UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL ™

INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

The challenges and benefits of documenting Bakoni tangible heritage and perceptions thereof using Photovoice.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the existing official and scholarly interpretations of the Bakoni heritage stonewall settlement sites in Mpumalanga, Mashishing. It also studies the contemporary narratives that exist within the Mashishing local and Indigenous communities concerning Bakoni heritage. This study simultaneously explores the benefits and challenges of using Photovoice as a method of documenting heritage and in particular intangible heritage.

This research is conducted using Participatory Action Research, which produces knowledge in a democratic manner while pursuing development objectives. It highlights the knowledge produced by local and Indigenous community members with the aim of valorising their narratives and opinions regarding the Bakoni heritage and Photovoice methodology. The participants' narratives are explored and studied in relation to already existing scholarly and official interpretations of the Bakoni heritage. Their opinions of the Photovoice methodology are explored with the intention to contribute towards the understanding of Photovoice as a data collection tool.

This thesis produces visual depictions of the Bakoni stonewalls as photographed by the participants to document and store the Bakoni heritage. This approach is mobilised to include Bakoni knowledge produced by local and Indigenous communities in the public domain.

Keywords: Bakoni, Photovoice, Heritage, Indigenous Knowledge, Local community, Indigenous community, Intangible heritage, Tangible heritage, Participatory Action Research, Participation, Narrative, Pre-colonial.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ICOMOS - International Council on Monuments and Sites

ICH Convention - Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention

ICAHM - International Scientific Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management

ICT - Information and Communication Technology

IKCS - Indigenous Knowledge Communication Systems

MMM - Mashishing Marking Memories

NHRA - National Heritage Resources Act

NHC - National Heritage Council

NDP - National Development Plan

PAR - Participatory Action Research

SAHRA - South African Heritage Resources Agency

TA - Thematic Analysis

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WHC - World Heritage Convention

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Statement of purpose and Background

Sitting at the lawns of the Lydenburg Museum in Mashishing, after visiting the Bakoni stonewall site in Mpumalanga, South Africa, 19-year-old Indigenous participant, Buhle Fakude narrated: "I was told that the Bakoni people did not live in one place for long, they had to keep moving in search for food, shelter and pastures for their livestock. This was also done for safety reasons so they could be protected and some other unknown reasons" (3 July 2022). The identity and input of this research participant highlights one of the main concepts of my research study, namely, the inclusion of local residents and Indigenous knowledge. Also captured within the last statement is the existing knowledge gap on Bakoni heritage that this research study seeks to address.

Although independent, this study forms part of a wider National Heritage Council (NHC) funded research project titled *"Marking Memories: pre-industrial to contemporary, north of the !Garib River and west of the Lembombo Mountains"* led by Professor Lauren Dyll who is also supervisor of this study. The broader project includes academics, professionals, local residents and Indigenous communities with the intention of documenting some of the Mpumalanga Province's rock engravings while operationalising Indigenous knowledge. This study's contribution to the overall project is its focus on the Bakoni intangible heritage. This study aims to answer these three research questions:

(i) What official and scholarly interpretations of the Bakoni settlement sites already exist and what methodologies were used for those interpretations?

(ii) What contemporary Indigenous and local narratives about Bakoni identity and heritage can be identified using the Photovoice participatory method?

(iii) What are the benefits and challenges of Photovoice as a Participatory Action Research (PAR) method for heritage recording?

Having occupied the Mashishing area between the 1500s—1820s, the Bakoni people are the earliest people to settle in what is today known as the Mpumalanga province (Delius and Schoeman, 2010). The area is shown below in Figure 1.1. The area became known as 'Bokoni' after the first Koni settled in the southern part of Bopedi (Rowe, 2018). "[T]he most widely held view is that the term

Koni is the Sotho equivalent of Nguni or Ngoni and was probably the name given by Sotho-speaking communities to Nguni-speaking intruders" (Schoeman and Delius, 2008: 143).

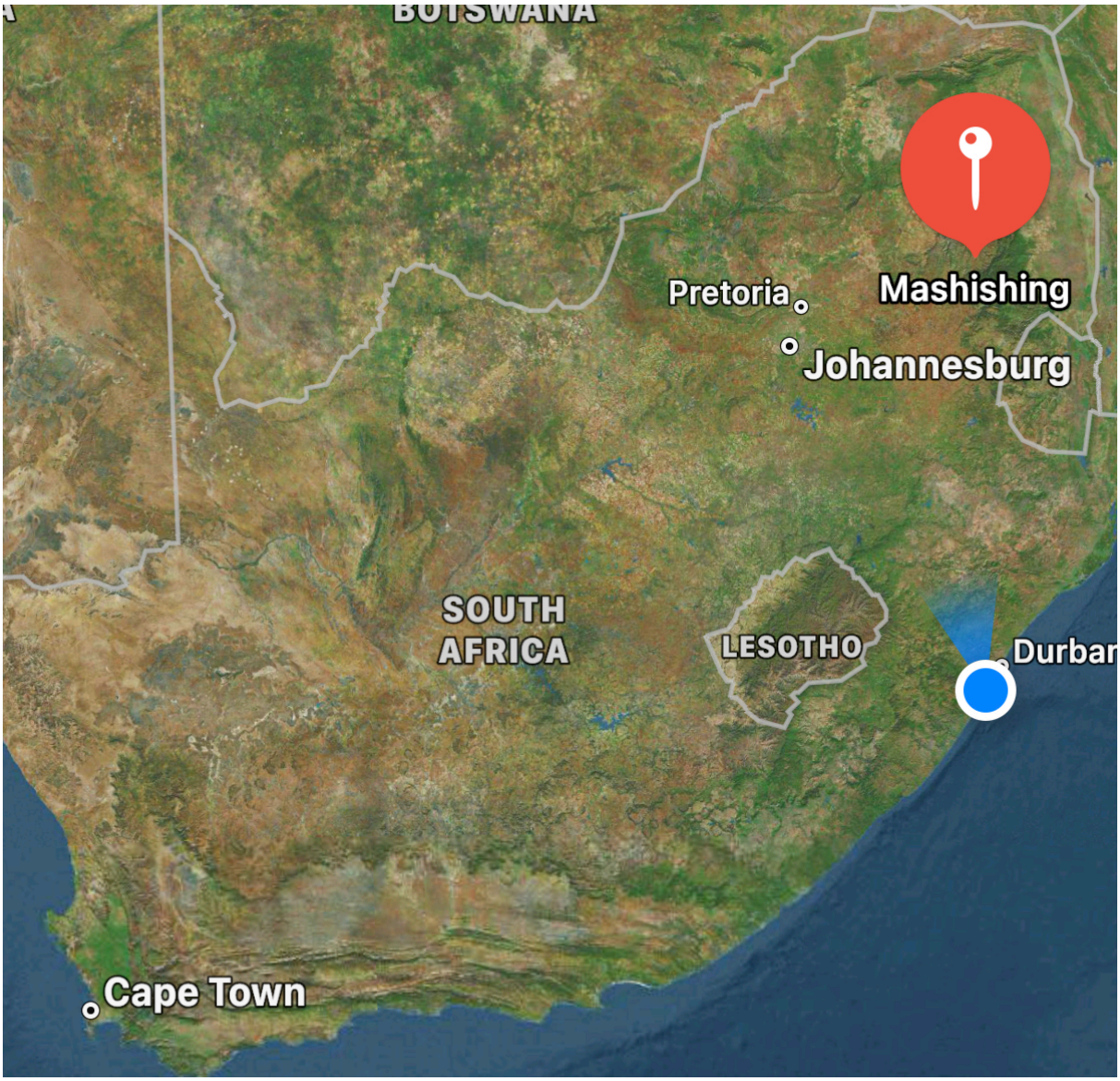

Figure 1.1 Map of South Africa highlighting Mashishing and Durban. Source: www.maps.google.com

The Bakoni people are believed to have possessed extraordinarily innovative agricultural skills and they used stonewalls to construct "a complex web of homesteads, towns, terraces and roads, that stretches for 150 kilometres in an almost continuous belt" (Delius and Schoeman, 2010: 235). Within the social sciences, prehistory in South Africa is divided according to, the Early, Middle and Late Stone Ages, and the Early and Late Iron Ages. The Late Stone Age stretches back as far as 60 000 years in South Africa and is associated with the hunter-gatherer lifestyle of the San ancestors (Lange and Teer-Tomaselli, 2022). "The period referred to as the Early Iron Age (AD 200—1500 approx.) started when presumably Karanga (north-east African) herder groups moved into the

northeastern parts of South Africa" (Celliers, 2019: 8). Some Iron Age cultures in sub-Saharan Africa are generally accepted as archaeological indicators of the Indigenous Bantu expansion (Huffman, 1970). Some Late Iron Age stonewalls remain scattered throughout various sites in the Mpumalanga province and are the most prominent heritage sites that give a glimpse into South Africa's pre-colonial era (Delius, Schoeman and Maggs, 2012).

This study will focus on a set of Bakoni stonewalls situated within the Klingbiel Nature Reserve which is under the management of the Lydenburg Museum. Although the present-day Mashishing area is currently populated by people of various races and ethnicities, it is the contemporary Pedi[1] and Northern Sotho locals who are accepted as the direct descendants of the Bakoni (Musinguzi and Kibirige, 2009: 152). The area is now developed into an urban town, a peri-urban township and some rural areas. Townships were formed during the apartheid era when the regime put into effect the Group Areas Act of 1950 which forcibly removed Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans from central metropolitan areas to the outskirts of towns and cities, peri-urban areas, where they were housed in government run locations which became to be known as 'townships' (Jones, 2013). The effects of this apartheid policy which was meant to enforce geographical racial segregation are still apparent and therefore we still have rural, urban and peri-urban areas throughout different parts of the country.

This study will explore the Mashishing local and Indigenous narratives on Bakoni heritage. It will adopt a qualitative research design that facilitates the inclusion of such local perceptions and interpretations in the knowledge production process regarding the Bakoni heritage. Qualitative methods will be used to explore local and Indigenous narratives on Bakoni heritage as well as opinions on the Photovoice methodology as a heritage recording method. This data will be contextualised by a review of literature on Photovoice methodology and Bakoni heritage. Using reflexive thematic analysis, the research will explore meanings and interpretations of Bakoni heritage generated from the Photovoice methodology.

My research study seeks to widen our understanding of the history of the Bakoni and their heritage and how it could find expression in contemporary South Africa. This, through the exploration of local and Indigenous knowledge. It seeks to challenge narratives that continue to uphold neo-

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[1] The Pedi are of Sotho origin and are descendants of the Kgatla (Bakgatla) a Tswana speaking clan that migrated to 'Bopedi', present-day Limpopo around the 1700s. The Pedi heartland is known as Sekhukhuneland and is situated between the Olifants and Steelpoort Rivers also known as the Lepelle and the Tubatse. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedi_people Accessed on 3 July 2021.

colonial power relations. In the past few decades there has been growing interest, not only in Indigenous knowledge, but also in Indigenous languages, culture and stories in urban settings (Thompson, 2022). This interest can be attributed to the potential benefits of Indigeneity as the African continent attempts to reverse the negative effects of colonialism. Existing literature will be explored to identify some official and scholarly interpretations of the Bakoni heritage.

Rationale for the study and significance

Multiple attempts to decode and analyse the Bakoni stonewalls, heritage and history, have been made by academics, researchers, archaeologists, and enthusiasts (Hromnik, 1981, 1996; Wade, 2009; de Klerk, 2019; Tellinger, 2013; Serfontein, 2013; Delius *et al*., 2012). Although these efforts have yielded valuable knowledge about these sites; they are still regarded as mysterious by some and as a result have come to be considered as one of the 'Lost Cities' of South Africa (Dimri, 2022). Despite the Bakoni stonewalls remaining the subject of study by the aforementioned scholars and amateur interpreters, the mysterious nature of this tangible cultural heritage, and decades of incomplete knowledge, has created a knowledge vacuum that some have sought to take advantage of by creating unfalsifiable narratives regarding the stonewalls; most notable of all being Michael Tellinger (2010, 2013, 2020).

The production of knowledge concerned with the Bakoni stonewalls and rock engravings has largely sidelined the role of local actors (Delius *et al.*, 2012). As interested parties continue to study these sites, more and more contradictory knowledge is produced with regards to the identity, culture and heritage of the originators of these 'Lost Cities'. Most of this knowledge is without the inclusion and participation of local and Indigenous community members. Despite their geographical, historical and political proximity to the Bakoni, local and Indigenous communities' narratives seem to be excluded in the mainstream knowledge production on the Bakoni heritage.

In contrast, some narratives in published literature entertain an 'exotic' nature when discussing the originators of the Bakoni stonewalls (Tellinger, 2013; de Klerk, 2019). However, in the case of the latter, the interpretations have been largely produced by non-local researchers. Although Peter Delius and Maria Schoeman acknowledge that stonewalls have been used by Southern African farming communities since the eleventh centuries, the dispute over the age of the Bakoni stonewalls is categorised by claims that they are either 25 000 or 250 000 years old (2010: 241). This dispute is anchored in two polarising viewpoints: one which recognises the role of the Bakoni in the construction of the stonewalls and the other which seeks to attribute the construction of the

stonewalls to external parties excluding the precolonial Bakoni people (Tellinger, 2013). Notably, both these viewpoints do not accommodate local and Indigenous knowledge, despite the local and Indigenous communities' geographical, historical and cultural proximity to the Bakoni heritage. The below figures (Figure 1.2 & Figure 1.3) demonstrate the local and Indigenous communities' geographical proximity to the Bakoni stonewalls and the stonewall prevalence in the area.

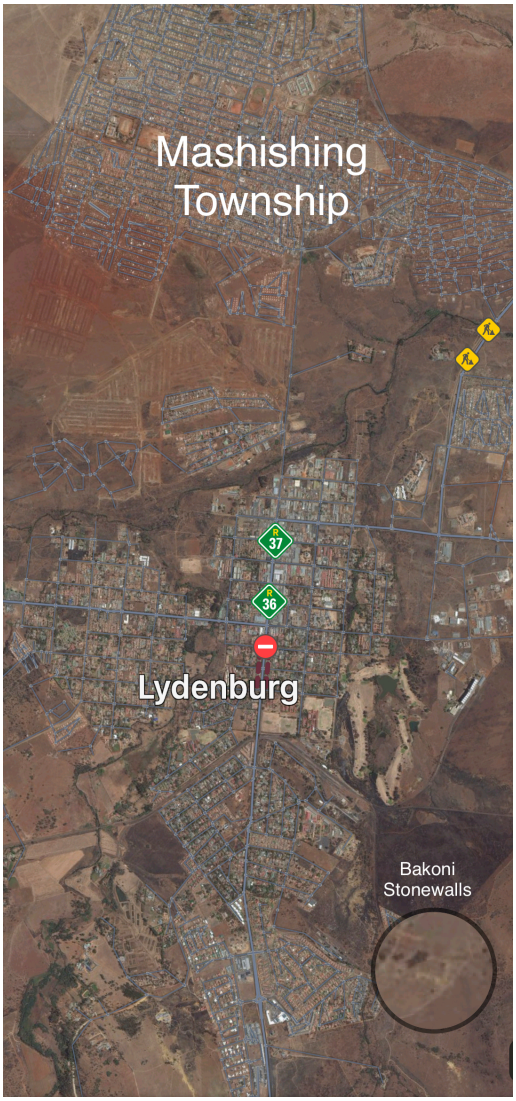

Figure 1.2 Map showing geographical proximity of Bakoni stonewalls to Mashishing communities.

Figure 1.3 Map showing clusters of Bakoni stonewalls.
Source: www.maps.google.com

In academic literature, the stonewalls are accepted as the original cultural representation of the Bakoni identity and built by the Bakoni people. Despite this general acceptance, it is important to note that more knowledge still needs to be produced regarding these sites as "a major chapter in the history of the region has been neglected" (Schoeman and Delius, 2008: 143). This knowledge gap gives birth to many different attempts to make sense of this pre-colonial cultural material through

varying discourses. Discourses are said to produce meaningful knowledge about subjects (Hall, 1992: 295). The local and Indigenous communities have a role to play in filling this gap.

The narrative that emerges from this research contributes to the knowledge on the local discourses on Bakoni heritage. It is therefore an injustice for local communities to be excluded in the knowledge production of such significant heritage that gives glimpses into the ways of their ancestors. Some beliefs and claims concerning racial relations, and justifying racialised domination in the past, were once fueled by heritage implications (Barnabas, 2019: 50). Equally, it should be within the domain of heritage and public history that new narratives and imagery of the post-apartheid should be crafted.

Heritage is that which is significant for memorialisation, ritual and identity (Barnabas 2016: 1). This is supported by the National Heritage Act of South Africa (1999) that recognises heritage as a resource that has the capacity to assist in the development of a unifying national identity. Culture and heritage have the potential to be used to promote a sense of local identity and ultimately empower communities (Nared and Bole, 2019: 104). This highlights the importance of not only heritage but also a democratic approach that includes local communities in the process of making heritage.

Heritage is important for the development of individuals, communities and societies: “Heritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management” (South African National Heritage Resources Act, 1999. s5(4)). However, this potential can only be realised through the inclusion of all relevant stakeholders, including local communities. Janez Nared and David Bole affirm that “culture can only be an initial development resource if it is suitably evaluated, negotiated and implemented by a myriad of different stakeholders” (2019: 104).

Despite the recommendations of the South African National Heritage Resources Act (1999), the lack of inclusion of local communities in knowledge production is a common problem and remains a threat to heritage (Ndlovu, 2011). When local communities and their cultural specificities are not involved; heritage sites remain prone to physical damage and overuse (Nared and Bole, 2019: 114). Christine Van Wyk Rowe noted that some of the Bakoni stonewalls in the Mashishing area had been extensively damaged by historic and recent human activity due to the site’s proximity to a nearby township development (2018: 7). Research projects that exclude local researchers cannot benefit

from valuable insights into the social, political, economic and cultural context (Gumucio-Dagron, 2008: 72). The exclusion of local community members in research seems to be a problem that is a historical effect of colonialism as the marginalisation of Indigenous groups is associated to land dispossession (Dyll, 2018: 336). Delius and Schoeman have specifically highlighted the exclusion of local oral traditions in the heritage making of the Bakoni stonewalls and rock engravings, stating that this exclusion happens despite the local people explicitly expressing their direct relation to these sites (2012: 403). This claim highlights the main problem that this study seeks to address and is a validation of the importance of this study. As some of the participants have ancestral connections to the area, they may carry with them valuable oral history that provides a glimpse into the local perceptions and contemporary interpretations of the Bakoni stone circles.

The lack of inclusion of local interpretations in knowledge production not only disempowers locals but it is biased in favour of the external actors (Akena, 2016: 606). Solutions to social problems typically reflect distorted priorities because only a few actors, such as experts, wield their power during the definition of social problems and goals (Waisbord 2014: 157). This needs to change and local and Indigenous narratives should be included in the ongoing research on this cultural heritage wonder. It is widely accepted that "knowledge and understanding of the origins and development of human societies is of fundamental importance to humanity in identifying its cultural and social roots" (International Council on Monuments and Sites, 1990: 1).

A research project such as this one is important in ensuring that South Africa is one of the developing countries that makes a significant contribution to knowledge production: "Some developing countries have become first-rate high-level knowledge producers, while others are struggling to build baseline capacities to start producing knowledge" (Sutz *et al*., 2014: 13). In the past few decades there has been growing interest not only in Indigenous knowledge but also in Indigenous languages, culture and stories in urban settings (Thompson, 2022). This interest can be attributed to the potential benefits of Indigeneity as the African continent attempts to reverse the effects of colonialism.

