation. The government is portrayed by private media as not sincere in honouring Joshua Nkomo, as other equally important individuals and events were supposed to be remembered in the public domain to contextualise Nkomo. For instance, the government has never allowed families, affected communities or pressure groups to openly commemorate victims of the Gukurahundi atrocities. At the same time, the government has been sponsoring exhumations, mainly of ZANLA fighters, in other parts of the country, with prominent examples being Chibondo in Mt Darwin and Butcher Site in Rusape, among mass graves exhumed by NMMZ with the assistance of the Fallen Heroes Trust.

Tourism narratives through heritage sites created by memorialisation practices become a political tool used by the ruling elite to legitimise their stay in power and account for hegemonic tendencies. The state has promoted Joshua Nkomo's heritage sites to appeal to Matabeleland provinces and his sympathisers for political support. Nevertheless, it was observed that the ZANU PF-led administration is not the only actor interested in politicising memory. All political parties in Zimbabwe have at one point, and at times in different ways, appealed to Joshua Nkomo's legacy for legitimacy. The state used memorialisation through Joshua Nkomo to demonstrate nationalist liberation triumph over colonialism by erecting Joshua Nkomo's statue in the same position the Cecil John Rhodes statue used to be.

#### **7.1.4 Political Organisations and the Government**

The study found that it is Joshua Nkomo's political identity that is central in the transformation of his legacy into tourism. Nkomo's identity has been significantly shaped by ZAPU and the Zimbabwean government. He was the leader of ZAPU and was instrumental in the fight against colonial rule and the advancement of democracy and human rights in Zimbabwe. Joshua Nkomo was put in detention by the colonial government and later on his adversaries persecuted him after independence and he was labelled 'the Father of dissidents'. The way the independent government memorialized and developed a tourism product after Joshua Nkomo is what many cultures would call *wafa wanaka* (the dead are without blemish). Having treated him badly between 1980 and 1987, the narrative changed after that. He put this behind him when he signed the Unity Accord in 1987 and worked to heal the divisions of the past and unite the country. As a result, Nkomo's identity is intricately linked to the history and policies of ZAPU and the Zimbabwean government. Joshua Nkomo's stint at the Rhodesia Railways as a social worker is widely believed to have constructed his compassionate side of him. This attribute of compassion was dominant in his life. For example, he made it a point that Strive Masiwa got a telecommunication license after Joyce Mujuru had refused to grant it to him. Nkomo's association with ZAPU and ZANU PF has provided rich information that is used to develop tourism products in his name.

#### **7.1.5 The Tourists**

The study found out that the Joshua Nkomo legacy is deeply intertwined with the identity of Zimbabwe. The result is in line with the second objective of the study aimed at identifying and contextualising the identities shaped by heritage tourism landscapes. Local tourists identify with him as a symbol of hope, reconciliation and social change. From the respondents, visiting places associated with Nkomo's life and work, such as the grave, statue and museum, is an important way

to connect with their history and identity. Nkomo's life of struggle and triumph is also a source of inspiration for some local visitors. Nkomo's life is celebrated in numerous festivals and events throughout the country. As such, Joshua Nkomo has become a powerful symbol of national pride and identity for many local tourists. As for international tourists, it has been found that visitors pay their respect to a man who is seen as a global icon. It was also found that some local and international tourists have personal connections to Nkomo's legacy, such as those who played a part in the struggles for independence in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa. As such, those who visit Joshua Nkomo's heritage sites are driven by self-identities which the sites invoke in them. One respondent, a veteran of the liberation struggle who fought under the ZIPRA wing of ZAPU, said he visits the National Heroes Acre because he is a war veteran and, therefore, obliged to visit his former colleagues. The National Heroes Acre, as a heritage tourism site, is now associated with ZANU PF and, therefore, the war veterans. In a polarized state where people are divided between the opposition and the ruling party ZANU PF, visitorship to heritage tourism sites like those of individuals associated with ZANU PF are affected.

The study also found that tourism is affected by the prevailing politics which affects relations between source and destination countries. This fits well with the Social constructionism theory which suggests that the understanding of the surroundings is shaped by people's social and cultural ways of life. In Zimbabwe's case, international tourist visits to Zimbabwe declined soon after the introduction of the land reform program, particularly those from the West. The reason for the decline in international tourist visits is attributed to discontent over the land reform program. To counter the West, the ZANU PF government adopted a 'Look East Policy' targeting tourists from the alleged friendly countries. Those international visitors from the West prefer the traditional tourist sites such as Victoria Falls, Hwange National Park, Great Zimbabwe and Matobo

landscape. They avoid as much as possible sites associated with the war of liberation. The visitors' trends can be explained through Social Constructionism Theory which suggests that understanding of the world is shaped by the social and cultural context in which people live. It argues that reality is not fixed or objective but, rather, is created through social interaction and the construction of shared meanings. Visitors to Joshua Nkomo heritage sites are influenced by their histories and that of the sites themselves.

#### **7.1.6 Joshua Nkomo Heritage Sites**

Memorialisation is a process of creating memorials and commemorative spaces is a tool for both identity formation and tourism. Heritage sites derived from memorialised iconic individuals can be turned into tourist attractions which are a powerful source of national, regional and local identities. Joshua Nkomo Heritage sites are produced through a cultural production process that selects, presents and entrenches them in the emblematic practices connected with tourism. As heritage attractions, Nkomo's sites became the media in which culturally important values are consumed. Joshua Nkomo is presented as someone who is a dedicated family man, nationalist, statesman, and very humble. The sites are used to attract tourists by promoting the unique history aspect of a destination. Joshua Nkomo's heritages have been used to construct a sense of connection and belonging for both locals and tourists. Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation created heritage sites that have been developed into tourism. The sites are used to attract tourists by promoting the unique history aspect of a destination. The development of Joshua Nkomo's legacy into the tourism domain through memorialisation has been a powerful force in shaping the collective identities of the community, as well as contributing to the heritage tourism industry. Social constructionism theory assists in explaining this phenomenon as tourists sometimes view themselves as part of the heritage sites that they visit. The fourth objective was to assess the use

of Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation for heritage tourism development purposes. This was achieved as the study revealed that the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo has opened up other avenues for further development of iconic personalities in Zimbabwe. For example, the attempts to develop Simon Vengayi Muzenda's house into a museum in Masvingo (Machiridza and Mazvihwa, 2022) and the establishment of the Mbuya Nehanda statue in Harare (Charumbira, 2015).

Another finding of this study is that to realise tourism potential and economic development through memorialisation, there is a need to balance multiple constituencies' interests. Joshua Nkomo's representations, with all stakeholders' buy-in, have the potential to play an immense role in tourism by attracting more visitors of various categories or interests. Nkomo heritage sites are suitable for township tourism, medical tourism, and dark tourism. His houses in Pelandaba and Matsheumhlope suburbs can be further developed into township tourism together with other memorial sites in the Cities of Bulawayo and Harare as Chiwaura, (2022) has established. The detention sites and his grave at the National Heroes Acre can further be developed into dark tourism in which the difficult period of the liberation struggle, in which Nkomo was part of, can be narrated and given space. This should be given attention in a country that experienced violent wars of liberation, and suppression of opposition and to date, these have not yet been given a platform in memorialisation and tourism. However, it was also discovered that Joshua Nkomo's memorial sites' ability to serve as an engine of the tourism economy is questionable and the sites have remained as public platforms for the expression of the country's histories and cultures, providing significant political and socio-cultural value. The idea that memorial sites can be a catalyst for the benefit of local people's economic development will only be realised if the locals themselves are involved in the memorialisation process. The role played by other actors in

memorialisation is significant but it excludes the local communities. The prevailing polarised political environment in Zimbabwe has hurt international tourist arrivals.