The National Research Foundation is the principal organisation in South Africa responsible for the promotion of national research enterprise and is the primary public funder of postgraduate students and researchers. It also provides research infrastructure for the country. It has put a strategy into place called the NRF Strategic Plan 2020—2025 with which it seeks to contribute to national development using impactful research. Through the inclusion of local and Indigenous knowledge,

this study falls within that ambit: “In South Africa the National Research Foundation (NRF) has identified Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) as a priority area for research” (le Grange, 2001: 142). This study aligns with the views of the NRF that Indigenous Knowledge Systems should be prioritised. This study is also aligned to the National Heritage Council, which is funding the broader project, and the National Heritage Resources Act’s emphasis on the intangible aspect of heritage.

Currently, the South African government and heritage institutions have neglected the stonewalls, in Mashishing, and as a result, many people are not even aware that the stonewalls exist and as mentioned, some of the stonewalls are vandalised (Whitlock, 2018; Whitlock, 2022). However, there is a current effort by the Lydenburg Museum to protect these sites, “A Phase 1 Heritage Impact Assessment was conducted in April 2017 by Mr. JP Celliers, and a Late Iron Age stone walled complex was identified” (Celliers, 2019: 2). Further to this the Boomplaats rock engravings, situated about 15 kilometres away from the Bakoni stonewalls in Klingbiel Nature Reserve, have been declared a National Heritage Site by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (18 November 2022). This rock art is believed to include engravings by the Bakoni people that are interpreted as depictions of the Bakoni stonewalls (Delius and Schoeman, 2010). This confirms the significance and relevance of the Bakoni heritage in contemporary South Africa.

The study of heritage is important as it increases our understanding of the universe and humanity and the role played by heritage in leadership and the enhancement of knowledge systems in society (Wade, 2009: 18). As South Africa is in the continuous process of Nation Building, heritage resources have an impactful role to play in these efforts:

> Heritage and the identities and understandings of both the past and the present it creates do not simply exist internally to the group or other collective that has created them–they do work, or have a consequence, in wider social, cultural, economic and political networks (Smith, 2009: 276).

Framing the study: Theory and Methodology

Heritage in South Africa is a sensitive topic because of the complexity of its colonialist origins both internationally and nationally. The country’s colonial and apartheid past have also played a pivotal role in the country’s current heritage legislation (Lange, Magongo and Barnabas, 2011: 21). Despite this, heritage has been used by the democratic South African government and private institutions to pursue a reconciliatory representation of the past in pursuit of nation-building:

> Nation-building is the process whereby a society of people with diverse origins, histories, languages, cultures and religions come together within the boundaries of a sovereign state with a unified

> constitutional and legal dispensation, a national public education system, an integrated national economy, shared symbols and values, as equals, to work towards eradicating the divisions and injustices of the past; to foster unity; and promote a countrywide conscious sense of being proudly South African, committed to the country and open to the continent and the world.[2]

This research study adheres to the values of nation-building as defined by the South African government. This official mobilisation of heritage to pursue social objectives does not only signify the value of heritage amongst a society; but also brings into focus issues regarding the authorship of the said heritage.

In South Africa, the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA, 1999) describes living heritage as "the intangible aspects of inherited culture". Most notably, this description specifically identifies oral history, popular memory, Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships amongst other intangible aspects of inherited culture. The explicit inclusion of these intangible aspects was a revolutionary change in South African heritage legislation as, prior to this point, it had been left out of the National Monuments Act (1969) which was applied in the apartheid era. This change is especially relevant to this study as it focuses on the intangible aspect of the Bakoni heritage.

According to the NRF Strategic Plan 2020—2025, one of their objectives over the next decade is to facilitate and perform research that has impact and extends the frontiers of knowledge. Also relevant to this study is the NRF's recognition that knowledge and research can be used to support development, encourage critical discourse and develop responsible and critically engaged citizens (NRF Strategic Plan 2020-2025: 8). This study is also positioned within one of the National Heritage Council's objectives as it seeks to "protect the diverse culture and heritage of all the people of South Africa, particularly the previously marginalised communities".[3]

Mary Lange, Miliswa Magongo and Shanade Barnabas (2011) recorded rock art at Biesje Poort as part of a participatory research project with members of multicultural and multidisciplinary communities, including the Indigenous Kalahari community members. Their study demonstrated the capability of participatory approaches in recording tangible and intangible heritage. Several other studies have also taken the participatory approach in the recording of heritage and my study is

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[2] Available at: http://www.dac.gov.za/content/5-what-nation-building#:~:text=Nation%2Dbuilding%20is%20the%20process,integrated%20national%20economy%2C%20shared%20symbols Accessed on 05 July, 2023

[3] www.nhc.org.za Accessed on 30 June 2023

positioned within this practice. Magda Minguzzi facilitated a research project with KhoeSan chiefs in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, with the intention of visiting and documenting sites identified by the KhoeSan chiefs as belonging to their culture (2021). These studies all examine unique cultures whose ancestors date to the origins of humanity.

Methodological studies can generate new knowledge by assessing research methods adopted in certain contexts (Kong, 2014). One of this study's objectives is to explore the use of Photovoice methodology in recording heritage. Other methodological studies relevant to this study have also focused on the application of Photovoice. An example of such a study is one that explored the impact of a Photovoice project with teenagers in an urban setting (Gant *et al*., 2009). That study found that Photovoice had a special appeal to young people. My study benefitted from the inclusion of both youth and senior members of the Mashishing local and Indigenous community and documents how they experienced this methodology. Heather Castleden and Theresa Garvin detailed how they modified Photovoice in order to encourage participation (2008) whilst James Falconer also discussed the fieldwork factors that might require adjustments to the Photovoice methodology (2014). My study also benefitted from adjustments and modifications that were deemed relevant for the unique qualities of this research study.

This study starts with a review of literature on the Bakoni heritage, local and international heritage legislation and Photovoice methodology. It then moves on to discuss the Conceptual Framework within which this study is conducted. The Methodology section follows to delve into how Photovoice was employed throughout the project. The analysis of the data and findings are then discussed towards the end of my thesis.

My research, which came about during a period in my life when I sought to know more about my own family lineage, was fueled by a desire to debunk colonial myths that suggest that civilisation was a positive result of colonisation. As a spiritually inclined and politically interested person, the direct experience of the Bakoni stonewalls was unexpectedly an emotionally charged and sentimentally significant moment. These site visits with the great grandchildren of the Bakoni were unique experiences characterised by lessons on not only the Bakoni heritage but also on the conduct of the Photovoice methodology. I trust that this study contributes towards the increased protection, conservation and recognition of the Bakoni stonewalls.

Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into six chapters:

Chapter 1 is the introductory chapter which gives the context and background of the study. This chapter seeks to provide the rationale for the study, explain the research problem, research objectives and questions, theoretical influences, the research methodology, as well as an outline of the whole thesis.

Chapter 2 focuses on the review of literature concerning the evolution of both South African and international heritage legislation instruments. It also covers literature on the themes that conceptualise the study such as heritage recording, knowledge production, participatory heritage recording and Photovoice methodology amongst others.

Chapter 3 outlines the conceptual framework applied in this study to explore local and Indigenous knowledge of Bakoni heritage. It locates the study in the two theoretical bodies of knowledge that are central to this research: Representation theory and Participatory Communication. This chapter is presented in a manner that identifies, explains and justifies the theories that support and inform this research.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology of the study. It especially expounds on reflexivity to demonstrate how it influenced the conduct of this study. It locates and problematises my position, as researcher, within the study. It then focuses on the data collection procedure adopted and justifies the sampling.

Chapter 5 presents and analyses the data that has been generated in the conduct of this study. It details how the data was organised, analysed and understood. It constructs a discussion of the generated themes and links them to relevant literature on Photovoice methodology, Participatory Action Research and knowledge production. This chapter also includes the Photovoice photographs which were generated by the Indigenous and local research participants.

Chapter 6 concludes the study as it reflects on what has been covered in the study. It details which objectives have been achieved and which ones have not been achieved. It outlines the position which will be assumed by this study within scholarly literature regarding the use of Photovoice.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

To contextualise the study, I organise this literature review according to the main themes of colonial hierarchy in heritage significance—tangible and intangible heritage, national and international heritage policies, community participation and Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Other themes will include heritage recording and knowledge production (Akena, 2012; Barnabas, 2016; Musinguzi and Kibirige, 2009), participatory heritage recording with a particular emphasis on Photovoice (Collier and Collier, 1986; de Lange and Mitchell, 2017; Dyll, 2020; Falconer, 2014; Wang, 2006; Waisbord, 2014; Manyozo, 2016), public archaeology insofar as it overlaps with this study's approach, and lastly the conflicting authoring of the Bakoni history and heritage. Throughout each of these sections, discussion will include a review of what is already known regarding the Bakoni stonewalls and heritage and culture to locate the particularity of this study in relation to previous studies. It also seeks to identify gaps in previous research to further the rationale for the significance of this study (de Klerk, 2019; Delius, Maggs and Schoeman, 2012; Serfontein, 2013; Tellinger, 2013; Whitlock, 2018). This literature review will therefore address my first research question that focuses on the official and scholarly interpretations of the Bakoni settlement sites and rock engravings, and the methodologies used for those interpretations.

Cultural Heritage Policies

In this section I discuss cultural heritage policies that govern the usage of heritage on both an international and national level. I also explore the historical evolution of some of these heritage policies as it demonstrates the respective attitudes and approaches of the global community and various South African government administrations that have governed over the past 113 years. Additionally, I seek to investigate the implementation and critiques of these policies, their similarities, differences and how they are respectively relevant to this study. This will include academic studies that assess these policies. Further to this, I will explore the similarities and differences in the policies' definition of key concepts relevant to my study such as tangible and intangible heritage, heritage management and the role of Indigenous communities in heritage management.

Over time, there has been a shift in the inclusion of intangible heritage. There has also been a shift in the definition and value placed on certain aspects of tangible heritage. The role of Indigenous

communities in heritage management has also been acknowledged in varying degrees at different points in time. This section will explore these shifts and its implications in heritage management. I also intend to highlight aspects of these international and national policies which resonate with the methodology and objectives of this study. Some of the values and principles advocated by these policies, such as inclusion, are reflected in the objectives and methodology of this study.

Tangible and intangible heritage

In South Africa, the colonial and apartheid governments prioritised tangible heritage (see the section on *Colonial and Apartheid Policies* below). It is argued that in post-apartheid the significant evolution and improvement of South African heritage legislation nevertheless included the binary division of tangible and intangible heritage (see *South African policies on cultural heritage and it's recording* below).

The concept of intangible heritage is not a different or separate kind of heritage, but it is a Western political construct informed by the West's historical tradition of prioritising buildings, tangible heritage, in the identification of heritage (Deacon, 2004: 3). Smith contradicts this Western tradition and asserts that heritage meanings cannot necessarily exist in tangible objects without the narrative and histories associated with it (2009: 264). Jean-Louis Luxen, former Secretary General of International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (1993-2002) agreed that there is no distinction between physical heritage and intangible heritage (Deacon, 2004: 3). This Western-inspired duality of heritage in South African policies can be attributed to the colonial history of South Africa as will be elaborated upon in this chapter.

The evolution of South African heritage legislation has tended to lean towards the policies and practices of the British Monuments Board that gave priority to the built environment (Barnabas, 2015). This separation of tangible and intangible heritage has an obvious impact in how the country approaches heritage management policies. Traditionally, Indigenous knowledge has been absorbed into the dominant Western cultural history archive and this knowledge has been repackaged to suit Western narratives for consumption by both Western and Indigenous societies (le Grange, 2001: 141). This is at the benefit of the former and to the detriment of the latter.

David Morris explicitly highlights the interdependence between tangible and intangible aspects of heritage in stating that cultural landscapes are tangible heritage resources that are a result of intangible heritage (2006). Additionally, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organisation (UNESCO) Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) also acknowledges this interdependence. Using this assertion, the Bakoni stonewalls can be regarded as heritage material only if engaged in consideration of the ideas, values, memory, history and narratives associated with them. To separate the stone walls from the intangible in the past and present can only be a false binary stemming from western dualistic practices. Tangible heritage is meaningless without the intangible element of it (Barnabas, 2015: 50). This study focuses on the Bakoni stonewalls (as a tangible aspect of Bakoni heritage) as a source of local and Indigenous knowledge such as oral history and narratives associated with them (the intangible aspect).

Although "Western epistemologies continue to dominate other ways of knowing" (le Grange, 2001: 139), Southern African studies have seen a revived interest in late pre-colonial history (Delius and Marks, 2012: 247) where there is now a shift in how heritage recording is practiced as the Indigenous community members seek to take charge of the narrative. This reorientation in heritage management and recording is supported by global and national policies, as will be discussed in the following sections. However, the implementation of these policies is still viewed as the 'alternate' mode of heritage recording, and it needs to become more mainstream. UNESCO has come under scrutiny in the past for not prioritising the intangibility of heritage. As a result, there has been a wave of research which approaches heritage in a non-Western manner: "Non-Western conceptualisations of heritage have begun to question the hegemonic dominance of the idea of the materiality of heritage and have come to play an important role in questioning received ideas about it" (Smith, 2009: 54). This study will be located within this movement and a comprehensive discussion of previous scholarship on Bakoni heritage will be provided further in the literature review.

International policies on cultural heritage and its recording until 1990

It is important to observe and track the evolution of cultural heritage policies on an international level as this will clearly detail the evolving approaches to heritage that the world has seen over the years.

According to UNESCO (1970), during the 1950s, more and more colonised states were gaining their independence and these young nations' collective concern was the illicit trafficking of their cultural property and the growing black market. UNESCO then sought to create an international treaty which would combat this. This became to be known as the *UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of*

Cultural Property (1970). Even though this treaty urged Party States to prohibit and prevent illicit trafficking of cultural property; the UNESCO policy was criticised for being vague. Kuruk (2004: 124) complains that the definition of intangible cultural heritage was general and caused confusion with regards to the precise scope of the later established Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (ICH Convention) of 2003, which I discuss in the next section. Additionally, UNESCO faced criticism for having a Western perception of heritage as it emphasised the materiality of heritage. This criticism is relevant in this study as it adopts a method which operationalises and records an intangible aspect of heritage based on tangible heritage. I discuss the intangible cultural heritage definition which is relevant to this study in the Conceptual Framework Chapter: "the failure to provide specific rules governing the access to and use of intangible cultural heritage coupled with the reference to the state's obligations in rather exhortatory terms weakens the ICH Convention as an instrument for tackling cases of misappropriation and unauthorised use of cultural heritage" (Kuruk, 2004: 134). To date, the 1970 Convention has been ratified by 141 states. This vagueness of the provisions of the Convention (1970) ultimately gives states the power to make final decisions on heritage at the expense of Indigenous communities.

> Some members took the view that strongly worded provisions would be inconsistent with the principle of State sovereignty and therefore that the incorporation of such [conclusive] language would offend many states and make it difficult to obtain significant support for the instrument at the international level to make it a worthwhile instrument. (Kuruk, 2004: 130)

This wording of the ICH Convention potentially allows member states to ignore the rights of Indigenous groups as they have exclusive rights to intangible cultural heritage found within territories of these states. This has the potential to cause conflict between the state and Indigenous communities because "Indigenous groups as owners and custodians of intangible cultural heritage should have an automatic right of intervention in all matters concerning such heritage" (Kuruk, 2004: 129).

Two years later, the World Heritage Convention, which was aimed at nature conservation and cultural property preservation, was ratified on 24 April 1972. South Africa, which was still governed by the apartheid regime, was one of the 141 states that ratified this Convention. Heritage sites are included in the cultural heritage materials that are protected under this World Heritage Convention. With respect to the composition of this body, it was argued before the ICH Experts Committee that it would be useful to include representatives of local communities and Indigenous experts in an effort to ensure that not only would the body be more responsive to the needs of

Indigenous groups and local communities, but it also limits the role of the state that had often been perceived as not necessarily in line with the best interests of Indigenous peoples (Kuruk, 2004: 113). During the time, this Convention was one of the most significant bodies clearly advocating for the inclusion of local and Indigenous communities in heritage management. However, the body failed to provide specific rules for governing the access to and the use of intangible cultural heritage. This weakened the ICH Convention as an instrument for tackling cases of misappropriation and unauthorised use of cultural heritage (Kuruk, 2004: 134).

In 1990, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) was established. This association sought to protect archeological heritage material. It defined archeological heritage as objects that constitute "the basic record of past human activities" (1990: 1) and specifically mentioned abandoned structures and remains as part of valuable heritage that should be protected.

Although the ICOMOS charter (1990) focuses especially on material heritage, it does acknowledge the role of Indigenous communities and their traditions in heritage management: "Other elements of the archaeological heritage constitute part of the living traditions of Indigenous peoples, and for such sites and monuments the participation of local cultural groups is essential for their protection and preservation" (ICOMOS, 1990: 1). It is however important to note that this is the only sentence that appears in the ICOMOS Charter (1990) that mentions intangible heritage. This Charter advocates for the inclusion of various professional disciplines in the handling of heritage: "The protection of this heritage cannot be based upon the application of archaeological techniques alone. It requires a wider basis of professional and scientific knowledge and skills" (ICOMOS, 1990: 1).

The Charter is relevant to this study in that, not only does it advocate for the inclusion of Indigenous communities in heritage management, but it also recognises the importance of heritage in contemporary society. However, one of the elements that the Charter does not share with my study, is the Charter's lack of priority on the intangible aspect of heritage. The ICOMOS Charter (1990) also admits the possible irrelevance in some contexts, which might be influenced by local factors of respective regions and countries.

The International Scientific Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM), established alongside ICOMOS in 1990, advises ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee on matters that pertain to all aspects of the management of archaeological sites and landscapes. These include formulating and propagating standards and best practices for both archaeological research

and cultural resource management. ICAHM is concerned not only with World Heritage Sites and sites being considered for inscription on the World Heritage List, but with all archaeological sites, landscapes, and related resources, around the world:

> Gradual but tentative acceptance of the importance of intangible heritage internationally can be illustrated by three key moments of change: the acceptance of symbolic value as the prime reason for inscription of Auschwitz as a World Heritage Site in 1979; the acceptance of 'cultural landscapes' as heritage-worthy in the World Heritage Convention (WHC) Guidelines in 1992; and the rethinking of UNESCO's 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore in the 1990s that resulted in the launching of a new Intangible Heritage Convention in 2003. (Kuruk, 2004: 115)

The World Heritage Convention was the first legal instrument to recognise and protect cultural landscapes.[4] While not at a state level, this study aims to facilitate this sense of ownership of the Bakoni stonewalls by the local and Indigenous Mashishing community members.

Post-2003 international policy

As the previous section has covered some of the international heritage policies, some of which were criticised for adopting a Western approach to heritage, this section focuses on selected years and policies that marked a significant shift from this dominant perspective.

Following this criticism, UNESCO has since moved towards embracing the right of Indigenous peoples to their traditional lands, territories and recognises traditional management systems as part of new management approaches. The UNESCO *Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) acknowledged the role of intangible cultural heritage in promoting cultural diversity and sustainable development. This convention formed part of UNESCO's efforts to recognise and protect intangible heritage. The World Heritage Committee is the main body in charge of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2003). This committee decides whether a property is inscribed on the World Heritage List or not.

The adoption of the UNESCO's *World Heritage and Indigenous Peoples policy* (2018) also marked another important milestone in the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organisation's (UNESCO) program on cultural heritage. This policy recognised Indigenous people as stewards of a significant part of the world's biological, cultural and linguistic diversity and as partners in site conservation and protection activities. According to Article 13 (2007) of the *United Nations*

[4] https://whc.unesco.org/en/next50 Accessed on 15 January 2021

Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), Indigenous peoples have the "right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons" (UNESCO, 2018: 10). Not only did this policy recognise the importance of the intangible aspect of heritage for Indigenous communities but it also marked a significant improvement on the inclusion of minority and vulnerable communities. Further to this, the commemoration of the *International Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures* focused on highlighting the effective roles of women, youth, minorities and Indigenous peoples in history and in the culture of humanity (UNESCO, 2018: 20). This can be understood as an acknowledgement of the historic economic, social and political marginalisation of Indigenous people.