The study found that heritage tourism sites are associated with contestation. The contests are to do with families, community and political institutions, most of which want to appropriate Joshua Nkomo's legacy as their own. The family was not happy at some point, for not being consulted by the government over the memorialisation and the subsequent transformation of him into the tourism arena. The community was not happy with the location of the second Joshua Nkomo statue in Harare at Karigamombe Centre. ZAPU is not happy with the government over its appropriation of the man, as there are a lot of unresolved issues over the settlement signed between Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe in 1987. Some of the contested issues have to do with the return of ZAPU properties and archives impounded by the government in the 1980s, and power sharing between the two parties. These issues have spilt into and affected, the development of Joshua Nkomo's legacy in tourism. There is no full participation of equally important stakeholders in the transformation of Joshua Nkomo's sites into tourism products. This affects the final product, as some information is missing.

It has also been shown, in this chapter, that in an environment where traditional tourism is disturbed, alternatives can come up, either by design or naturally, as is the case in Zimbabwe. The politics of isolation of Zimbabwe is now being used to derail tourism by the international community. Tourism that has mushroomed from this isolation is pilgrimage tourism and what I term 'political' tourism, where people are bused to heritage tourism sites by the state so that they are taught above the nation's history. This is supported by politically organised and motivated visits to the National Heroes Acre in Harare, as well as Chimoio and Freedom Camp shrines in

Mozambique and Zambia, respectively. This thesis further asserts social factors, the economy and politics contribute to the way people visit memorials.

The establishment of Nkomoscape through the regional concentration of his social memory in Matabeleland is fundamental in making a sense of belonging for the marginalised region. His grave, a statue, and commemorations underline the foundation of a unifying factor among the marginalised Matabeleland. Being a founder, a businessperson and a leader, Nkomo was in a position to influence the direction of independent Zimbabwe. After his death, nostalgic feelings by marginalised groups have led some people to visit his grave and other iconic remains. “Nkomo is visited daily by kinfolk and by victims as well” (*The Herald*, 8 August 2015). For those who cannot physically visit the grave and memorials in Zimbabwe, the internet has provided the space to meet, visit and commemorate Nkomo. As a result of burying him at the National Heroes Acre, Nkomo is doing well in death because of the well-calculated immortalisation despite complaints of distance by Kezi constituent.

The study found that the geographical pattern of Joshua Nkomo’s representation also makes people think that it is ethnically motivated by the government to get support from Matabeleland Region, although this could be explained in other ways. Joshua Nkomo originated in Matabeleland and certainly, most of his representations are to be found in that region. These identity-construction movements will help to solve issues of democratisation of heritage consumption.

## **7.2 Recommendations**

The study appeals to the participation of all stakeholders in the development of tourism destinations. The research advocates multiple voices as part of value-addition in heritage tourism development for economic progress and acceptance by the local communities. In line with the

above the study envisages a situation where the subalterns are given space to memorialise and commemorate their events without fear and suppression from the state. Joshua Nkomo's legacy has elements of difficult and contentious histories which the government and JNNF have failed to exhibit. Engagement with contentious and problematic pasts can help reconcile between those positioned on different sides of the past. For example, the Joshua Nkomo Museum can be used by the government to own up to the crimes that the state committed against Joshua Nkomo as an individual, Matabeleland and Midlands provinces collectively. The state is, therefore, recommended to come up with inclusive narratives for unsafe ideas to build an accepted national identity.

The study recommends that the state strengthen collective and personal identities through granting public spaces for communities to freely express themselves through memorialisation and develop heritage tourism sites. The two identities strengthen narratives that encompass claims about belonging, rights, or ownership. The government should make reference to the Faro Convention, which emphasizes the importance of heritage from the perspective of human rights and democracy, highlighting its relevance in terms of societies, communities and people. Different actors are encouraged to use memorialisation practice and tourism for social cohesion and advancement of a democratic society. Tourism landscapes provide space for the interaction of different groups of people. In as much as memorials are divisive, governments should thrive to bring together those who identify differently with the memorials so as to have an inclusive heritage and society through tourism. Once narratives are inclusive, stakeholders will embrace the government-initiated memorialisation projects. The politicisation of the memorialisation process can be partially resolved by embracing all other stakeholders' views and projects in the country.