This policy has also recognised the value of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in increasing the capacity of Indigenous people's access to information: "Technological evolution in the past years has created unprecedented conditions for the exchange of information and ideas, as well as exceptional opportunities for knowledge sharing… participatory and responsive political and social processes" (UNESCO, 2018: 28). This policy is especially aligned to the conduct of this study as it seeks to employ the use of cameras in knowledge sharing and encourages a participatory social process.

To meet the 2030 *Agenda for Sustainable Development*, specifically Goal number 4, UNESCO claims to ensure "inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities" (UNESCO, 2018: 12). This is worth mentioning in relation to my study because of the educational aspects of the Photovoice methodology, as will be explained further in the Methodology Chapter: "UNESCO promotes the equitable access of Indigenous peoples to…the use of information and communication technologies (ICT) in education" (UNESCO, 2018: 13). Further to this; UNESCO (2018: 15) advocates for the elimination of "barriers that prevent Indigenous peoples from fully enjoying the benefits of science, technology and innovation". This advocation is due to the realisation that the information and communication capacity of all communities, including Indigenous, has increased which has led to more access to information. This study will seek to benefit from this increased capacity and play a role in furthering it as the use of technological devices will be central. This study also shares with UNESCO the recognition of Indigenous knowledge as a knowledge system.

Another demographic that UNESCO has recently sought to recognise in the management of heritage is the youth as they established the *UNESCO Operational Strategy on Youth* (2021). This policy is somewhat like the *World Heritage and Indigenous Peoples policy* (2018) in that it seeks to include demographics that have previously been excluded in the process of heritage management. With the *UNESCO Operational Strategy on Youth* (2021), UNESCO is proactively trying to include the views, needs, expectations and aspirations of the youth in its cultural and heritage policies and programmes. In this framework, UNESCO "works to ensure that the views, needs, expectations and aspirations of vulnerable youth groups are integrated into policies and programmes" (2021: 21).

The methodology of this study responds directly to some of the issues affecting heritage as acknowledged by UNESCO. Further to that, this study's intention to include local and Indigenous knowledge aligns with UNESCO's recognition of traditional management systems as new management approaches.

South African policies on cultural heritage and its recording

As previously mentioned, despite the significant evolution and improvement of South African heritage legislation, it is still influenced by socio-political impacts of colonialism (Barnabas, 2015: 50). The discourses on heritage in South Africa continue to be influenced by three major political hegemonies, namely colonialism, institutionalised apartheid and finally democracy (Barnabas, 2016: 2). These legislative developments have showed signs of Western philosophy where tangible and intangible heritage are viewed as separate binary aspects of heritage as previously mentioned. Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu (2011) explores the various heritage legislations in history that South Africa has adopted from 1911 up to the present. These legislations, passed by the respective South African governments, reveal South Africa's past and present heritage management and preservation approaches.

Colonial and Apartheid Policies

As previously mentioned, South Africa's colonial and apartheid past have played a significant role in shaping the current South African heritage legislation (Lange *et al*., 2011: 21). Shanade Barnabas expands on this:

> The segregation and oppression of institutionalised apartheid—in which the majority of the country's population were denied basic human rights and freedom of movement between places was highly restricted—proved a further barrier to the evolution and dissemination of heritage and culture (Barnabas, 2015: 50).

Heritage management and cultural legislation has long existed in the African continent, even before the days of written laws as Indigenous means of heritage resource management were used by Indigenous communities. The first heritage legislation in South Africa was the Bushman Relics Act of 1911 and it was aimed at protecting anthropological contents of graves, rock shelters, middens and shell mounds (Sipoyo, 2018). A Bushman relic was described as:

> …any drawing or painting on stone or petroglyph of the kind commonly known or believed to have been executed by the South African Bushmen or other aboriginals and shall include any of the anthropological contents of the graves, caves, rock shelters, middens or shell mounds of such Bushmen or other Aboriginals (Bushman Relict Act, 1911: 1.)

The act prevented people from removing any Bushman relic from the then Union without prior permission from the state. However, Ndlovu (2011: 31) argues that this legislation was flawed because of its failure to include Indigenous means of heritage resource management. During the colonial and early postcolonial eras, most villages were excluded from their heritage sites, and this can be the reason for the gradual loss of attachment to the sites by local communities (Mokoena, 2015). Additionally, the Indigenous heritage management methods were ignored in early heritage legislation in South Africa (Ndlovu, 2009: 66).

In South Africa, the colonial and apartheid governments prioritised tangible heritage in the form of buildings and monuments which Harriet Deacon defines as ‘white’ heritage (2004: 3). This is exemplified in the Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923, which put emphasis on the protection and regulation of the selling of monuments. This Act was followed by the establishment of the National Monuments Council (1969) which sought to “provide for the repair, maintenance and general care of certain burial grounds and graves, the establishment of gardens of remembrance in respect of certain persons, the erection of memorials for certain persons and the preservation of certain immovable or movable property as national monuments”. This council was later replaced by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) post-1994 (Lange, 2017).

Post-1994 Policies

In South Africa, apartheid era heritage legislation ignored the protection of heritage resources for development purposes; however, post-colonial heritage has improved even though there are still areas of concern. Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu identifies access control, cultural degradation, and exclusion of local communities, amongst others, as some of the main concerns in contemporary South African heritage legislation (2009). This study forms part of the efforts to try and amend this historical

injustice. Since the advent of democracy in 1994, “intangible forms of heritage have become politically acceptable, even attractive, in the attempt to insert new interpretations onto the colonial landscape” (Deacon, 2004: 2).

South Africa is now under democratic rule, however South African conservation policy has in the past been determined by people of European/Western origin and not by the Indigenous people who may have a different perspective on the importance of heritage sites and how they should be managed (Ndlovu, 2009; 2011). This represents a contestation for different knowledge systems. The concept of heritage has recently moved from covering only tangible heritage material to include “vernacular objects, anthropised territory and the most diverse cultural manifestations” (Minguzzi, 2021: 11). Deacon agrees that tangible heritage can only attain its significance when it is attached to its underlying values (2004: 3).

In 1996 the *White Paper on Arts and Culture* was introduced to address policy implementation and monitor limitations by repositioning the Arts and Culture sector effectively to accelerate transformation. It places cultural and heritage resources at the centre of remaking South Africa into a just and inclusive society (White Paper on Arts and Culture, 2017: 4). In 2017, this paper was revised in order to integrate African Knowledge Systems into the Arts, Culture and Heritage policy. This was done to enhance the ability of communities to develop and manage human, intellectual and material resources of African culture and heritage, and to decolonise public policy (White Paper on Arts and Culture, 2017). This study is in line with this White Paper as it utilises *The National Development Plan* as its tool to achieve its objectives. It describes heritage as part of culture and has a close interlinked working relationship with the National Development.

The National Development Plan (NDP) is South Africa's ambitious effort to “eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030 through uniting South Africans, unleashing the energies of its citizens, growing an inclusive economy, building capabilities, enhancing the capability of the state and leaders working together to solve complex problems” (NDP, 2012: 1). One of the ways through which it aims to do this is by facilitating the inclusion of children in heritage awareness. This is notably parallel to UNESCO’s inclusion of youth as highlighted previously. Both these institution’s inclusion objectives are similar to that of this study as it also emphasises inclusion. This plan prioritised inclusion from its formation because it is “the product of hundreds of interactions with South Africans, input from tens of thousands of people, extensive research and robust debate throughout the country” (NDP, 2012: 1). Although my study will not consult as many people; it also

benefits from the input of a diverse range of local community members: “The approach of the plan revolves around citizens being active in development, a capable and developmental state able to intervene to correct our historical inequities, and strong leadership throughout society working together to solve our problems” (NDP, 2012: 1). What is of importance here is the intention to correct South African historical inequities using the NDP. This study also seeks to correct some of the historical inequities through the inclusion of local and Indigenous narratives in the process of knowledge production.

The last chapter of the NDP refers to “Transforming society and uniting the country” using heritage amongst other resources. This plan identifies tourism and culture as one of the major key drivers of socioeconomic development and duly notes that South Africa is home to nine world heritage sites (NDP, 2012: 152). Unfortunately, “On the present trajectory, South Africa will not achieve the objectives of eliminating poverty and reducing inequality” (NDP, 2012: 1). This admission justifies the implementation of research projects such as this one to assist the noble efforts of the NDP (2012).

Recently, heritage has been reconceptualised to pursue redress and the inclusion of previously marginalised narratives (Nared and Bole, 2019). In the current government, heritage is managed at three levels which includes local, provincial, and national government. Local government allows for the participation of local communities in heritage management (Ndlovu, 2011: 31). This current legislation used by the democratic government of South Africa reflects a coherent attitude towards heritage as it prioritises an inclusive and participatory approach towards heritage: “With the winds of change blowing across much of South Africa, the need for participatory approaches that respect the rights of all individuals was highlighted” (Ndlovu, 2011: 35).

One of the South African cultural heritage policies relevant to this chapter is the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) which advocates for the inclusion of all relevant cultural values and Indigenous Knowledge Systems during the management of heritage. The tragedy of excluding some relevant communities and being biased towards colonial heritage can be found in different parts of the world including South Africa (Ndlovu, 2011: 31). As a result, post-apartheid heritage management legislation does not recognise the Indigenous methods of heritage management (Ndlovu, 2011: 31).

There are two challenges that have negatively affected the implementation of cultural legislation the world over. These are the lack of community involvement and the difficulty of enforcing the law: “SAPS personnel are also not trained in heritage related matters, that is, legislation. It is therefore a big challenge for a heritage official to go and officially open a legal case for the violation of heritage legislation” (Ndlovu, 2011: 46). Such challenges have been synonymous with legislation for many years in South Africa and this puts heritage at continued threat (Ndlovu, 2011: 33). This study addresses one of these issues as it seeks to advance community involvement by analysing the benefits and challenges of Photovoice, from the perspective of local peoples. According to the South African National Heritage Council (NHC) website, the NHC seeks to reverse such challenges as it aims to protect the diversity of culture and heritage of all South Africans, especially the previously marginalised communities.

There is a misplaced tendency in South Africa to prioritise political heritage especially in the post-apartheid era, for example, Robben Island. Robben Island, which was often called the Island, is the prison in which many Black South African male political prisoners—who opposed the apartheid regime—were incarcerated from 1962 to 1991. It was declared a National Heritage site in 1999. Additionally, in the democratic parliament of South Africa, there is a replica of Nelson Mandela's prison cell from Robben Island (Buntman, 2003: 5). This highlights how much of a priority is placed on political heritage in the political realm of the country. This can be further observed from the fact that political imprisonment has been viewed as a formal credential in politics (Buntman, 2003: 5). The general principles for heritage resource management enshrined in the National Heritage Resources Act (5(1)(d)) states that “heritage resources management must guard against the use of heritage for sectarian purposes or political gain”. This skewed focus can be resolved by the teaching of African values to heritage scholars and practitioners so that heritage management approaches of legislation can be improved (Ndlovu, 2011: 48).

The South African National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA, 1999) recognises archeological artefacts, structures and sites older than 100 years as protected cultural heritage resources: “Any person may submit a nomination to SAHRA for a place to be declared a national heritage site or to the provincial heritage resources authority for a place to be declared a provincial heritage site” (NHRA, 1999: 27). The national level functions of heritage resources management in South Africa are the responsibility of the South African Heritage Resources Agency which is guided by the NHRA (NHRA, 1999). This Act defines heritage resources as “any place or object of cultural significance” (1999: 55). The NHRA (1999) further affirms the importance of living heritage as a

tool to enrich people's lives, promote community values and reflect on the past and lived experiences of self and the other.

The NHRA (1999) remains relevant to this study because of its instruction that communities involved in heritage resource management should be developed. The Act also advocates for the conservation of heritage resources and for this to be done in a manner consistent to its cultural significance so that it may be able to contribute to social and economic development: "Heritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management" (NHRA, 1999: 16).

Due to the current level of development in South Africa, the Heritage Resources Management is the most active section of the National Heritage Resources Act (Ndlovu, 2011: 40). Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 of the NHRA explains the system to be used in managing the heritage resources of South Africa, providing for all heritage resources of cultural significance to the community to be considered part of the national estate and for it to be under the management of heritage resource authorities. The Heritage Resources Management section of the NHRA (1999) recommends that heritage resources should be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of concerned communities to participate in the management of such heritage. This study adheres to the Heritage Resources Management section of the NHRA (1999) as it seeks to facilitate community participation in heritage management. "The identification, assessment and management of the heritage resources of South Africa must—(a) take account of all relevant cultural values and Indigenous Knowledge Systems" (NHRA, 1999: 7).

The main aim of the Act is to introduce an integrated system with which to identify, assess and manage heritage in South Africa and to govern the establishment of the South African Heritage Resources Agency and its Council which will co-ordinate and promote the management of heritage resources at national level (NHRA, 1999). Further to this, it acknowledges heritage resources as having the capacity to provide evidence of the history of South Africa society and that heritage resources must be carefully managed (NHRA, 1999). It further notes that heritage resources can be used to promote reconciliation and nation building, both of which are key values considering the past of South Africa.

South Africa preserves and protects its heritage through the National Heritage Council (NHC). It is an agency established under the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture. The NHC is relevant to this study as its legislative mandate is to promote and protect Indigenous Knowledge Systems.[5] This body can provide funding to research projects in the cultural and heritage sector.

The NHC agrees that heritage has been typically defined outside of the South African and African context and this is partly the reason why South Africans are ignorant on what heritage entails (see footnote 5). The NHC has however made strides towards carving out a definition of heritage which will accommodate both internationally accepted definitions and Afrocentric perspectives. It concedes that there is no universally accepted definition of heritage. Given that South Africa is a signatory to the UNESCO Convention, it is subject to the World Heritage Convention's definition of heritage and should therefore be aligned to this body in its definition of heritage (National Heritage Council, 2020).

In this pursuit of inclusion of Afrocentric principles, the NHC formulated its own definition informed by public input solicited by the Council:

> Heritage is what is preserved from the past as the living collective memory of a people not only to inform the present about the past but also to equip successive generations to fashion their future. It is what creates a sense of identity and assures rootedness and continuity, so that what is brought out by dynamism of culture is not changed for its own sake, but it is a result of people's conscious choice to create a better life. (National Heritage Council, 2020: 8).

The very formulation of this definition by the NHC is symbolic of one of the values of this study as it benefited from the public's input. It further relates to this study because of its emphasis on the value of intangible heritage. It claims that the realisation of its vision relies on building heritage knowledge, which arguably includes intangible heritage as it is knowledge that can be shared via stories.

Another piece of legislation with which South Africa has embraced the intangible aspect of heritage is the National Policy on South African Living Heritage (2009). This policy "was written in response to the need identified by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) to create national policy on living heritage, also known as intangible cultural heritage (ICH)" (South African Living Heritage Policy, 2009: 18) and its definition of ICH includes the practices, knowledge and cultural

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[5] www.nhc.org.za accessed on 20 June 2022

spaces that can be recognised by some communities and individuals as part of their cultural heritage.

This policy was created during former President Jacob Zuma's tenure, and it was aimed at correcting the historical imbalances that saw the living heritage (languages, the performing arts, rituals, social practices, and Indigenous knowledge) of some communities being undermined (South African Living Heritage Policy, 2009) whereby "a false impression was created that traditional dress code and traditional dances of certain social groups were backward and clashed with colonially adopted religions such as Christianity. Indigenous foods, the processing of which included certain techniques, are disappearing due to industrialisation and neglect" (South African Living Heritage, 2009: 9). This study seeks to revive narratives that might have diminished overtime regarding the heritage and history of Bakoni because of varying reasons. Such living heritage has significant social value (South African Living Heritage Policy, 2009).

Amongst other heritage concepts that the country seeks to rectify using the South African Living Heritage Policy (2009), is the separation of tangible and intangible heritage which it identifies as artificial and the inequality of knowledge systems which disadvantages Indigenous knowledge. This study intends to consider the Bakoni stonewalls alongside the narratives and history of Bakoni. Additionally, it views Indigenous narratives of Bakoni as equal to other narratives stemming from other types of knowledge.

The recognition of the importance of heritage resources called for the appropriate administration of such resources. South Africa then responded to this recognition by establishing the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). SAHRA is "a statutory organisation established under the National Heritage Resources Act, No 25 of 1999, as the national administrative body responsible for the protection of South Africa's cultural heritage".[6] According to SAHRA, heritage resources that are regarded as part of the national estate are those that have cultural value and significance for present and future generations (NHRA, 1999). It further provides a significant departure from previous legislation because it incorporates the public in heritage management (Ndlovu, 2011: 40) and recognises oral traditions as part of the national heritage estate.

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[6] https://www.sahra.org.za/strategic-overview/ accessed on 19 May 2022

Archaeology

As far back as the second half of the 19th century, archaeology has been used to try and understand the origins of humankind (Trigger, 1989: 3). The South African Heritage Act (1999: 7) describes that which is archaeological as “material remains resulting from human activity which are in a state of disuse and are in or on land and which are older than 100 years, including artefacts, human and hominid remains and artificial features and structures”. The Bakoni stonewalls, as tangible material culture that is older than 100 years, is this study's primary link to the field of archaeology. According to Jean-Pierre Celliers (2019) the archeological evidence available for the geographical positioning of the Bakoni stonewalls throughout Mpumalanga corresponds with historical narratives of the Bakoni sphere of influence.

Archeological findings carry narratives from the past which can potentially bear conscious and unconscious implications for the present times (Trigger, 1989: 13). The participation of local and Indigenous producers is therefore especially important in this study as archaeology and history in South Africa are used to reconstruct and explain the South African past (van Vollenhaven et al, 2017: 122). The important task of reconstructing and explaining the South African past should not exclude anyone, especially not those who are Indigenous. There is also an ongoing effort to archeologically excavate the Bakoni stonewall sites “to extract cultural material or identify features within the sites which will assist in reconstructing the lifestyle and identity of the people who built and occupied the living space.” (Celliers, 2019: 14). According to Anton van Vollenhoven, Karin Scott and Mariette Harcombe (2017), the practice of archaeology in South Africa is seldom extended to members of the public and this hinders the public’s ability to produce knowledge. My study opens archaeological features to the public not only to encourage the public to produce knowledge but also to appeal to the public’s interest in archaeology: “There is intense public interest in the controversies surrounding the interpretations of various archaeological findings and different political, social and religious movements have sought to control the interpretation of archaeological data” (Trigger, 1989: 3). Indigenous archaeologies, as described by Nthabiseng Mokoena (2015: 31), are those which are formed around material culture that has significance for living communities. These are now an unavoidable aspect of archaeology.

van Vollenhaven *et al*. (2017) explore the interaction of archaeology with general members of the public who may not necessarily have specialised knowledge within the disciplines of heritage, history and archaeology. As much as they raise caution with the concept of non-professionals

physically interacting with tangible heritage material, they still advocate for public involvement albeit at a basic and simple manner. This literature is especially relevant to this study as it involves non-professionals interacting with precious heritage material.

According to Gabriel Moshenska (2017: 5), public archaeology refers to archaeological activity that is conducted by professionals while providing for the participation of members of the public or a specific community and is based on the premise that the field of archaeology achieves better growth when more diverse voices are involved in the interpretation of the past. This definition places this study at the centre of this approach to archaeology. van Vollenhaven *et al.* (2017: 124) asserts this relation to this study as he notes that "the essence of public archaeology is to build dialogue that shapes communities and encourage awareness of heritage".

This study relates to the field of public archaeology not only because of the subject of the study, the Bakoni stonewalls, but also because of the values that inform the study as a participatory communication project. Public archaeology serves as a platform upon which communities can interact: "The essence of public archaeology is to build dialogue that shapes communities and encourage awareness of heritage" (van Vollenhaven, *et al.*, 2017: 124).

The communication, and interactive approach, which this study applies, forms parts of its links to public archaeology. The inclusion of local communities also assists with the preservation of heritage. The destruction of heritage is an ongoing issue in different parts of the world. "The high rate of destruction of cultural heritage in the world has been attributed to modernisation, which means that 'borrowed' lifestyles are often preferred to a society's traditional cultural heritage" (van Vollenhaven, *et al*., 2017: 153). The deterioration of the Bakoni stonewalls is problematic because their condition is one of the attributes which contributes to its significance: "The significance of the sites, structures and artefacts is determined by means of their historical, social, aesthetic, technological and scientific value in relation to their uniqueness, condition of preservation and research potential" (van Vollenhaven, 2014: 7).

Public archaeology is also closely related to an archaeological approach known as postcolonial archaeology which is described as a discipline of archaeology that seeks to "address problems that were brought about by colonialism in the reconstruction of African and other non- European histories and archaeology" (Mokoena, 2015: 21). Processual archaeology focuses on the change in

cultural processes (Krieger, 2006). This study leans more towards public archaeology and decolonial archeology than that of processual archaeology.

Nthabiseng Mokoena (2015) studied heritage and archaeological management systems that could be considered appropriate for the various communities in Matatiele. This project studied the significance of incorporating communities' perspectives in archaeological research. Amongst some of the key findings were that "management of cultural and archaeological resources in most African countries is not easily achieved" (Mokoena, 2015: 47).

Researchers have identified other areas of concern too within the field of traditional archaeology. Bruce Trigger (1989: 16) lamented that archaeologists sometimes need to please donors for them to receive support: "This does not only affect the choice of which research do the archeologists do but also the interpretation of the researched archaeological data" (Trigger, 1989: 16). There are also times when the field of archaeology fails to record heritage especially when it is intangible: "Many communities know their own history, which is often defined and conveyed through oral history and tradition and may have little or no synergy with archaeological versions of the past" (Smith, 2009: 284). This study thus aims to contribute to research that valorises intangible heritage, through operationalising Photovoice as a research method in gaining a local perspective, living heritage, on the meaning of the stonewalls. The stonewalls have received much scholarly and archeological attention, but as previously stated, this previous research seldom centralises local resident interpretations.

One of the key elements of this study that deviates from the practices of archaeology is that it will not include excavation of the sites, or any scientific recording of the tangible stonewall features.

Heritage recording and knowledge production

Heritage is an especially important concept to a nation like South Africa which is in the process of nation building because heritage is a representation of identity (Smith, 2009: 30). Postcolonial studies have proved that the effects of colonialism are still active in society despite the end of historical colonialism, and that they can only be defeated through an epistemological overturn (de Sousa Santos, 2015).

Indigenous knowledge has a tendency of being considered backwards as opposed to Western knowledge systems which are associated with modernity. John Briggs argues that Western knowledge is socially constructed just as much as is Indigenous knowledge: "Whilst Indigenous

knowledge may indeed be represented as a valid and relevant alternative to Western science, realistically it needs to be seen as something rather more nuanced, pragmatic and flexible, perhaps even provisional, highly negotiable and dynamic" (Briggs, 2005: 23).

Western knowledge and Indigenous knowledge are polarising knowledge systems, characterised by a binary divide, stemming from their varying epistemological foundations (Briggs, 2005: 9). However, this division should be avoided (Dyll, 2018). The dominance of the Western Knowledge System is at the expense of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. The knowledge of some subaltern groups continues to be suppressed by the dominance of modern science that solely enjoys epistemological privilege (Santos, Nunes and Meneses, 2007). This study seeks to reverse such effects of this continued Western dominance through exploring alternative criteria of validity that does not discredit Indigenous knowledge. This intention is fueled by the fact that this skewed power relation, born of colonialism and global capitalism, negatively impacts the knowledge and ultimately, the lives of the subaltern: "The exclusion, oppression and discrimination that is produced by global capitalism does not only impact economic, social and political dimensions of life but it also has cultural and epistemological implications" (Santos *et al*., 2007: x). This study adheres to the concept of an 'ecology of knowledges' which is aimed at building a democratic society through promoting a dialogue within knowledge systems (Santos *et al*., 2007). The writing of this very dissertation can be viewed as a Western practice and its combination with Indigenous Knowledge Systems is aligned to this 'ecology of knowledges'. Given the political history of discrimination in South Africa; studies that adhere to this concept are not only relevant but necessary.

There are concerns that Indigenous knowledges are becoming assimilated into an imperialist archive, and this is why challenging Western knowledge has become a norm for Indigenous communities in various parts of the world (le Grange, 2001: 143). One of the challenges facing Indigenous knowledge is the 'expert's' tendency to discredit local knowledges to uphold the credibility of the expert's own narratives (Briggs, 2005: 16): "Since scientific knowledge is not distributed in a socially equitable way, its interventions in the real world tend to serve the social groups having more access to such knowledge" (de Sousa Santos, 2015). However, there has been a wave of efforts to include the knowledge of local and Indigenous communities in the generation of knowledge. For example, Mokoena (2015) investigated how a community-inclusive heritage management plan could be implemented in a community in Matatiele. His study sought to validate Indigenous knowledge as a valuable form of knowledge capable of resolving social issues: "I demonstrate the significance of understanding the public's viewpoint on the proposed projects that

might affect them directly or indirectly and, further, how they would tackle them" (Mokoena, 2015: 32).

Indigenous Knowledge Systems are regulated by factors which might be described as political. Factors such as age, experience, wealth, production priorities, political power and gender regulate an individual's relationship with Indigenous knowledge (Briggs, 2005: 15). These factors potentially limit the applicability of Indigenous knowledge in wider development contexts (Briggs, 2005): "conflict and power struggles are a common feature in communication for participatory development projects." (Lange *et al.*, 2011: 8). The participatory heritage recording method to be adopted in this study contributes positively towards the neutralisation of these factors and features. Paul Kuruk acknowledges Indigenous groups' automatic right to intervene in heritage management since they are the owners and custodians of intangible cultural heritage (2004: 129). Previous research on Indigenous knowledge has not given interest to the economic and socio-cultural contexts in which such knowledge is used (Briggs, 2005: 6). This has the consequence of disconnecting the knowledge from the context. By virtue of submitting to the demands of capitalism and prioritising Western knowledge, the university is one of the institutions that continue to reinforce the colonisation of knowledge (de Sousa Santos, 2017). This is important to note and caution as this study is undertaken on behalf of -and partly funded by- the University of KwaZulu Natal.

Even though there is a difference between local and Indigenous knowledges, there is an interconnected relationship between local and Indigenous knowledge: "Indigenous knowledge serves to empower local communities by valuing local knowledge and, for example, in supporting notions of the African Renaissance" (Briggs, 2005: 17). This further emphasises the importance of context in the usage of Indigenous knowledge for developmental purposes. However, John Briggs notes that "a number of problems and tensions have resulted in Indigenous knowledge not being as useful as hoped for or supposed" (2005: 2).

The use of participatory heritage recording methods where Indigenous knowledge is concerned is important because "participants from diverse cultures and disciplines are able to share knowledge and create critical understanding around particular issues" (Lange *et al.*, 2011: 5). This study will encourage knowledge sharing within the local and Indigenous community members and promote understanding around the Bakoni heritage.

There are also knowledge production projects undertaken for the sake of financial development. Typically, such projects seek to promote tourism using heritage resources. Mokoena acknowledges the tourism potential in financial gain but also concedes that the success of cultural tourism projects is not consistent (2015: 49). However, Mary Lange, Miliswa Magongo and Shanade Barnabas argue that the notion of empowerment in the recording of heritage can bring about challenges (2011: 10). Mokoena states that, "It is crucial therefore to negotiate formal and informal community-influenced heritage management strategies conscious of the different heritage values that exist" (2015: 1). Celliers elaborates on the potential of Bakoni sites in Mashishing and tourism:

> The site also has significant potential to be developed for tourism and to serve as a place where this rich cultural heritage can be dispersed to visitors. Boomplaats was the first site of its kind to be recorded more than a century ago and has been at the centre of scientific research for this type of archaeological site ever since, greatly contributing towards our understanding of Later Iron Age farmer communities' social organisation, and also served to corroborate interpretations of researchers regarding Later Iron Age settlement layout and function, serving as a window into the world of the BaKoni." (Celliers, 2017: 43)

Even though this study does not investigate socioeconomic development, heritage has often been mobilised as a socioeconomically beneficial tool. The concept of heritage as a development tool should however be approached with caution. According to Mokoena the involvement of community does not guarantee sustainability of heritage or conflict-free situations (2015: 52). Heritage management can still be hindered even with the involvement of community.

A heritage management plan details the recommendations as to the preservation, conservation, interpretation and utilisation of cultural resources. It also allows for potential local development as the marketing principles within a management plan deal with the possibility of making cultural heritage resources accessible and useful for tourism purposes (van Vollenhaven, 2014).

South Africa has a relatively large inventory of historical and cultural resources; some of which are World Heritage assets. The abundance of these assets coupled with the developmental nature of the country's socioeconomic status have led to the usage of cultural and heritage assets to pursue economic development (Barnabas, 2015). One of the concepts in which heritage is often used to pursue development is through cultural tourism: "Cultural tourism is a form of storytelling and consumption that calls on the oral tradition" (Tomaselli, 2012: 117). Although Keyan Tomaselli concedes the growth of the cultural tourism sector; he claims that for under-resourced and remote

villages cultural tourism activity is nothing more than an ad-hoc survival strategy, where the Indigenous “use both reconstructed and real sites to present their performative selves as a way of earning a living” (Tomaselli, 2012: 19).

Although cultural tourism does create employment opportunities, and survival strategies, some critics argue that is can also bring with it negative effects such as cultural degradation. It may, for example, lead to local communities being denied access to their ancestral heritage simply because they cannot afford the tourist entrance fee (Ndlovu, 2009: 67). Despite the democratic and humane ideas that are included in policy governing heritage and Indigenous populations’ protection, the practice of such ideas seems to remain an issue: "Indigenous minorities are often silenced in the face of a dominant group that claims the ‘Indigenous’ mantle” (Tomaselli, 2012: 19). However, some of the Indigenous communities do end up adopting the belief that cultural heritage tourism can have the potential for community development (Barnabas, 2015).

There is literature that claims that there is romanticisation of Indigenous knowledge, but also to the contrary it is claimed that this knowledge is undermined. In this study I am careful not to claim the superiority or universality of Indigenous knowledge, but I am rooting for its recognition as an equally important and valuable knowledge system as, “The romanticisation of Indigenous knowledge results in its adoption as the hegemonic knowledge system as a replacement for Western science, making the same claims for pre-eminence.” (Briggs, 2005: 19). There are many knowledges waiting to be discovered (de Sousa Santos, 2015).

Participatory heritage recording

This research takes a race, class, and ethnicity approach to the oppression of Indigenous and local knowledge. Such issues are suitable for amelioration through political mobilisation and community awareness building. With the democratic dispensation in South Africa, the need for participatory approaches that respect the rights of all individuals was highlighted (Ndlovu, 2011: 31).

There is currently an increase in the significance of community involvement in heritage management projects (Mokoena, 2015: 1). According to UNESCO Indigenous peoples hold a rich diversity of living heritage, including practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills.[7]

[7] https://ich.unesco.org/en/indigenous-peoples accessed on 15 January 2021

There is a ‘post-modern’ concern with multi-vocality which has paved the way for divergent and multiple narratives of history and heritage to be considered within academia and public policy (Smith, 2009: 37). This multi-vocality has led to the increased adoption of participatory communication methods in heritage recording. However, such methods are still regarded as alternative in comparison to more traditional methods of heritage recording which are exclusively led by cultural heritage experts and professionals in some cases. One of the reasons for this is the question on the accurate definition of what participatory communication is. Further to this, Lange *et al*. note that there are scholars who do not believe that participatory communication can deal with social power relations (2011: 3). In participation communication; the power of decision-making rests with the public (Servaes, 1996: 79) and this calls for participatory projects to be flexible in their methodology (Grant, 2019: 5). In its aim, this study will form part of the move towards reorientating heritage management and recording through the application of a participatory approach.

There is heritage recording research and practice that has embraced more participatory recording designs. Fani Ncapayi and Mlingani Mayongo documented both tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the former Xhalanga Magisterial district in the Eastern Cape to not only preserve history but also the Indigenous knowledge of the Indigenous community (2018). In their study Ncapayi and Mayongo investigate the lives and living conditions of people of early African societies who lived in pre-colonial times in the former Xhalanga magisterial district in Eastern Cape. The nature of their study is similar to this one because of the similar inquiry into a pre-colonial African society. Their study was conducted in collaboration with local community members to trace the first families of three villages in the area (Ncapayi and Manyongo, 2018). Their methodology included a workshop ahead of the fieldwork and this is one of the activities that my own study also adopted. Their participants included old and young community members that allowed the study to gain a more holistic insight, and this was a good practice that I emulated in my study.

Lauren Dyll carried out a participatory study in the Kalahari with ǂKhomani San that involved a reciprocating process which facilitated the exchange of information between researchers and participants (2018). Similarly, this study benefited from the use of focus group discussions.

Another valuable study to mention in relation to the call for multivocality is the *Biesje Poort: Engraved Landscape* projects that built on new approaches to the recording of rock engraving sites

(see Lange *et al*. 2013).[8] This research project, and subsequent publication, was so successful that the National Heritage Council supported a proposal for an extended project which subsequently gave birth to the project titled Marking memories: pre-industrial to contemporary, north of the ǃ Garib River and west of the Lebombo Mountains. This project is relevant to this study because of its rare approach.

The *Biesje Poort: Engraved Landscape* project was aimed at recording rock engravings at the Biesje Poort Farm on the Orange River using a multi-vocal approach that saw knowledge being collectively produced by a multicultural and multidisciplinary team (2011: 5). In this project, the local Kalahari people were included right throughout the process of proposal writing, rock art recording and write up of the emergent knowledge and as such it gave the research a local dimension. Although the language barrier existing amongst the participants did lead to a minor difference of opinion, in one instance, the overall project proved that participatory communication methods can be a viable tool to record tangible and intangible heritage (Lange *et al.*, 2011: 22). The NHC's evaluation of the project attests to the value of the participatory methodology that was devised and operationalised by the diverse team:

> The Biesje Poort rock art recording project has brought together a diverse group from various parts of the country and of different cultural and educational backgrounds to work together. The initial grant was for the research and recording of the Biesje Poort site, located in the remote Southern Kgalagadi, in the Z F Mgcawu District of the Northern Cape Province. The second phase of the funding application [the book, Engraved Landscape: Biesje Poort Many Voices, Lange *et al.,* 2013] is a culmination of the achievement of the research project. We believe the recording constituting this project is a model of what can be achieved given the many possibilities arising from the diversity of South African heritage. Here is an example of our many unique sites, often in remote areas; here is the passing on of skills and sharing of expertise with local people; and here are recorded the voices of local people, farmers and nearby communities, alongside those of academics from a range of disciplines representing research, learning, recording and archiving institutions. The engravings and the heritage of this place are part of our national estate, namely, heritage resources of South Africa which are of cultural significance or other special value for the present community and for future generations. (NHC 2013, vii)

A further study contributing to the field of participatory heritage recording is the East Fort Archeological Project (2017). This project enrolled participants into a two-day course that increased heritage conservation awareness, introduction to archaeology, and encouraged communication:

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[8] Also see https://www.biesjepoortbook.co.za

> The aim of the East Fort Archaeological Project is to provide an opportunity to members of the public interested in archaeology, as well as to assist high school learners and prospective tertiary students considering archaeology as a career, to participate in an active archaeological project regardless of their skills level (van Vollenhaven *et al*., 2017:121).

This project focuses on a fort that was built during the Anglo-Boer War (South African War) in the eastern parts of Pretoria, Gauteng. Initially this project was only aimed at high school learners for use in their history curriculum but it later welcomed participation from members of the general public and primary school learners due to the interest shown in the project (van Vollenhaven *et al*., 2017). Similarly, the workshop stage of my data collection contained elements of heritage conservation awareness, introduction to archaeology and communication. The success and interest shown in the East Fort Archaeological Project proved that the general public could participate in and assist with the production of archaeological knowledge. It further proved that age and skill levels were not determining factors for the participation of the public in archaeological knowledge production (van Vollenhaven *et al*., 2017).

A research project along the Eastern Cape coastline, which led to the publication of a book titled *The Spirit of Water: Practices of Cultural Reappropriation* (Minguzzi, 2021), assumed a participatory and multidisciplinary approach to document heritage sites as identified by, and in conjunction with, Khoe-San Chiefs. These were sites identified as belonging to the culture of the Khoisan speaking people: “The sites we visit include caves with pictographs, areas of forests with springs that the community recognises as belonging to their ancestors, sites of fish traps, places where specific events took place or where archaeologists have discovered remains” (Minguzzi, 2021: 16). Some of these sites are in private land and access to them is on condition of the owners’ permission. Given that the Photovoice methodology, which includes photography of the stonewall area, is employed, gatekeeper permission from the Lydenburg museum was a requirement.

My study adopts an approach similar to the projects discussed above. This study includes local participants in various stages of the project and most importantly in knowledge production. According to Lange *et al*. (2011: 3), the ideal approach to multidisciplinary and multicultural projects is participatory communication. One approach to participatory methodologies, in a variety of fields, is Photovoice.

Photovoice

Part of this study appraises the benefit and challenges of Photovoice as a participatory methodology, with a particular emphasis on its role in heritage recording. I begin with a brief history of the Photovoice methodology and how it changed from 'photo elicitation' to 'Photovoice'. I further problematise aspects of policy, approaches and solutions. Additionally, this section will review Photovoice scholarship to establish what previous studies have found to be beneficial and challenging in the methodology, as well as its limitations. This is crucial for this study as Photovoice can be considered as both a theory and a method (Manyozo, 2016).

New technologies have always been used to improve the lives of human beings and this vision heightened in the 20th Century (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009). The Photovoice methodology falls within this ambit of technology being used to improve people's lives as it seeks to enhance research participants' efforts to express their opinions, ideas and realities. Some of the earliest references of Photovoice were made by photographer and researcher John Collier in 1957 during his examination of mental health in the Maritime provinces of Canada (Harper, 2002). Previously called Photo elicitation, Photovoice studies have been used in a range of disciplines: "Photo elicitation studies have been concentrated in four areas, social organisation/social class, community, identity and culture" (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009: 16). A significant number of these studies have been employed in the anthropology and sociology disciplines and some of them have included film and video (Harper, 2002: 13).

The term Photovoice was coined by Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris in 1997 as they employed the method to document the working conditions of women farmworkers in China in the rice paddies of Yunnan (de Lange and Mitchell, 2017). Ridley claims that the use of the term 'voice' was inserted to signify this methods ability to encourage disadvantaged communities to use photography as an expression (2010). This term was also better than the methodologically focused term 'Photo-elicitation' (Ridley, 2010).

Critical researchers believe that "the social world is oppressive for many groups, particularly along the lines of gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexual preference, age, disability and so on" (Le Grange, 2001: 139). This study accepts that the current spectrum of literature on Bakoni heritage is characterised by injustice as well as political and economic domination, as will be elaborated on below. Inclusion of Indigenous and local knowledge, or living heritage, is the rationale for my

study. This is my primary reason for the selection of Photovoice as the most appropriate tool to document both the tangible and intangible aspect of Bakoni heritage.