The memorialisation and development of Joshua Nkomo heritage tourism sites has brought to the fore the need to look into, and expand, township tourism in urban areas of Zimbabwe. Dark and medical tourism are also alternatives that can transform the tourism sector. Joshua Nkomo's residences in both Harare and Bulawayo, those of other liberation war heroes and other heritage sites in urban areas can be developed into township tourism products. War of Liberation sites and Gukurahundi places of atrocities, prison and persecution sites, cemeteries and other places associated with death and tragedy in Zimbabwe can be developed into new tourism attractions. Joshua Nkomo's memorial hospital can be equipped with state-of-the-art medical equipment that can attract visitors from the region. Also, tourism authorities can take advantage of thriving traditional medicine tourism in Chipinge District to diversify the experiences of the tourists. NMMZ and ZTA can explore these forms of tourism that may not necessary attract the full weight of political pressure and influences.

### **7.3 Areas for future research**

Considering that this study is a ground-breaking one to the discourses of Heritage and Tourism in Zimbabwe, the findings of this study can also be used as a foundation for prospective research. For this reason, as part of the conclusion to this study, the researcher would like to recommend a few areas that were not explored in this study due to several limitations and hence are still requiring further research.

Firstly, it is important to start by reiterating that this study is one that was premised on the need to explore the impact of translating the legacy of an iconic individual into a tourism product. In other words, this is a study that search for ways of how an iconic individual's legacy can be consumed in the present and in the future. Indeed, preservation and consumption of the dead's legacy is what

the domains of memorials and monumentalization the world over are all about. However, whereas this study managed to explore these issues from the perspective of one individual, namely Joshua Nkomo, perhaps there is need to carry out a thorough study that takes aboard other declared national heroes buried at public and national spaces such as the National Heroes' Acre. Such a study will explore the perceptions of all the heroes' families with regard to their views on both memorialization and as products for tourism as part of the heroes' acre complex. Such a study will seek to know whether the families are happy for their kin to be marketed as tourism products or not.

A second area that is also worthy exploring is the relationship among culture, religion and marketing of the dead's legacies as tourism products. To start with, by invoking matters such as culture and religion in matters of the dead, what the researcher implying is the fact that these are issues that guide the majority of Zimbabweans' ways of life in their everyday activities. Similarly, many Zimbabweans, despite belonging to different faiths and religions, also have different perceptions with regard to treatment and use of the dead's legacy, especially the dead body. However, although many heroes are buried and continue to be interred at the National Heroes' Acre, there has been no study that the researcher is aware of that has been carried out to understand whether this practice of selling the dead's legacy through tourism is a culturally or religiously accepted norm or not among Zimbabweans. Therefore, a study that will specifically explore such an issue will not only be worthwhile but will also create an opportunity to examine this matter through the lens of other disciplines, such as anthropology and ethnography.

The third and last issue also requiring further exploration is that of tourist perceptions about the same issue of consumption of legacies of the dead. The reason why this is an area still requiring

more studies is that this current one used the approach of visitor surveys only to come up with some of the findings discussed in this study. As such, it is important to carry out further studies that will employ other methodologies, such as questionnaires, to find out the insights of both domestic and international tourists concerning consuming dead people's legacies through tourism. The reason why this is important is that in Zimbabwe, the whole concept of memorialization is also marked by some ideological connotations. For instance, most of the heroes who have been memorialized through burial at the Heroes' Acre and whose graves are now open for tourism as part of the National Heroes Acre complex were ideologically linked to or were influenced by eastern and Chinese leftist thinking. So, it will be important to conduct further studies that will seek to understand whether such leftist leanings have any bearing ON tourists from Western Europe, the United States and Canada. In other words, such a study will explore whether it means anything to tourists to visit spaces where people who were supposedly leftist or possibly communist are buried.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS**