Photovoice is a research tool which includes co-producing knowledge with participants through giving them cameras and asking them to take photographs that represent their issues and realities (Wang, 2006: 148). Photographs can be regarded as precise records of material reality (Collier and Collier, 1986: 10). The intended goal of this study is to create a platform through which local community members may express their voices should they wish to do so. Frequently, Photovoice is popular in projects that seek to involve groups in the definition of their own issues (Gant *et al*., 2009: 360). This study enables members of the Mashishing local community to define the Bakoni heritage in their own way. The use of Photovoice allows the participants to define and identify the aspects of the Bakoni heritage that they deem worthy to the process of heritage recording. As such, "The photographers consider the questions for their photos, select subsets for small group discussions, and choose the favorite or most significant photo to share with the large group" (Gant *et al*., 2009: 361).

Photovoice entails the use of information and communication technologies in the form of cameras which will need to be used by the participants (Wang, 2006: 148). Further to this, the creative element of the Photovoice method carries a host of advantages for the study. These include "the ability to capture the complex texture of lived experience, explore interconnections between nature and culture, support non-hierarchical relations and communicate insights in engaging and empowering ways" (Lopez, Wickson and Hausner, 2018: 1). This method requires that information be exchanged between researcher and participants as the participants are taught how to generate data, in this case, pictures in exchange for local and Indigenous knowledge and narratives. However, the complexity of this method presents certain challenges to be considered during its execution. The reading of photographic representations of other cultures is closely related to power struggles (Manyozo, 2016).

Benefits and Strengths

Knowledge produced by Indigenous producers tends to reflect the sociocultural and economic issues under which the producers live (Briggs, 2005: 13). One methodology that has been used to facilitate the inclusion of Indigenous and local knowledge is Photovoice, because as a form of participatory communication, it "seeks to equalise these conditions through the sharing of power" (Lange *et al*., 2011: 8). The strength of this method lies in the fact that it uses visuals to

articulate what might otherwise be difficult for participating individuals to communicate (Grant, 2019: 2). This means that even illiterate community members can express themselves; young and old, as: "The critical eye of the camera is an essential tool in gathering accurate visual information because we moderns are often poor observers" (Collier and Collier, 1986: 5). Further, "Photovoice seems to have a special appeal to young people and a potential to engage children and adolescents" (Gant *et al*., 2009: 361). This study benefits from this observation as it includes a diverse range of participants.

Flor Lopez, Fern Wickson and Vera Hausner (2018: 2) propose that:

> Photovoice's main goals are to give voice to marginalised people by exploring their perceptions and emotions on a topic, to empower participants by recognising their knowledge and expertise, and to stimulate reflections that highlight participants' own responsibilities, strengths and resources in a non-hierarchical way.

Photovoice has grown to become one of the most popular methods of involving disadvantaged groups in defining their issues (Gant *et al*., 2009). Linje Manyozo supports this as he discusses Photovoice as a post-colonial space and interactive platform that has potential to empower the disadvantaged (2016). Manyozo uses the term "photoelicitation" for the word "Photovoice" as "In principle, photo elicitation is a qualitative enquiry that involves using moving and non-moving images to generate conversations between researchers and subject communities" (Manyozo, 2016: 84).

The added relevance of the Photovoice method lies in the fact that it is potentially able to uncover contemporary polysemic interpretations of the Bakoni stonewalls: "Photovoice interrogates contextually based meanings from an insider perspective as a means to generate new insights into our socially constructed realities and cultures" (Sutton-Brown, 2014: 170). It seeks to address the 'dilemma of multivocality' which can be viewed as a:

> …dilemma of attempts to provide a single, coherent heritage narrative in the face of conflicting interpretations of histories, it is the omission of Indigenous voices in interpretations of the Indigenous, and the possibility that multivocality itself may be a word linked to top-down hegemonies wherein heritage is used to include and exclude (Barnabas, 2016: 1).

The Photovoice methodology benefits from the use of photography and cameras, a relatively new technology especially for Indigenous communities. This vision of attempting to achieve an improved life using new technologies has always existed (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009). This study

will not only use Photovoice as part of its methodology, but it will also explore the capability of Photovoice in stimulating narratives. Photovoice is one of the methods which "allow researchers to foreground the ways in which research participants' knowledge and experiences can be actively included in research so that they are visible in the research process" (Dyll, 2020: 11). The Photovoice method is known for empowering the participants, and not just extracting information. This study, however, does not attempt to present Photovoice as a flawless method of heritage documenting but rather it seeks to also explore this method's potential challenges. James Falconer (2014: 13) has already noted cost considerations to be weighed by the researcher who wishes to employ the Photovoice methodology in their research project. Falconer takes up the realistic responsibility of discussing the fieldwork factors that might require adjustments to an initial Photovoice research design (2014).

Challenges and Considerations

Although Photovoice can be an effective method of data collection, it is important to note its sophisticated nature due to the various resources required to successfully carry it out (2014). Falconer conducted a study, which considered the factors that might potentially need to be reconsidered during the execution of Photovoice. He named a school, church or community centre as some of the resources which might be required as a venue for the discussion, planning and mobilisation for a Photovoice project. Falconer's project, established to study the perception of marginalised Nicaraguans on their health conditions, was carried out over 11 days (2014). His study is similar to mine in that it studies Indigenous societies.

Not only are material resources required to use this method, but there are prerequisite social skills a researcher must possess to use Photovoice as their data collection method (Falconer, 2014: 16). Researchers should engage in honest self-evaluation and enquire whether they possess such skills. There are some general methods through which social actors can engage in collective action, but it is important to customise these methods in order to suit local dynamics (Tufte, 2017: 26).

Falconer acknowledges the ability of Photovoice to collect large amounts of qualitative data in a relatively short period of time (2014: 16). This is especially when the research participants are literate, compliant and eager. This presents an added challenge in securing the suitable research candidates. Particularly because of " negative experiences with Western researchers, who often treat Indigenous peoples as specimens and not human beings, many Indigenous peoples have decided not to do research" (le Grange, 2001: 143). Noting that narratives can be fabricated; another

consideration by Manyozo, is the fact that researchers need to establish whether the narratives relayed by participants are their own or that of others (2016).

Authoring the Bakoni heritage: multiple and contradicting narratives

In between the various authoring on the history of Bakoni, a tourism establishment in Machadodorp, an hour's drive away from Mashishing; The Walkersons Hotel seems to be contributing to the confusion around the age of the stonewalls. This is on their online platform in an article, Bakoni Ruins at Machadodorp (2014). Their information potentially leads to the loss of valuable cultural heritage knowledge. The Hotel's writing entertains the claim that the stonewalls are 200 000 years old while still accepting that Bakoni resided in the area in the 18th century: "The Bakoni people are believed to have occupied this area from about the 18th century, yet the ruins date back to 200 000 years ago, around the time that 'Mitochondrial Eve' is believed to have lived" (Walkersons Hotel, 2014). This potentially suggests that the Bakoni did not build the stonewalls but only encountered them in the 18th century and then occupied the area. However, there is no credible information to corroborate such claims. It is important to accede that the Walkersons Hotel is not an academic institution, however it is still able to influence public knowledge because their claims have been published on a public platform. It is worth noting that knowledge from such tourism establishments should be consumed with caution as their primary intention is not to generate knowledge but to boost their tourism business potential using heritage resources. The Walkersons Hotel article Bakoni Ruins at Machadodorp ends with a catchy invite to "a picnic amongst the ruins" (2014). It is important to note that there were no local perspectives included in this write up. This is where my study deviates because it includes local community members. The exclusion of local community members supports the biased views of the knowledge producing elite (Akena, 2016).

What Morris refers to as 'settler myths' (2006: 41) often drowns out other narratives and credits non-African colonisers for heritage sites such as the Bakoni stonewalls instead of prioritising Indigenous agency in explanations of such heritage material. Africans were incorrectly thought of as primitive before the colonisation of their country however archaeologists have found evidence to the contrary (Pseudoarchaeology,[9] 2015). On the opposing side of literature, the role of the Bakoni is considered central in the construction of these sites. Some of the most notable efforts on this side of literature are that of Peter Delius who led a research project into the history and heritage of the

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9 pseudoarchaeology.leadr.msu.edu/bakoniruins/ Accessed on 13 October 2022

Mpumalanga region in 2005. This initiative led to the publication of the book *Forgotten World: The Stonewalled Settlements of the Mpumalanga Escarpment.* Wendy de Klerk also explains the architecture of the Bakoni stonewalls as a defense mechanism by its inhabitants (2019: 5). The more knowledge we uncover about how different times were in the past, the more we also realise that there are similarities to contemporary society such as, "Their traditional dress code dictated that men and women should dress differently" (Musinguzi and Kibirige, 2009: 154). This literature not only recognises the role of the Bakoni in the building of these sites; but it highlights an empowering narrative of the use of stone structures which gives added value to the Bakoni heritage:

> such a community may have settled on a particularly fertile patch of the landscape which included slopes that, despite the rich soil, were rocky and too steep to cultivate normally without erosion. By clearing the stones and placing them to check sheet erosion, the advantage of terracing became apparent. The technique improved with time, and this enabled additional land, previously unsuitable for cultivation, to be cultivated productively. The new system was so successful that neighbouring communities adopted it along the escarpment and even at lower altitudes down towards the lowveld. (Delius *et al.* 2012: 404)

Among these widely available narratives about Bakoni heritage and identity (van Vollenhaven et al, 2017; Delius et al., 2012; Whitlock, 2018; Dimri, 2022; Tellinger, 2013; Wade, 2009), local and Indigenous narratives are significantly important in generating more knowledge regarding the heritage of the Bakoni. In Polokwane, Limpopo, there is an open-air museum dedicated to showcasing the culture of Bakoni since 1985. This museum has been one of the flagship institutions throughout the country which is committed to showcasing and preserving the Bakoni culture. The museum is called the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum and is managed by a small community of Bakoni who showcase their tangible and intangible heritage. Dan Musinguzi and Israel Kibirige's study, which aimed to explore the role of cultural and heritage education within this museum, cautioned against the altering of traditional culture to suit tourists as this could lead to the loss of valuable cultural heritage knowledge (2009), "It has been suggested that the white minority who visited the museum wanted to know more about different Black cultures in order to be able to manipulate their members more effectively" (Musinguzi and Kibirige, 2009: 153). This shows that even correct knowledge can be misappropriated to support ignoble intentions.

On the contradicting side of literature, Peter Wade claims that the Bakoni stonewalls exist as a result of "gold-seeking traders from India" who inhabited the Mpumalanga area at the time of the establishment of the stonewalls (2009). Wade further claims that this Indian community introduced farming and mining methods to the Indigenous people of that time (2009). This claim is especially

sensitive because the Bakoni tradition is mostly credited for its innovative agricultural methods. So, for Wade to attribute such skills and information to an outside factor; such knowledge must be carefully considered (2009). Additionally, Wade suggests that the Bakoni stonewalls could not have been of human activity, playing into already existing claims of extraterrestrial interference: "No excavations were made to test for evidence that the rocks are separate or attached to the mother rock or whether they showed signs of human activity, nor was evidence found showing that the rocks were utilised or fashioned by humans in any way" (Wade, 2009: 58).

The literature that recognises the Bakoni as the architects of the stonewalls is empowering to the Bakoni heritage. Despite his highlighting of Indian trader influence in the stonewalls, Wade acknowledges that the Bakoni must have had superior understanding of the sun, moon, planets and stars and how these linked to natural life hence they possessed superior agricultural skills (2009: 17). This is supported by the understanding that "Indigenous agricultural systems demonstrate a considerable knowledge of, and sympathy with, the environment" (Briggs, 2005: 4). Such claims demonstrate innovation and therefore falsify colonial claims of African primitivism during the pre-colonial era, for example, "The ruins clearly prove that African agriculture, prior to the arrival of European colonialists, was far from being the rudimentary system the Europeans believed it to be" (Whitlock, 2022).

Archaeology website Pseudoarchaeology[10] uses the knowledge that various tribes lived in the same area at the same time to deduce that this must have been a civilised community which was able to not only communicate with each other but was also able to build a pre-colonial empire that flourished for some time, despite their various backgrounds. Meanwhile, Briggs writes about the general perception that precolonial Africa was assumed to have been a "hostile environment subject to disease, famine and dislocation" (2005: 18). The author of an article in a Pseudoarchaeology website[11] criticises scholars for creating fictional pasts that make use of ambiguous evidence to appease the natural human need for answers to questions about the stonewalls.

Michael Tellinger attributes the establishment of the stonewalls to the Annunaki, a group of mythological Gods (2013). Tellinger and Wade both remove the role of the Bakoni people in the construction of these cultural sites. It is equally important to note that their methodologies did not include any local or Indigenous narratives. Additionally, archeological exploration of these sites has

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10 Available at: pseudoarchaeology.leadr.msu.edu/bakoniruins/ Accessed on 13 October 2022

11 Available at: pseudoarchaeology.leadr.msu.edu/bakoniruins/ Accessed on 13 October 2022.

not yielded any material that suggests that they were built or used by Indian or any other foreign forces (Delius and Schoeman, 2010). However, knowledge produced by Wade, Cyril Hromnik (1981) and Tellinger (2013) seeks to attribute these sites to exotic and otherworldly forces. Peter Delius and Maria Schoeman (2008) believe that past racist assumptions are the cause for the lack of in-depth studies of these structures: “These are based on the assumption that it would have been impossible for African societies to develop these structures without outside influence” (Delius, Maggs and Schoeman, 2012: 404). According to Harriet Deacon the contestation and politicisation of heritage sites causes problems for the conservation and interpretation of such sites (2004: 7).

Conclusion

Gaps exist in literature on Bakoni heritage, culture and history, as most knowledge has been produced by experts and professionals as opposed to local and Indigenous community members. In this chapter I have established that the inclusion of such communities could have a positive contribution towards the management of Bakoni stonewalls as a heritage resource. In the identification of such knowledge gaps, the significance of this study has been further justified.

To contextualise and locate the study in a wider context, I have reviewed international and South African heritage policies. The study of cultural heritage policies which govern the usage of heritage on both a national level and international level has been presented chronologically so any shifts in legislation and management could be identified. Additionally, this chapter investigates the implementation and critiques of these policies. Internationally, there is a Western-influenced tendency to separate the tangible aspects of heritage from the intangible (Ndlovu, 2011). Despite efforts to eradicate this tendency, subtle elements of it remain apparent even in South African heritage policies. Academic studies that have assessed these policies have also observed that during this division, the intangibility of heritage usually takes the backseat. These policies have also been referred to in defining some concepts which are key to this study. Locally, South African heritage management policies have evolved drastically from the Bushman Relics Act (1911) to become more inclusive in terms of the description of what is heritage and how it should be managed.

In this chapter I have further consulted literature with the aim of investigating whether Photovoice as a participatory methodology is relevant to achieve some of the objectives of this study. The review of literature on the Bakoni, cultural heritage policy, heritage recording and Photovoice has justified further not only the relevance but the importance of this study.

In this chapter I have also sought to explain how archaeology is linked to the study. Part of the problem that gave rise to this study was the omission of local and Indigenous narratives in literature. Included in this chapter are the contesting narratives that surround the history, culture and heritage of Bakoni. Various authors have sought to produce various narratives that benefit themselves politically, financially or otherwise. As such this chapter has addressed my research question on what research is available on the relevant heritage site and what methodologies were used towards the research. Among these narratives currently available to the public, it remains crucial to create an enabling platform for the inclusion of Indigenous narratives.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

Introduction

> Our ancestors are master storytellers. They interweave our past, present and future for us. They deliver our genealogy, connecting people and their environment, conveying identity and obligation. Can you hear their voices in the city as you move along its waterways and paths and through its structures? (Thompson-Fawcett, 2022: 2).

The above-mentioned importance of voices and storytelling across past and present is central to this study as I am concerned with the lack of Indigenous and local narratives about the Bakoni culture and heritage in empirical literature. Previous literature on the Bakoni stonewalls in Mpumalanga has mostly been produced by academic, external, technical and professional members of the society. This has led to the exclusion of local and Indigenous knowledge of the Bakoni stonewalls in the mainstream, academic and cultural domains. The dominant notion is that it is only the North that possesses acceptable knowledge and other forms of knowledge are often regarded as superstition and ignorance (Santos, Nunes and Meneses, 2007). The exclusion of local and Indigenous narratives, as a result of this Western Science dominion, prevents those interested from having a more balanced and holistic understanding of the Bakoni heritage. Further to this, exclusion supports the unjust hegemony of Western Science over Indigenous Knowledge. As this study falls within the ambit of contributing towards the dethroning of a dominant system, it can be associated with Decolonisation as it seeks to "include the direct experiences of people on the peripheries who have been historically the subjects" (Dyll, 2020: 2).

My study co-produces knowledge on the Bakoni heritage using qualitative participatory methods with members of the local Mashishing community. This chapter illustrates how theory guides this collection of qualitative data in the pursuit of the study's intention to uncover the views and opinions of the insider (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The qualitative nature of my study is so that it can explore local and Indigenous Mashishing narratives, by people who can be regarded as insiders in relation to the Bakoni heritage.

According to Moro-Abadia (2005: 4) "the critical history of archaeology which emerged in the 1980s has encouraged 'externalist' approaches that seek to correlate archaeological practice with its political, economic and social contexts." It is within this 'externalist' approach that my study is located. I rationalise the selection of my theoretical approach based on the demographics of my research unit. In selecting the theory, I was influenced by the general objective of the study, which

is knowledge production. “The combination of critical theory, situation analysis, and action create a fruitful dialectic for the construction of knowledge” (Huesca, 2008: 183).

This chapter locates this study in the two theoretical bodies of knowledge that are central to this research: Representation theory and Participatory Communication (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009). The chapter identifies, explains and justifies the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that inform this research (Maxwell, 2008: 22) and act as an analytical lens. It is, therefore, a conceptual framework (as opposed to a theoretical framework) as it presents my way of thinking in relation to this study and draws from differing yet paradigmatically related theories, models and best practices (Bordage, 2009). This chapter presents how the associated theories and their concomitant concepts guide my data collection, and the ways in which they are suitable lenses through which the data can be analysed. Some assumptions inform my research approach and these will be declared in this chapter.

Representation Theory and Participatory Communication are complementary theoretical orientations as they can both be placed within the constructivist paradigm and critical theory. The main aim of critical theory is to critique and transform injustices that may exist within cultural, social, political, economic, ethnic and gender structure (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The constructivist paradigm accepts that meaning is constructed by social actors (Schwandt, 1994). They both, therefore, place the research-related social actors who face these injustices at the centre and are afforded the agency to make meaning of said injustice but can also transform it. To understand the lived experiences of local and Indigenous participants, I adopt the constructivist approach from a critical theory lens. I used the conceptual framework to reveal local and Indigenous meanings and understandings of the Bakoni heritage (Anfara, 2008a). This knowledge will contribute to a more diverse understanding of the Bakoni heritage. Only Critical Theory is discussed in this chapter. Constructivism is mobilised to explore power dynamics in the co-constructed knowledge generated in the methodology of this study, hence it is discussed in the Methodology Chapter.

Critical Theory Research Paradigm

Paradigms have important implications, not only for the practice of research but also for the interpretation of the research findings (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Researchers are influenced by certain paradigmatic assumptions during the design of their studies and the subsequent perspectives that guide the study (Anfara, 2008a). Guba and Lincoln (1994) define paradigm as the basic belief

system that guides the researcher during the methodology and the ontological and epistemological assumptions that constitute the research project. This definition highlights the close relationship that exists between the paradigm of a project and the methodology: “These philosophical assumptions consist of a stance toward the nature of reality (ontology), how the researcher knows what she or he knows (epistemology), the role of values in the research (axiology), the language of research (rhetoric), and the methods used in the process (methodology)” (Creswell, 2007: 16). As a critical researcher, in this study I challenge the objectivist epistemology and realist ontology (le Grange, 2001: 138). In this study, I adopt subjective epistemology and relative ontology.

Epistemology

Epistemology is a theory of knowledge concerned with what knowledge is and how it is created (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). I approach this study with the understanding that local and Indigenous narratives can and should be considered knowledge on Bakoni heritage. Additionally, this kind of knowledge can and should be produced constructively and collaboratively. Although my study prioritises Indigenous Knowledge Systems and epistemologies; it does subscribe to Western knowledge as it follows the form and structure of a thesis but it valorises Indigenous knowledge as an integral knowledge in heritage making and interpretation.

The epistemological assumption of this study characterised the practice of my research by requiring me to collaborate with participants and spend time with participants in the field (Creswell, 2007). This assumption is especially relevant to this research as the Photovoice method, which was adopted to collect data and advocates for the close collaboration between researcher and participant from taking photos to the discussion process and interview. The epistemological assumption that informs my approach is that the collaboration of Indigenous and local communities in knowledge production is not only beneficial to these related communities, but to broader society in diversifying the narratives that are associated with the Bakoni.

Axiology

The axiology of the study refers to the values brought to the research. In the implementation of the axiological assumption, researchers declare their values and biases (Cresswell, 2007: 17). In this study, I use reflexivity to not only declare my values and biases but also as a resource from which knowledge can be generated. I am a young educated and employed Black male who is the first generation to be born under democracy from both the paternal and maternal side of my family. Although it may be considered that I was born under a democratic South Africa, it does not mean

that I am shielded from the negative effects of the previous apartheid regime and colonial era. Even though the apartheid regime was toppled, there still exists a clear line between the rich and the poor (most of whom are Black). Coming from an underprivileged community and background still affects how I view the world and experience it. This is elaborated more in the reflexivity section of the Methodology Chapter.

Ontology

Ontology relates to the researcher's stance on the nature and characteristics of reality. In the conduct of this study, I operate within the assumption that reality is relative and embraces the idea of multiple realities (Creswell, 2007: 16). During data collection I observed that various participants chose to focus on various aspects of the Bakoni heritage. The ontology of post-positivist approaches, such as relativism, dictates that "claims about reality must be subjected to the widest possible critical examination to facilitate apprehending reality as closely as possible" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 110). This approach relates to this study as I approach it with the belief that the scope of sources of Bakoni knowledge needs to be widened in order to comprehend Bakoni heritage as holistically as possible.

A relativist ontology aligns to a constructivist approach which is informed by my intention to explore the intangible heritage (narratives) of the Bakoni. I comprehended realities in the form of diverse, intangible mental constructions (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 111) generated in the interaction between researcher and research participant. I mobilise this relativism and co-construction through the methodology of Photovoice. Relativity is especially important to this study because it acknowledges my intended and unintended influence on the participants and the knowledge that they produce.

Rhetoric

The stance towards the language of this research is the use of the first person as part of the mobilisation of reflexivity. I also refer to "participants" instead of "subjects" when referring to the people involved in this research. I deviate from the norm where academic researchers view Indigenous people as research subjects (Gordon, *et al.*, 2022: 5). Photovoice enables a research environment where participants are co-producers of knowledge instead of subjects of knowledge (de Lange and Mitchell, 2017). This is discussed more comprehensively in the Methodology Chapter.

Methodology

The methodology of a study is considered to have direct and effective implications on the conduct of a study: "Methodology, in other words, integrates the what and the how of the research, that is, conceptualisation of the study and the methods of conducting it" (Lukenchuk, 2017: 58).

This study forms part of an emerging research system that is not only interactive but that is also socially distributed (Hessels and van Lente, 2008). It falls within this emerging research system as knowledge is produced in a location outside of the university setting (Gingras and Godin, 2000) through the use of a participatory methodology. I also locate this study within this innovative community because it provides for the bi-directional transfer of knowledge where the researcher receives knowledge from the participants and the participants also receive knowledge from the researcher. This free flow of information, resulting in knowledge-sharing opportunities, is considered a basic element of an inclusive and democratising innovation (Sutz *et al*., 2014: 15).

Critical theory forms part of this study's conceptual framework because of the dialogic nature of its methodologies, which assisted me in exploring local and Indigenous knowledge alongside the research participants. The literature search I conducted for this study revealed that the production of knowledge regarding the Bakoni heritage has so far not embraced this inclusive and democratic imperative, as discussed in Chapter 2. I value the previously established historical insights that I shared in the literature review chapter but I also aim to set up a dialectal interaction (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) between previous scholarship and voices of the local and Indigenous Mashishing community. When the majority of the voices of the populace remain silenced, the use of critical theory can encourage the creation of many voices in society (Fourie, 2007: 145).

South Africa is one of the world's most socioeconomically unequal countries and it cannot be disputed that knowledge can play a significant role in changing the status quo for those on the bitter end of the inequality spectrum. There is a relationship between knowledge use and knowledge production and some institutions have achieved social inclusion through knowledge and refer to this as the democratisation of knowledge (Sutz *et al*., 2014). This study relates to this view of knowledge production. Thus, I seek to decentralise the benefits of knowledge so that it is not unfairly concentrated in the demographics of a select few. The ideology and legacy of racialisation still shapes Indigenous knowledge production through colonial research ontologies, axiologies and epistemologies which are widely accepted as "common sense" (Rigney, 1999). This study forms part of an effort to challenge that status quo.

The main aim of critical theory is to critique and transform the injustice that may exist within cultural, social, political, economic, ethnic and gender structures (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Critical research is, as such, concerned with power relations as it assumes that inequities are not only as a result of unequal power relations but that it also produces them (Peirce, 1995). The aim of this study is aligned with addressing an otherwise imbalanced knowledge structure which mostly undermines the cultural, social and political and contribution of the local and Indigenous Mashishing community in the heritage of the Bakoni. Therefore, in the conduct of this research, I accept and anticipate that there are inequities of gender, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation amongst others. I considered these inequities especially during the collection and analysis of data.

Indigenous representation and Indigenous knowledge production play an important role in the decolonisation of African history and heritage. When Indigenous knowledge is included in narratives, the history and heritage of those narratives can be empowering to members of that Indigenous community (Iseke, 2013: 572). This, as in "development and research initiatives, there is a constant negotiation of power between the seen and the unseen, between the present and the absent" (Manyozo, 2018: 397). The engagement with ideas of the past ["those unseen/absent"] in storytelling [by those "seen/present"] allow us to transform ourselves today (Iseke, 2013: 572).

Epistemologically, critical theory works on the premise that to reach knowledge the researcher needs to uncover local understandings of power relationships with the objective to empower the oppressed (Willis *et al*., 2007), which can be achieved through participatory inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This theoretical approach is especially relevant for this study because it considers the knowledge produced in relation to the producer of the knowledge. Critical theory also makes the connection between media that is produced and the producer of the media (Fourie, 2007: 134). This theory will be accommodative and cognisant of the notable diversity that characterises the group of research participants. It will be able to not only account for, but will also take advantage of, the diverse interpretations of the participants who will be interacting with Bakoni heritage. The meaning of a text is negotiated by the interpreter based on their cultural, educational, political, and economic background (Fourie, 2007: 134).

The Indigenous and local community members who participate in this study are not only being represented in the study but they are simultaneously representing their social grouping: "Members of the same culture must share sets of concepts, images and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus to interpret the world, in roughly similar ways" (Hall, 1997a: 4).

Derrida (1982) acknowledges the ability of represented individuals to be able to simultaneously represent the wider social group. Despite this symbiotic ability to be a subject of representation as well as an active representative of their respective social groupings, participants are still different from other members of their social groups. This, in that "[r]epresentatives and presumably also their constituents differ in their perceptions of the degree of common and conflicting interests" (Mansbridge, 2011: 626). These differences might take form in the way that the narratives are relayed and/or in the aspects of narratives that participants choose to focus on, thus reiterating that "not only are Indigenous groups diverse, so is their production and use of media forms" (Stoddard and Hicks, 2014: 11). Meaning cannot be conclusively fixated because it is the result of our various social, cultural, and linguistic codes (Hall, 1997a: 23). The inclusion of Indigenous and local knowledge of the Bakoni heritage will contribute to the body of knowledge that currently exists on the Bakoni heritage and identity.

Researchers are able to use multiple paradigms in their qualitative research as long they are compatible. For example, the constructionist and participatory paradigm (Creswell, 2007) and, "Researchers might use an alternative worldview, advocacy/participatory, because the positivist imposes structural laws and theories that do not fit marginalised individuals or groups and the constructivists do not go far enough in advocating for action to help individuals" (Creswell, 2007: 21). These paradigmatic characteristics were crucial in my choice because the study involves individuals that may be regarded as marginalised in the knowledge production of Bakoni heritage and therefore the study could not be positivist. Although some aspects of the study relate to the constructionist paradigm, it further required the addition of the participatory paradigm because the constructionist paradigm on its own does not sufficiently advocate action that helps individuals. The participatory paradigm allows for participants to collaborate in producing knowledge of Bakoni heritage which challenges their exclusion within the wider body of knowledge produced about Bakoni.

Critical Theory is closely associated with the field of Cultural Studies that also emphasises the importance of uncovering power relations and how these manifest.

Cultural Studies

My study centres on Bakoni culture and narratives of the contemporary Mashishing local and Indigenous communities about this heritage. I am also concerned with the power relations between these underrepresented (local and Indigenous) communities and other privileged parties whose

narratives on the Bakoni are published and widely known. These are some of the reasons I considered before locating this study within the realm of Cultural Studies. The basic attitudes that are associated with Cultural Studies, relevant to my study are: inclusivity, plurality and pro-democracy (Maxwell, 2000).

Cultural Studies owe its very establishment to power relations. “Cultural Studies began in Britain in the 1950s by bringing the culture and sensibilities of industrial workers to the centre of its concerns” (Maxwell, 2000: 282). Set within Cultural Studies, this study brings the Bakoni culture and the sensibilities of local and Indigenous communities into focus. It uses the Bakoni stonewalls as textual artefacts with which to gain understanding of local and Indigenous narratives regarding Bakoni behaviour and culture: “The main goal for the establishment of Cultural Studies was to use textual artefacts in order to retrospectively understand human behaviour and culture” (Woodward, 2007: 18). This study considers the Bakoni stonewalls as the cultural window in which to peek into the past.

Stuart Hall (1997a: 2) describes culture as factors that are distinctive in the way people live their lives. This distinctiveness between the cultures of a people dictates that for meaning to be made, people will have to find common ground where language will be effectively interpreted. This, as “[o]ur shared conceptual map must be translated into a common language so that we can correlate our concepts and ideas with certain written words, spoken sounds or visual images” (Hall, 1997a: 18).

How we use goods is always framed by our cultural contexts, so the usage of goods has cultural meaning in itself (Lury, 2011: 14). In the context of this study, the goods are the Bakoni tangible heritage in the form of stonewalls. My research project is focused on exploring the emanating cultural meanings of the Bakoni stonewalls as objects that were used by—and continue to depict the aspects of the culture of—the Bakoni people. Cultural Studies is “concerned with how audiences, rather than producers, make meaning” of certain representations (Tomaselli, 2012: 17).

Hall (2020: 27) explains that “meaning often depends on larger units of analysis narratives, statements, groups of images, whole discourses which operate across a variety of texts, areas of knowledge about a subject which have acquired widespread authority”. This suggests that the Bakoni stone walls would be better interpreted with the inclusion of not only those people

traditionally considered ‘experts’ (archaeologists and academics) but with local and Indigenous people as well.

The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham (UK) played a key role in the establishment of British cultural studies in 1964: “With Hall as director, the Centre moved British Cultural Studies in new theoretical and methodological directions” (Maxwell, 2000: 284). The Birmingham School of Cultural Studies emerged alongside activist currents in the British New Left and it presented “a radical democratic alternative to traditional higher education and the available methods and methodologies of communication and media studies” (Tomaselli, Dyll and Ngcobo, 2021: np).

Although not tailor-made for application in the Global South, the Birmingham initiative played a pivotal role in the opposition of oppression in Zimbabwe and South Africa amongst others in that its theories ‘travelled’ to and were adapted in other parts of the world (Tomaselli, 2019). This was later followed by the indigenisation of some cultural studies trajectories to suit southern African conditions. African Cultural Studies are produced more in South Africa than in any other African country (Kashope-Wright and Xiao, 2020). However, just as there is no single variant of International Cultural Studies, there is also no single variant of African Cultural Studies (Tomaselli, 2012): “Serious problems occur, however, when such unreconstituted models, theories and paradigms developed to answer problems and offer explanations of processes elsewhere, are applied in Africa irrespective of local ways of making sense and doing things” (Tomaselli, 2012: 20).

This study is located within African Cultural Studies as I undertake research with participants who are viewed as having agency, rather than as ‘subjects’ (Barnabas, 2015): “Research within this paradigm is performance-based, lived, and self-reflexive, starting from the experience and ontologies of the researched” (Tomaselli, 2016: 228). This study is also practice-oriented and conducted in alliance with the local and Indigenous communities of Mashishing. I consider people as active agents in the making of their own histories and they are pursuing practical solutions within local frames of reference (Tomaselli, 2012; 2019). Rooted in activism and in alliance with communities, African Cultural Studies apply theory in practice and their practice often informs the theory (Tomaselli, 2019). The method of Photovoice I employed in this study is an active method of research for the participants which also takes interest in their analysis.

In African Cultural Studies “the immaterial needs to be studied… in conjunction with the material realm in order to get a holistic view of how people make sense" (Tomaselli, 2019: 263). I considered the realm of the immaterial in considering the ways that participants make sense of Bakoni heritage. As Tomaselli (2019: 261) elaborates, “the hidden transcripts of cosmologies, the realm of the immaterial, are always close to the surface in the ways that people make sense, no matter their levels of education”.

Influenced by African Cultural Studies, this study meshes global narratives of Bakoni with local ones, but from the perspectives of the locals: “Although reality exists, it can be constructed, interpreted and understood in different ways” (Mokgobi, 2014: 5). All knowledge regarding the Bakoni heritage is considered to be important. However, in this study, I am interested in exploring how local and Indigenous community members make sense of meaning of Bakoni heritage. Their intangible beliefs, narratives and ways of knowing are studied in relation to the tangible Bakoni stonewalls. This approach will result in a holistic understanding of how local and Indigenous community members make sense of Bakoni heritage and the Photovoice methodology. Within African conditions, the spiritual is rarely separated from the nonspiritual and the natural has equal significance to the supernatural. Africans continue to believe in the sacred value of the spirit of the ancestors (Mokgobi, 2014). In this study I accommodate the spiritual and supernatural expression of the participants as I acknowledge the belief that “the ancestors from the past interact with folks in the present” (Tomaselli, 2019: 265).

Culture can either sustain or undermine various forms of oppression, domination and exploitation. In some instances, Cultural Studies have been used to marginalise cultural expressions of non-Western cultures (Woodward, 2007). This study inverts this effect as it is inclusive of non-Western cultures. Since its inception, the field of Cultural Studies has evolved to focus inquiry on the relation between objects and people. The meanings derived from these objects change over time and space and are dependent on the consumers (Woodward, 2007). Cultural description and analysis is therefore central to the production of sociological knowledge (du Gay *et al*., 1997: 2).

The creation and development of culture is dependent on ‘communication’ (Williams, 1963: 126). Culture, for Williams involves lived culture, recorded culture, and the culture of the selected tradition (Williams, 1963: 66). In this study, the three forms of recorded culture are the Bakoni stonewalls, the photographs taken by the participants and the interview recordings and transcripts. All these forms of culture require “characteristic forms through which members of a society

communicate" (Williams, 1963: 62). This link between recorded culture and communication relates to representation, discussed in the next section.

Representation Theory

The Bakoni heritage, as a representation of the past, was used by the participants to ascribe meaning and significance to the stonewalls. The interpretation of the Bakoni stonewalls, to derive narratives is at the centre of this study: "At the core of cultural studies is the interpretation of signs" (Harper, 2002: 19). However, this study considers that these narratives do not derive directly from the Bakoni stonewalls. Meaning arises from the way in which objects are represented in visual and oral language (du Gay *et al*., 1997). The conduct of this study captures both the visual and oral language of the meanings derived from the Bakoni stonewalls as the data collection tool, Photovoice, accommodates for both visual and oral data. The Bakoni heritage is represented within the performance of oral and visual language (Smith, 2009).

Representation theory is part of Cultural Studies' theoretical repertoire. This study will seek to consider various meanings derived by the local and Indigenous community members, as "one group can never be completely in charge of meaning" (Hall, 1997b: 236). Meaning has to be created in negotiation with multiple social groupings. The participation within this research project will allow people, who represent various social groupings (age, gender and ethnicities), to partake in the process of meaning making. The socially diverse participants of this research bring to the study different "cultural codes"—so the way in which these are negotiated and communicated is part of the study's focus. Through this theory, power will be distributed within the diverse participants. The negotiation of power produces new discourses and new knowledge (Hall, 1997b: 261). Pictures are more than representation in that they are resources that guide ideas (Radley, 2010: 268). By using Photovoice, this study will take the responsibility of representation and place it directly in the hands of the gender and generationally diverse local and Indigenous community members.

Representation means "using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people" (Hall, 1997: 1). Based on Hall's idea that photography is a representational system (Hall, 1997b: 4), the language of choice in this exploratory research project will be images generated through Photovoice in collaboration with the participants. Electronically produced images are regarded as one of the signs and symbols that we use as a language to represent our ideas and feelings to other people (Hall, 1997: 1). This highlights the relevance of images as a tool for representation. Positive images of disadvantaged groups have been used to

encourage aspirations and correct the privileged majorities' distorted expectations (Alexander, 1994: 260).

Hall (1997a) theorises how representations work as signifying practices. This is significant to my study, both in that the Bakoni stonewalls themselves and the outputs from the Photovoice methodology are cultural representations. This study's primary focus is aligned to the wider *Mashishing: Marking Memories* research project which is the oral recording of intangible heritage using collaborative oral and visual methodologies. These methodologies have the potential to equalise power and blur who is known as an "expert". The participants were facilitated towards producing knowledge by sharing their memories and knowledge of the area (Dyll, 2020). This means local knowledge and local communities will be represented in the knowledge production on the stonewall settlements. As discussed in Chapter 2, there is an historical and archeological record of the stonewalls (van Vollenhaven *et al*., 2017; Whitlock, 2018; UNESCO, 2018; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Musinguzi and Kibirige, 2009). These provide scientific knowledge on the site.

But what of the local knowledge? Those who built the stonewalls are no longer with us, but there is generational memory that is passed down in various ways, such as storytelling. The Photovoice methodology aims to aid the production of these narratives in a visual language. While this may not produce an 'accurate' historical account, it does champion the voices, experiences and local knowledge of contemporary peoples that live close to the sites. Engagement with artefacts of the built environment and cultural landscapes leads to considerations of absent peoples represented by and present in their artefactual residue, an embodiment of the "hands that made" (Fisher, Lange and Nkambule, 2017: np). While often they are nameless and faceless, through empathetic engagement we may conjure up memories of and appreciation for these absent persons (Fisher, 2022; see also Dyll *et al*., 2022).

Additionally, these differences might be in the form of the interpretation of meanings. Meaning production is dependent on interpretation (Hall, 2013: 45). This will apply mostly to the second stage of the Photovoice methodology where interviews were conducted with the photographers to explore narratives that are represented by the images. The data collected in this secondary stage of Photovoice is mainly verbal and this is an equally important set of data because representation depends on the application of the verbal code on top of the visual code (Motzkin, 2002). The Photovoice methodology allows for a double expression of meaning-making by the research participants as the participants firstly have the choice of what to photograph, and secondly they

have the chance to express their interpretations during the interview phase of Photovoice. Therefore, "[a]s a theoretical and methodological facility, photo elicitation repositions the performance of representation by extending it from the time of photography to the time of consumption" (Manyozo, 2016: 83).