#### **Interview Guide Questions**

##### **General and key informant**

1. What is the significance of memorialising Joshua Nkomo in Zimbabwe?
2. How representative and authentic is Joshua Nkomo's statue, museum and other memories in Zimbabwe?
3. Why, when, and who visits Nkomo's representations?
4. How diverse are tourists who visit heritage tourism sites in this area.
5. What do you think to be the desired goals of the visitors?
6. Are there emerging identities at the sites? If yes how do you categorize them?
7. What is your opinion on the position, accessibility and visibility of Joshua Nkomo's museum, grave and statue?
8. As a stakeholder how would you describe the identity of visitors to Joshua Nkomo Heritage Sites?
9. What impact does the memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo has on tourism?
10. Do you think the present marketing strategies contribute to identity and memory construction?
11. What do your response to Joshua Nkomo's imaging as a national figure by his former antagonist?
12. How are the cultural symbols captured in marketing tourism in Zimbabwe?
13. Do you think the present marketing strategies contribute to identity construction?

14. In what way has nationalism affected the way tourism is marketed in Zimbabwe?
15. What is your response to Joshu Nkomo's imaging as a national figure by his former antagonist?

## APPENDIX II: ETHICAL CLEARANCE



08 April 2016

**Mr Henry Chiwaura (213574335)**  
School of Social Sciences  
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Chiwaura,

**Protocol reference number: HSS/0306/016D**

**Project title: Identity, Heritage and Tourism: The memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo in Zimbabwe**

### **Full Approval – Expedited Application**

In response to your application received on 29 March 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

**Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.**

**Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.**

**The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.**

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....  
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Professor Sabine Marschall and Dr Joram Ndlovu  
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Professor Sabine Marschall  
Cc School Administrator: Ms Nonhlanhla Radebe

**APPENDIX III: GATEKEEPERS LETTER**



UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL  
INYUVESI  
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

13 January 2016

To whom it may concern


**HENRY CHIWAURA**, a **Phd** student in the School of Social Sciences formally requests permission to interview staff in your department and use the data collected from department. He would like to use this data for her PhD dissertation entitled: "**Identity, Heritage and Tourism The memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo in Zimbabwe**". The dissertation will acknowledge the **National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe** and the data will be shared with the School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu Natal if requested.

Thank you and Kind regards

-----  
**Dr. Sabine Marschall**  
Supervisor.  
**School of Social Sciences**  
Email: marschalls@ukzn.ac.za  
Tel number: +27-31-2607243

Permission to use ..... data                      Granted by:

Name: DR. GODFREY MAHACHI

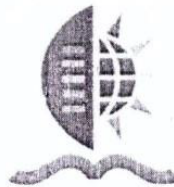
Signature: 

Date: 28/1/2016

NAME OF DEPARTMENT

NAME OF INSTITUTION

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
NATIONAL MUSEUMS & MONUMENTS  
P.O. BOX CY 1485  
CAUSEWAY



UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL  
INYUVESI  
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

13 January 2016

To whom it may concern

**HENRY CHIWAURA**, a Phd student in the School of Social Sciences formally requests permission to interview staff in your department and use the data collected from department. He would like to use this data for her PhD dissertation entitled: "**Identity, Heritage and Tourism: The memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo in Zimbabwe**". The dissertation will acknowledge the **National Archives of Zimbabwe** and the data will be shared with the School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu Natal if requested.

Thank you and Kind regards

-----  
**Dr Sabine Marschall**  
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Permission to use ..... data      Granted by:

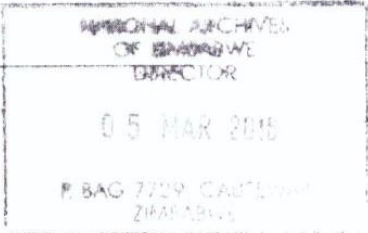
Name: D MABORKE

Signature: 

Date: 5/03/16

NAME OF DEPARTMENT

NAME OF INSTITUTION





11 March 2016

Mr Henry Chiwaura  
University of KwaZulu-Natal  
Durban  
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Mr Chiwaura

**RE: AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS**

We are pleased to inform you that permission has been granted to undertake field research at the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority in order to meet the requirements of your PHD studies.

We will be interested to know when you will commence your interviews so as to decide whether the time is also convenient to us and to alert staff of your impending visit and the purpose thereof.