In discussing representation, Gabriel Motzkin (2002) claims that there are as many acts of perception as there are objects to be perceived. In this study and in the manner that I conduct it, I accept that all these perceptions have an important role to play in understanding the experience of local and Indigenous community members. Here, communication plays a vital role, as explained below.

Participatory Development Communication

This study aligns to Development Communication because it prioritises participation and communication tools in the pursuit of enhancing the Mashishing local and Indigenous community members' potential to have their narratives on the Bakoni heritage recognised. Linje Manyozo (2006) defines Development Communication as the art and science of human communication which is in relation to a society's pursuit of socio-economic growth transformation that results in equity and improved individual potential. Development Communication used to be seen as directed toward illiterate societies. Although it is acknowledged that some local and Indigenous community members may be illiterate because of current inequities, it may not necessarily be fact. Although still in need of a certain degree of socioeconomic development, "subjects of development" are deeply aware of their positions (Dyll, 2011: 43). The conduct of this study through Photovoice accommodates alternate forms of literacy in participatory communication research as it allows for expression that is not dependent on writing and goes a step further than interviews that are verbal by placing the decisions in the hands of the participants regarding what they deem to be important within the context of this study: "It is the responsibility of researchers involved in Indigenous methodologies to document how our research partners challenge the usual Researcher/Researched relations and to record their understanding of how they fit into, accept, shape or resist, determining processes and structures" (Dyll, 2011: 44).

Communication development is typically theorised according to three main paradigms: modernisation, dependency and participation which advocate different approaches to development (Gibson, Dyll, Govender and Gumede, 2023). This study falls within the ambit of modern participatory development communications which have gradually focused on human rights and

inclusive approaches. These approaches involve local and Indigenous people in the improvement of their own realities (Manyozo, 2006).

The modernisation paradigm is typically characterised as a "linear process from tradition to modernity through industrialisation and westernisation (Lerner, 1958), technological adoption (Rogers, 1962), and later on corporate globalisation". The role of communication was to persuade the Global South and marginalised communities to adopt modern lifestyles. The modernisation paradigm has been used by dominant systems and institutions to frame Indigenous Knowledge Communication Systems (IKCS) as static, non-reflective and unscientific (Manyozo, 2018). Static perceptions of the world can be amounted to cultural invasion (Freire, 1993). The non-static nature of this study does not only relate to Indigenous knowledge but it also extends to Indigenous identities. "Culture, in a similar way to that of identity, is therefore seen as fluid and organic" (Fisher, Lange and Nkambule, 2017: np). In the design and analysis of this study, it is recognised that there is extraordinary diversity in the subjective positions, social experiences, and cultural identities which define the participants of the study. These cultural identities are also dynamic and can change according to context and time (Hall, 1996). The modernisation paradigm contributes to the suppression of IKCS and therefore suppresses Indigenous communities' development.

Meanwhile, in the participatory paradigm, IKCS is viewed as an interactive and cyclical process which is based on dialogue premised on the participation of local people. This study's design and considerations for data collected is viewed as reflective and non-static. Participation is the means and an end in this approach. Contrary to this study; the modernisation paradigm views Indigenous culture as an obstacle to social change while in the participatory paradigm development of Indigenous culture is considered to be central to development initiatives (Servaes, 1989). This study views Indigenous knowledge on Bakoni heritage as a resource with which to achieve the inclusion of local and Indigenous communities in the domain of knowledge production, instead of viewing it as an obstacle. In the modernisation paradigm, communication theory is based on the premise that there is a dichotomy between tradition and modernity while in the participatory paradigm communication embraces multiplicity and is based on the belief that each context should produce its own process (Gibson *et al*., 2023). It then follows that this study adopts the participatory development paradigm as it does not accept a dichotomy between modernity and tradition, instead it acknowledges a relationship between past (material culture) and present (interpretations). Additionally, this study subscribes to participatory communication because its methodological

approach combines research with a development intention while facilitating a continuous process of learning and reflection (Manyozo, 2018: 396).

Participatory Development Communication approaches started gaining momentum in the 1980s and 1990s after which they started becoming a popular field challenging most of the values of the first development decade. The participatory element and communication tools are key in improving livelihoods and promoting social justice (Manyozo, 2004).

Despite the debate and uncertainty regarding the definition of participatory communication, in this study I acknowledge that participatory development communication contradicts the philosophy and conduct of the dominant paradigm of development communication which embraces communication that is top-down and is imposed (Servaes, 2021; Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009; Manyozo, 2006). Servaes (2021: 71) attributes this uncertainty to the fact that "participation is a term used to refer to a number of social and planning processes occurring in many different places and in many different contexts". Robert Huesca (2008: 194) describes participatory communication as the "most resilient and useful notion" to emerge from the challenges to the dominant paradigm of modernisation. One of the reasons for this is that participatory approaches encourage inclusion even at the planning stages where visions and solutions are defined (Waisbord, 2014: 157) and demand respect for 'the Other' (Servaes, 1996: 78). Doudaki and Carpentier (forthcoming) define participation as a process that encompasses equalised power relations between privileged and non-privileged participants. The design of this study is so that power relations between the Mashishing participants and privileged authors on Bakoni heritage are equalised. I also designed it in a manner that allows for local power relations to be equalised within the participant groups, as will be described in the Methodology Chapter.

The core principles of participation include dialogue, structural and social change, voice and action. From the beginning, the focus of participatory communication has always been on dialogical communication but recently participatory communication approaches have emphasised structural and social change (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009). I designed this study to embrace dialogical communication between myself (the researcher), and participants and within the participants themselves: "Dialogue leads to collective problem identification, decision making, and community-based implementation of solutions to development issues" (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009: 2). Additionally, through this study I meant to contribute towards social change by accommodating the

voices of the local and Indigenous communities. I also sought to achieve local structural change within the research participants who are of various demographics and backgrounds.

Another core principle of participatory communication is voice: “Supporting and strengthening community media can ensure the most marginalised groups have a platform to voice their concerns, engage in public debate and solve problems” (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009: 11). This study seeks to facilitate a platform for local and Indigenous Mashishing communities whose voices have been mostly marginalised in empirical literature on Bakoni heritage. I conducted this study to allow for public debate during both the focus group discussions and the data analysis to accommodate all the various views and differing narratives that emanated from the study.

Another central principle of participatory communication is that of action-orientated awareness. This study is designed to promote awareness of the Bakoni heritage through an action-orientated engagement of Photovoice: “Key results of participatory communication are the articulation of awareness raising and commitment to action” (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009: 11).

The participatory element of this study during knowledge production, which focused on including the local and Indigenous, can be regarded as innovative: “When successful, such socially oriented or inclusive innovations are ways of democratising knowledge” (Sutz *et al*., 2014: 13). Another factor of this study that qualifies it to be regarded as innovative is its employment of Information and Communication devices in the collection and storage of data as: “Under appropriate conditions, disenfranchised groups previously excluded from global or local knowledge flows can have access to resources for innovative and capacity building purposes through the appropriate use of ICT” (Sutz *et al*., 2014: 15).

Jan Servaes (1996: 75), as a proponent of participatory development communication, asserts the importance of cultural identity of local communities, democracy and participation in the exercise of participatory communication projects. According to the National Heritage Resources Act (1999. s5(4)) “Heritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management”. This act illustrates the value and significance of heritage in the cultural identity of a people. Based on this idea, the study is cognisant of how cultural identity plays a role in the power dynamics, participation and photographs taken by the participants. Participatory theory is set up in dialogue with the collected empirical data to address the question regarding the benefits and challenges of using Photovoice. This explores, navigates and equalises power

dynamics in knowledge production within the local and Indigenous community members using a participatory method of heritage recording. This new approach that champions participation is embraced by the wider MMM project within which this research project is located.

Development Communication includes an assortment of praxes that are method-driven and theory based. Manyozo (2006) outlines six schools of thought in Communication for Development: the Latin America School; the Bretton Woods School; the Los Baños School; the African School; the Indian School; and the Post-Freire School, emphasising Participatory Development Communication. This study is influenced by three of these Schools of thought. Firstly, the African School of thought, the Los Baños School and the Post-Freire School which emerged in the late 1960s from Africa's post-colonial and communist movements.

The African School

From its emergence, this school of thought provided a platform that enabled African scholars to rethink the concepts of culture, communication and development (Manyozo, 2006). The future of a self-determined Africa relies on the concept of Afrofuturism which is described by Kashope-Wright and Xiao (2020: 6) as "a literary strategy and a political vision, in particular, a way of black African storytelling through music, science fictions, and other creative efforts." This study embraces African storytelling through the creative efforts of photography. As a modern development communication method, this study is centered around participatory production and the mobilisation of local knowledge to pursue local development (Manyozo, 2006). My study will consequently contribute to this need for continued development of this approach. The role of participation cannot be overstated in this study because an "understanding of social reality is produced between people, in material contexts, and in communication" (Huesca 2008: 184). This understanding is significant in that at all stages of my study interpretations (as based on my own and each participants 'reality') are sought in context of the Bakoni stonewalls. These participatory principles and practices are also mobilised in the data analysis of this study to assist in the generation of themes on the challenges and benefits of the Photovoice methodology.

Los Baños School

Secondly, this study is influenced by the Los Baños School which views Development Communication as a concept that does not change people, but instead can help them change themselves. The Los Baños School views participation as not only important but necessary, in the pursuit of development (Quebral, 2002). This study accepts that it cannot immediately change the

lived realities of the local and Indigenous community members but that it has the potential to help them reflect on their understandings of the past and what it may mean in the present. This study does not generate local and Indigenous Knowledge on behalf of the respective communities but it facilitates an environment where members of these communities can produce knowledge, and possibly even a sense of pride for heritage associated with them.

Post-Freire School

Thirdly, and most significantly this study is influenced by Paulo Freire (1921-1997). Freire remains influential in initiatives that are aligned to the participatory paradigm (see Suzina and Tufte, 2022; Manyozo, 2023). This study is also significantly influenced by Freire's ideas not only in its conduct but also in its analysis of data.

Freire's (1970) work in the field of education in Brazil started in the 1970s and influenced wider areas of development communication. His critical pedagogy is based on the praxis of action and reflection on the world in order to transform it. This process can result in conscientisation which "restores to people the right to produce knowledge based upon their own experience and values" (Tomaselli and Aldridge 1996: 61). Freire's critical pedagogy is important for this study because the methodology adopted in this study is also based on the praxis of action and reflection in order to transform the situation surrounding Indigenous and local narratives on Bakoni heritage. This provides the potential for conscientisation and ultimately knowledge production derived from the people's experiences and memory.

The unjust lack of Indigenous and local narratives regarding Bakoni heritage has led these communities to struggle against the hegemonic system. However, "[i]n order for this struggle to have meaning, the oppressed must not, in seeking to regain their humanity (which is a way to create it), become in turn oppressors of the oppressors, but rather restorers of the humanity of both" (Freire, 1970: 44). The prioritisation of Indigenous knowledge that characterises this study is not meant to 'oppress' Western scientific knowledge or set it up in contradistinction to local knowledge but aims to add local narratives to the broader (published) knowledge of the area, thus facilitating other ways of knowing about the sites. Thus, "[t]hrough our media and communication practices we are building a shared world where Indigenous peoples' knowledge, practices, territories, languages, and cultures have the same value and relevance as those from the oppressors" (Magallanes-Blanco, 2022: 25). The participation of Indigenous and local community members is especially important because only they have the power to liberate themselves. The typical producers

of knowledge on Bakoni cannot produce Indigenous knowledge on behalf of the Indigenous community members: “Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both” (Freire, 1970/1993: 44).

According to Raquel Paiva (2020), Freire's pedagogy is cultural in origin and prioritises relationships over strict discipline accepting ‘the other’ in all their fullness and all kinds of knowledge. This ontological call is founded on five principles—humility, empathy, love, hope, and dialogue (see Suzina and Tufte, 2022). The establishment and sustenance of relationships was key throughout this study. In the conduct of this study, I mobilised humaneness in the pursuit of some of its objectives. This humaneness aided not only the cooperation of participants but also encouraged an environment of honesty filled with hope for a better world: “Love is a power that builds empathy through narrative. Love is a power that permits authentic dialogue. And love is a power that inspires hope for a better world” (Wilkins, 2022: 37).

Love, complemented by humility, empathy, hope, and dialogue, has not been given sufficient recognition in academic discourse. Love should be thought of as the connection between reason and senses which facilitates authentic dialogue and inspires change (Wilkins, 2022). This study approaches its analysis with the view that participants’ love is a resource for analysis as it guided the participants’ interaction throughout the study. Additionally, their participation is facilitated by humility, empathy and hope. Their narratives are also inspired by these factors and so they shaped how participants participated in the study: “We articulate love through our experiences and memories” (Wilkins, 2022: 33). The very sharing of experiences, memories and advocacy displayed throughout the study were an act of love in that, “[l]ove requires responsibility that we advocate and act” (Wilkins, 2022: 37). This study’s analysis considered these factors in generating themes: “Freire inspires our work in critical communication literacies, again fostering interpretations that not only read the word, but also position these narratives within our worlds” (Wilkins, 2022: 36). Critical research must “engage analysis with evidence and experience, through connection not distance” (Wilkins, 2022: 34).

Empathy is another central factor to the analysis of this study as it allows the exploration of the participants’ realities in order to generate narratives according to one of the study’s objectives. Empathy “allows us to enter into the worlds of other people” (Manyozo, 2022: 44). This was not solely for the purpose of generating narratives but the use of empathy also improved the way we understood each other in the fieldwork period.

As much as the reality is described critically, it involves desires, aspirations, dreams and hopes of a different world (Magallanes-Blanco, 2022). As the participants expressed their narratives in relation to the Bakoni heritage, I accept that these narratives are laced with such feelings and conceptions emanating from the participants. The analysis of their inputs is conducted with this in mind.

Dialogue

Dialogue is a central guiding principle in participatory communication. Dialogue is a communication infrastructure that can be located within Indigenous communities and has the capacity to turn the power of communication to Indigenous communities (Elers and Dutta, 2020). Dialogue, as a method with which to achieve liberation (Magallanes-Blanco, 2022) was central in the conduct of this study.

Dialogue guides the critical analysis of reality and forms the framework upon which to build discourses and narrative that can transform reality and challenge hegemony (Lima, 2022). Using Freire's dialogue in its conduct and processes, this study advances critical analysis and social transformation. The dialogue assists the study to produce the necessary units of analysis to pursue transformation in empirical literature concerning the heritage of Bakoni. Dialogue was used to unearth layers of meaning regarding the experiences of the individual participants (Dyll, 2018). Freire's notion of dialogical action is mobilised in both the conduct and analysis of this study.

Dialogue should be diverse and intergenerational with the inclusion of the young and the old, the disabled and sexually diverse participants (Magallanes-Blanco, 2022). This conception is especially relevant in framing the analysis of Photovoice methodology because it borders on accessibility issues. The participation of those whose mobility is challenged, such as the elderly and disabled, needs careful consideration in studies such as these as they may struggle to access the sites where Photovoice needs to be conducted. I conducted the analysis of their data with the consideration of the participants' experiences in accessing the Photovoice site.

Dialogue allows us to be human as it embraces the heart's desire to express itself and can break the cycles of domination, segmentation, hierarchisation, discrimination using collaboration and communication (Magallanes-Blanco, 2022).

In the dialogical theory of action "subjects meet in cooperation in order to transform the world" (Freire, 1970/1993: 43). This highlights the centrality of cooperation in dialogue to achieve transformation. Cooperation is a key characteristic of dialogical action and can only be achieved

through communication (Freire, 1970/1993: 44), which underpins the conduct of Photovoice. As a Participatory Action Research study, participants were engaged in examining their understandings, skills, values and interpretation of their realities (Creswell *et al*., 2007). The involvement of many individuals towards transforming their world is a cause for cooperation to be mobilised. This 'transformation' may not result in overtly political or social changes but it does assist in transforming the narratives that surround the stonewalls, through the inclusion of local voices: "Dialogue, as essential communication, must underlie any cooperation" (Freire, 1993: 141).

Conclusion

In this Conceptual Framework Chapter, I have discussed the core theories and principles by which this study is guided in its data collection and with which data will be interpreted. I have also justified why I chose certain theories over others. Returning to this chapter's introductory quote, the use of Representation Theory and Participatory Development Communication guides the study's objectives and methodologies about redressing epistemic injustice through the inclusion of local and Indigenous voices from a heritage perspective. Both these theoretical bodies of knowledge therefore fit within Critical Theory. The participatory principle of dialogic action aims to dislodge the dominant asymmetrical power relations that gives credence and power to one group (Global North/academics) over another (Global South/local and Indigenous) in the production of knowledge. The use of photography affords the research participants an 'alternate' and inclusive form of representing/communicating their knowledge. While a visual textual analysis will not be conducted, the Cultural Studies notion of the power of representation explains how Photovoice can allow for a double articulation of meaning-making by the research participants as they first choose what they want to photograph, and the subsequent interviews allow for their interpretation of these photographs and the reasons for why they were taken. This process will be discussed in detail in the following Methodology Chapter.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Methodology integrates the what and the how of research. It illustrates the conceptualisation of a study and details the methods of conducting it (Lukenchuk, 2017). According to Shannon Landers this chapter's significance lies in its ability to link the theoretical and philosophical assumptions of the study to the specified research problem and research questions (2018). Further to this, it seeks to justify the methodological choices of the researcher. The objectives of this study are firstly to explore the official and scholarly interpretations of the Bakoni settlement sites and find out what methodologies were used for such interpretations, secondly to unearth contemporary Indigenous and local narratives regarding the Bakoni identity and thirdly to identify the benefits and challenges of Photovoice in documenting heritage recording. I achieved the first objective by carrying out desktop research where I reviewed relevant empirical academic and non-academic literature on the Bakoni. The second and third objectives I achieved using the participatory method of Photovoice for data collection. The method of data analysis that I used is Reflexive Thematic Analysis and I undertook both inductive and deductive analyses to not miss any emergent themes from the data sets.

In this chapter I initially discuss the research paradigm that frames this research project's epistemological, axiological, and methodological assumptions (Creswell, 2007). This demonstrates how the selected paradigm informs the research design to orientate and contextualise the discussion of methodologies. I then explain the data collection process including the sampling method to provide clarity on the choice of co-producers of knowledge in this research project. The data collection process elaborates on the data collection tool, which was adopted in this research, namely Photovoice. I not only justify why Photovoice was employed for this project, but I also illustrate the strengths and challenges of the Photovoice method in documenting heritage. This chapter contributes towards answering the research question on the efficacy of Photovoice. Additionally, I discuss the methods of sampling, data collection and data analysis and elaborate on issues pertaining to reflexivity.

All my research actions, as discussed later in this chapter, were guided by the ethical principles detailed in my ethical clearance (Appendix: 5).

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Research paradigm

Egon Guba and Yvonna Lincoln define paradigm as the basic belief system that guides the researcher during the methodology and the ontological and epistemological make-up of the research project (1994). This highlights the close relationship that exists between the paradigm of a project and the methodology.

Paradigms include specific methodological strategies that are linked to ontological and epistemological assumptions (Maxwell, 2008). The type of methodology that I employed was based on the research philosophy that I hold. It was guided by the research objectives and research instruments to move towards the solution of the problem identified (Khaldi, 2017: 16). The paradigm of this study dictates the research approach and therefore the methodology of the research project. Paradigms or worldviews shape the research as they influence the practice and methodology of the research project (Creswell, 2007). This study, due to its interest in the multiplicity of narratives regarding Bakoni heritage, falls under the epistemological pillar of research paradigms. Epistemology was used as a system of inquiry, a model, and a way of knowing (Lukenchuk, 2017).