It will also be helpful to us if you can send us your questions in advance so as to ascertain people who will best be of assistance to you.

We look forward to associating with you.

Yours sincerely

[Redacted Signature]

**T. S. Mugabe (Ms)**  
*(Human Resources Manager)*

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Email: ztavicfalls.ztazim.co.zw

**Beitbridge**

NSSA Building  
1st Floor Left Wing  
Great North Road  
Beitbridge  
Tel: 263-288-23640/3  
Email: bb@africaonline.co.zw

**Masvingo**

2nd Floor, Zimre Centre  
Cnr Hughes Street  
Simon Mazorodze Rd  
Tel: 263-39266240-3  
P.O. Box 1740  
Masvingo  
E-mail: masvingo@ztazim.co.zw

**Kariba**

Stand No. 487  
Observation Point  
Mahombekombe  
Kariba  
Tel: 263 61 2656  
Email: ztakariba@africaonline.co.zw

**Chiredzi Office**

Old Mutual House, 1st Floor  
Chironga Drive  
Chiredzi  
Tel: 031-2653/2698  
Fax: 031-2702



the Secretary  
Telephone: 783484-7, 783508



ZIMBABWE

Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and  
Preservation of National Culture and Heritage  
64 Kwame Nkrumah/1<sup>st</sup> street  
2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Unity Court  
P. O. Box HR480  
Harare

1 March 2016

Mr Henry Chiwaura  
4 Protea, Rhodene  
Masvingo

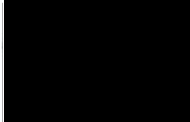
**REQUEST FOR AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT FIELD RESEARCH: HENRY  
CHIWAURA: PHD STUDENT: UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL.**

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The above stated matter refers.

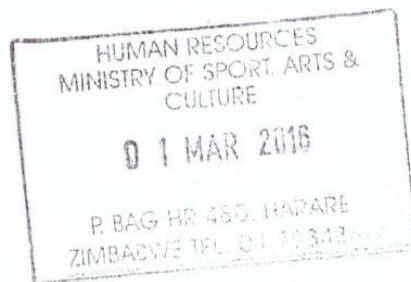
It is my pleasure to inform you that the Head of Ministry has authorised your field research on "Identity, Heritage and Tourism: The memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo in Zimbabwe".

The Ministry would be grateful to receive a copy of the **end product**.



V. R. Chiromo  
Deputy Director Human Resources

**FOR: SECRETARY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT, PROMOTION AND  
PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL CULTURE AND HERITAGE**



## APPENDIX IV: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

### Informed Consent Document

Dear Participant,

My name is Henry Chiwaura (213574335). I am a PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College. The title of my research is: Identity Heritage and Tourism: The memorialisation of Joshua Nkomo in Zimbabwe. The aim of the study is to analyze and evaluate the relationship between identities, heritage and tourism at memorial sites in postcolonial Zimbabwe. I will analyze how a tourism activities and Joshua Nkomo's memorialisation, have been affected by heritage tourism. I am interested in interviewing you so as to share your experiences and observations on the subject matter.

Please note that:

- The information that you provide will be used for scholarly research only.
- Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
- Your views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study.
- The interview will take about an hour.
- The record as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to myself and my supervisors. After a period of 5 years, in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.
- If you agree to participate please sign the declaration attached to this statement (a separate sheet will be provided for signatures)

I can be contacted at: School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban. Email: [hchiwaura@yahoo.com](mailto:hchiwaura@yahoo.com); Cell: 263773727754

My supervisor is Sabine Marschall who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: email [Marschalls@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Marschalls@ukzn.ac.za) Phone number: +27 31 260 7243.

My co-supervisor is Joram Ndlovu who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus/ Howard College Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: email [Ndlovuj1@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Ndlovuj1@ukzn.ac.za) Phone number: +277 31 260 7503

The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee contact details are as follows: Ms Phumelele Ximba, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office, Email: [ximbap@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:ximbap@ukzn.ac.za), Phone number +27312603587.

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