I used the epistemological pillar to understand how the participants would negotiate their competing knowledge claims about the Bakoni heritage. The value of locating this study within this paradigm lay in that it enabled me to co-produce knowledge with diverse local and Indigenous participants that consisted of young and old, male, and female. I did consider that these participants would potentially have competing knowledge claims because of their varying demographics. This consideration further rationalised my selection of the epistemological assumption. I valued and considered the data from the various respective participants equally to ensure that no narratives could be overlooked or sidelined. Additionally, this paradigm had important implications, not only for the methodology of this research but also for the interpretation of the research findings (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

The interpretivist or constructivist approach was employed to explore the multiple Bakoni narratives and meanings that were generated during the interaction between the co-researchers. This study is situated within a constructivism philosophical paradigm because one of its central objectives is to uncover local and Indigenous narratives about Bakoni heritage. In the implementation of constructivism, meanings are accepted as multiple, and the research enquiry

accommodates the complexity of views instead of narrowing down meanings to simple categories (Creswell, 2007). This belief in the multiplicity of narratives regarding Bakoni heritage guides the conduct this study, the thesis, and the methodology which I utilised to understand the local and Indigenous narratives that exist on Bakoni heritage. This study accepts that there is relative consensus about some aspects of the Bakoni heritage and history among the local and Indigenous community members of Mashishing. It also accepted and anticipated the multiplicity of narratives stemming from the differentiation of the respective participants. Constructivism is an alternative paradigm which moves away from ontological realism and towards ontological relativism (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

Before I delve into how the Photovoice method was employed, it is important for me to first discuss a qualitative research approach and field research.

Research approach: Qualitative

Qualitative research is one of just two major research approaches which are used to conduct social research (Landers, 2018). This approach is used to gain understanding of social phenomena in order for the researcher to make sense of the meanings people bring to research. The choice of qualitative research on its own was an admission and acknowledgement of mine that there are multiple realities regarding the heritage of the Bakoni (Creswell, 2007). These multiple realities were derived and documented through the research participants' respective interpretations of the material culture (in the form of Photovoice images and Bakoni stonewalls) and intangible culture (in the form of narratives). According to Bryman (2004), a qualitative approach stresses understanding the social world through examining interpretations of participants.

Qualitative data is known to be useful in uncovering the views and opinions of the insider (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). This characteristic of qualitative methodology was essential to the exploration of the narratives that emerged from the local and Indigenous Mashishing community members. These participants were regarded as insiders in relation to the Bakoni heritage. I employed narratives to study these meanings associated with Bakoni heritage. The participants' narratives were documented, analysed and retold (Lukenchuk, 2017).

Additionally, the choice of this research approach was guided by my acknowledgement that I am historically, politically, and locally situated within the heritage of Bakoni as a precolonial African community from which Nguni and other Southern African ethnic groups are imagined having

originated. The qualitative research approach accommodated my personal goals and current ambitions. My personal goals associated with this study motivated me to take up this research project. These goals included my desire to contribute towards the inclusion of local and Indigenous communities in a subject that I believe is critically important, a deep curiosity about the history of the Bakoni, and a desire to improve my understanding of heritage and participatory methods (Maxwell, 2008).

Acknowledgement of my subjectivity in the research project also meant that I was conscious of how it would infiltrate the conduct of this research: "The qualitative researcher is situated in any given study and should be aware of the fact that he/she is part of the scene being observed" (Watt, 2007: 90). A clear, concise, and effective conceptual framework was developed to manage my personal influences: "Conceptual frameworks represent ways of thinking about a problem or a study, or ways of representing how complex things work" (Bordage, 2009: 312).

The qualitative approach was the most suitable for me to answer my research questions as "The methods you use must enable you to answer your research questions" (Maxwell, 2008: 217).

Research Design: Participatory Action Research

Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a qualitative research activity allows for the collaboration between researcher and participant in the research project. According to Creswell et al. (2007), this collaboration should be facilitated at all levels of the research process for the solution of the identified social problem to be relevant and suitable. This collaboration also dictates that the researcher and participant should have a relationship in which they are equal and active participants throughout the research process.

The collaborative aspect of this methodology meant that I planned meticulously and timeously as I was working with a group of people whom I intended to include from the start to finish of this project. I ensured that there was a clear and effective line of communication between myself and the co-researchers. I had to not only facilitate the data collection tool, but I also had to ensure that the participants remained inspired and committed towards the achievement of our research objectives as "Your relationships with the people in your study can be complex and changeable, and these relationships will necessarily affect you as the 'research instrument' as well as have implications for other components of your research design" (Maxwell, 2008: 234).

Although there was a fixed design and a plan for the study, it was open to modification should the need arise. I prepared for the strengths and weaknesses of my methodology being revealed during the conduct of the research project. I was able to accommodate flexibility in my planning (Anfara, 2008b). As much as this research project was conducted with the utmost consideration and planning, it was approached with openness to adaptation and adjustment in anticipation of the fact that circumstances could and might have to change. In his research project, James Falconer amended his Photovoice methodology and excluded a previously planned public discussion about the photographs due to unforeseen circumstances (2014). My first point of modification was to host the two Focus Group discussions separately. This was because only two of the eight participants, whom Mr. Ncongwane initially identified, were available. The second Focus Group Discussion was therefore held on the following day. This may have had an impact on the quality of the Focus Group Discussions because of the splitting of the group into two.

Beyond the collaboration with research participants, this project required the mobilisation, coordination, and management of the requisite resources so that the conditions conducive for research could be met (Doudaki and Carpentier, 2021). These resources included transportation, refreshments, and digital cameras amongst others. Luthando Ngema, who is part of the broader MMM project, supplied six cameras for my use.

Although Photovoice has been widely employed around the world there is a lack of clear, well-established procedures for conducting this form of inquiry (Creswell et al., 2007). As elaborated in my Literature Review Chapter, this methodology prompts participants to take photographs related to the subject matter and then reflect on the generated materials at a later stage using focus group discussions and / or interviews (Falconer, 2014). The strength of this method lies in the fact that it uses visuals to articulate what might otherwise be difficult for participating individuals to communicate (Grant, 2019: 2). The mobilisation of resources was central in this research project because it required transportation for the participants and enough cameras for each participant so that they would be able to take their own album of photos.

The intention of this research project is to produce knowledge that will change and solve the social problem of exclusion of Indigenous and local voices in the conversation about the Bakoni heritage. The initial stages of this project included teaching the participants basic photography techniques and elaborating on the topic to be covered. This method requires that information be exchanged between researcher and participant as the participants must be taught how to generate knowledge, in

this case, images in exchange for local and Indigenous knowledge and narratives. The emergence of local and Indigenous narratives in this research project is in line with the specific critical nature of this research because it is an attempt to overturn the unjust status quo that excludes Indigenous and local narratives regarding the Bakoni heritage. Furthermore, "This form of research is also critical in that it attempts to help individuals and liberate them from constraints covered in the media, language, work, and relationships of power." (Creswell et al., 2007: 258).

Dan Musinguzi and Israel Kibirige (2009) note that during apartheid; white minority leaders used to visit the Bakoni Malapa Open Air Museum to try and understand the Black culture to manipulate Black South Africans more effectively. This means that the oppressive system was able to identify the value of Bakoni cultural heritage and capitalise on it to achieve oppression. This study contrasts this logic as it seeks to empower the narratives of the Indigenous and local communities using Bakoni cultural heritage. True to Participatory Action Research, it takes advantage of the value of the Bakoni cultural heritage to achieve a change in status quo within the narratives that exist on the Bakoni heritage.

Illustrative Exemplar

My methodological design is PAR through Photovoice. While the study does embrace the methodological benefit of case studies—such as its ability to provide a general understanding of a phenomenon using a particular case (Harling, 2012) and being able to facilitate a space for the voiceless to use their voice and promoting power to the powerless (Tellis, 1997)—the term illustrative exemplar will be used as the study does not comprehensively adopt a case study methodological design that seeks to obtain a holistic view of a project by using multiple tools and research approaches (Harling, 2012: 1). While Photovoice and interviews are used, these tools are two phases of one tool, rather than two distinct tools. Thus, the use of the stonewalls as a site to examine the benefits and challenges of Photovoice for heritage recording and the inclusion of local voices is an "illustrative exemplar".

Reflexivity

I am a young Zulu Black male who is currently in the process of learning more about my family history and traditions. This includes growing and engaging in African spirituality as these values become important for the identity of Zulu men who aspire to lead traditional households rooted in the Zulu culture and way of living. The opportunity to take part in this study came at a perfect time

and was in line with this stage of my personal development journey because it is rooted at generating knowledge about, and greater understanding of, the precolonial ancestry within which my very own identity falls; both as an African and as umZulu. This is important to declare because as a researcher, I am unavoidably located politically, culturally, and socially, and my experience and perceptions during this project are mediated through the lens of my subjective reality (Fook, 1999). This is in line with a reflexive approach: Because of the relation of the researcher to the research process and his or her relations with the participants, the researcher needs to explicate his or her position, or positionality, which is "his or her gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, professional role, and other attributes of position or perspective that might influence how the meaning of events is constructed" (Lukenchuk, 2017: 82).

Additionally, I am an engaged citizen of a new democracy which is characterised by hundreds of years of colonialism and apartheid history, which disadvantaged and victimised mostly fellow Black South Africans. Even though South Africa has enjoyed political freedom for the past three decades and is still undergoing the process of decolonialisation; there still exist many other forms of inequality and unjust dominance that continue to oppress mostly people of my demographic. I regard this study to fall within some of these ambits of unjust dominance against fellow previously disadvantaged communities, specifically on knowledge production. This means that I bring to the project emotions, ideas, and inherent beliefs. Acknowledging and managing properly such influences results in research outcomes that can be used as assets, rather than liabilities (Watt, 2007).

When I first visited the site of the Bakoni stonewalls in Klingbiel Nature Reserve, before the inclusion of participants; I was overwhelmed by emotion as it dawned on me that the work we would be doing would be to try and reverse some of the negative effects of colonialism suffered by those who came before us. In colonial times, African voices were silenced because they were considered unscientific exploiters of the resource base (Briggs, 2005: 16). This research project runs contrary to this belief as it amplifies African voices while also facilitating an opportunity Mashishing's local and Indigenous people the opportunity to interact physically with the Bakoni heritage resource. This falls within the research's critical approach as it recognises "that our social world is characterised by injustice, exploitation as well as political and economic domination" (le Grange, 2001: 139).

As an outsider, I could not have identified what some of the Indigenous and local narratives are regarding the Bakoni because some of them are not recorded in the conventional Western science methods. de Sousa (2017) stresses the importance of the decolonisation of knowledge and identifies the university as one of the key proponents of western science. Photovoice can create a post-colonial space allowing for the empowerment of the subaltern through representation (Manyozo, 2016). This study and its methods will fall within this sphere of decolonising the knowledge surrounding Bakoni heritage. It also answers the call made by Dyll (2018) to avoid dualising Indigenous and scientific knowledge. Further to this, it expands the value and validity of Indigenous knowledge as interest in this knowledge system has previously focused mostly on environmental and climate change issues such as food production and natural resource management (Dyll, 2018).

During my first visit to the Bakoni stonewalls I was confronted with feelings of guilt and sadness. I could not exactly pinpoint what the source of these feelings was, but I later assumed they stemmed from wondering how the once mighty and innovative Bakoni would feel about the current state of their heritage. Shortly after the realisation of my emotions I was forced to be cautious of how these emotions could affect not only the collection of data, but also the analysis of data. This prompted the need for me to record my own thoughts as I experienced them. I noted how my presence, as a researcher, influenced the behaviour and thought processes of the participants and my research process. For safekeeping and recording purposes, at the end of each data collection day I would write more elaborately about these thoughts and feelings on my notes' app on my cellphone. These were then backed up on cloud storage. I also made notes of the dialogue which emanated during the field research and through this I was able to highlight how cultural meanings were co-created during such dialogues (Dyll, 2020: 12).

In line with its growing importance in the research world, the notion of reflexivity was therefore central to the methodology of this study. It was important for me to locate myself in all points of the research project so that I was able to trace the effects and influence of my position and avoid imposing my own perspectives on the research (Fook, 1999). This notion fits well into the methodology of this research project because this project seeks to challenge an existing structure of domination on literature regarding Bakoni heritage. Fook (1999) asserts the value of reflexivity in challenging existing structures of domination as the researcher also needs to challenge their own unexamined inherent assumptions. The use of reflexivity guided me to carefully consider the local and Indigenous narratives of Bakoni heritage while aware of my cognitive and theoretical

constructions. It also assisted me in not prioritising the dominant and inherent narratives over those which are local and Indigenous.

Additionally, it assisted me in interacting effectively with the research participants and more importantly with the data. I was able to factor in how the knowledge produced would be influenced by my presence, own values, emotions, and perspective.

Study Sample

Sampling is a complex process consisting of various stages: "Taking a subset from chosen sampling frame or entire population is called sampling" (Taherdoost, 2020: 20). It is common to falter during this process. This asserts the importance of caution with which the sampling should be approached. The sample is the group of people who are selected to participate in a study (Trochim, 2008). Aamir Omair concurs in noting that there could be hidden biases during the sampling process, and these could have adverse effects on the outcome of the study (2014). This is because the research project is interested in more than just the participants who directly participate in the study (Trochim, 2008).

As it has been established that this study is aimed at unearthing narratives carried by the individual participants, it is also worth noting that these narratives represent those that are held within the collective community from which they originate. This meant that I carefully considered who the study population and sample would be. The research design had an influence on the sampling strategy and size of this study. Trochim (2008) notes that the greater the sample size, the more comprehensive the research results will be and, "Determining the minimum required sample size for achieving the main objectives of the study is of prime importance for all studies but is generally neglected by most novice researchers" (Omair, 2014: 143). Even though this study might be perceived as including a relatively small sample size, the desire to select a representative sample had to be balanced with the availability of resources. This, as the first stage of Photovoice required participants to take photographs using cameras. Explaining the skills and resources required to conduct Photovoice, Falconer (2014) advises researchers to engage in honest self-evaluation and enquire whether they possess the prerequisite skills and resources to use Photovoice as their data collection method. The outcome of my evaluation influenced the number of participants I included in the research project. This evaluation therefore had a direct influence on the sampling on this research project.

This study adopts the non-probability sampling method as it focuses on a small sample and examines a real-life phenomenon instead of a statistical inference. The real-life phenomenon to be examined is Indigenous and local knowledge and heritage of Bakoni. This meant that I as the researcher chose a sampling technique with which to do this. My decision was based on identifying relevant participants who would be willing to share their narratives towards this project: “The person conducting the research need to focus on those people with the same opinion to have the required information and be willing of sharing it” (Etikan and Bala, 2020: 149).

The first group of participants I therefore selected using purposive sampling mixed with snowball sampling, both of which fall under the non-probability cluster of sampling techniques. The second group I selected using snowball sampling. Purposive sampling reflects a group of sampling techniques that are based on the researcher’s judgement when it comes to selecting the participating individuals (Sharma, 2017). This is the method which I had intentionally chosen to sample the initial target participants. Upon realisation that six of the eight participants were no longer able to participate I resorted to snowball sampling to address the deficit that had emerged. The second group of participants who I secured on the second day of the research project were all chosen using snowball sampling which is a non-probability sampling technique where existing research participants recruit future participants (Sharma, 2017). One of the reasons for the use of this technique is to improve the researcher's accessibility to the population.

The Lydenburg Museum played a key role as a community agent in not only granting me the gatekeeper approval but also in introducing me to a local community committee member, Mr. Ncongwane. He assisted me further by facilitating my communication with the target population weeks prior to the commencement of the research project. Troachim (2008) acknowledges the possibility of not having access to the population of interest. This study benefitted from the snowball sampling technique because there were a few factors hindering my access to the research population. As I was not familiar with the surroundings and did not know anyone within the Mashishing township, my access was compromised by safety and security issues; I was not certain whether it was safe or not enter the township (as defined in Chapter 1) on my own. As I had to secure participants instantly, it was a race against time, I feared that my approach towards the target population would be ineffective given that I was a stranger in this community, and it would be challenging for me to source willing participants instantly.

My target population was the local and Indigenous residents of the various Mashishing communities, both urban and township communities. The final sample included two participants from the urbanised Mashishing town and four more from the peri-urban township of Mashishing. This included a wide age variety as two of the participants were senior citizens while the other four participants included unemployed youth and matriculants. This approach takes into consideration the fact that society is dynamic and that there are multiple interpretations to a single event (Cohen *et al.*, 2011). The validity of this approach is supported by the fact that Bakoni narratives could be examined through the eyes of the respective participants. The diversity of the research participants was a crucial element in this project.

Most of the research participants sourced through snowball sampling were still learners and I was delighted as this opened the possibility that they were tech-savvy and therefore it would be easy to use the cameras. Falconer identifies students as ideal participants for a Photovoice project as they are more literate, compliant, and eager (2014). The inclusion of school-going youth also ensured knowledge could be produced by a wider variety of participants given that the already existing research subjects were senior citizens. Lauren Dyll emphasises that, “Multivocality is necessary to a transformative or indigenised research approach because individual interpretations of an event/ phenomenon are varied and can even contradict one another” (2020: 12) and further that access to and the use of Indigenous knowledge depends “on factors such as age, gender, literacy, and social standing” (2018: 340). I ensured that both the youth and elderly members of the area were involved. Through the second group, a more balanced gender representation was also realised because the first group included only female participants, whereas the second group included males.

My first step was to email Mr. Ncongwana, to whom I was introduced by Mr. JP Celliers who is the curator of the Lydenburg museum. The Lydenburg Museum is the custodian of the Klingbiel Nature Reserve within which the Bakoni stonewalls are situated. In the email I asked him to assist me in finding eight local community members who were either aware or not of the Bakoni stonewalls. I notified him of the date on which I would arrive in Mashishing and when I would require the participation of said community members. He agreed and then promised to pursue these community members. Two days before our arrival he had assured me that the participants were available. Unfortunately, when the day of the research came, there were only two participants available, and not eight. On the first day I focused on collecting data with only these two participants.

Upon realisation that the other six participants were not available, I approached the security guard at Lydenburg museum, Thandiwe Happiness Mbanjwa, who is now late as of the 4th of May 2023, and told her about my research and then detailed my desperation. Fortunately, she was also a resident of the Mashishing township, and she put me in contact with her cousin, Smangele Sithole, in the township who committed to assisting me in identifying participants within Mashishing township. While I was on my way to meet her, she made several telephone calls and lined up six participants whom we picked up one by one around the township of Mashishing. When there is limited access to your sample, snowball sampling remains the best sampling strategy (Sharma, 2017). However, two of the six proposed participants were 16 years old and therefore could not participate due to the ethical clearance obtained not catering for minors.

It was important for me to balance the age demographic of the participants to have a wide view of the narratives to emerge. This, because the power dynamics of participating communities creates an environment for different layers of various discourse even on the meaning of just a photograph (Manyozo, 2006: 96). This was especially important in this study to try and alleviate the researcher bias which often accompanies the sampling technique employed in a study: “Purposive samples, irrespective of the type of purposive sampling used, can be highly prone to researcher bias” (Sharma, 2017: 751).

As the study population in this research was identified as local Mashishing residents, the focus was not just on the individual participants but the Mashishing community at large. According to Trochim (2008), researchers should be interested in more than just the direct participants of the research.

Biographical information of participants

The following Table 4.1 contains the information of the participants to display their diversity and contextualise the knowledge they produced. The production of knowledge should not be separated from the personal contexts of the researchers (Pierce, 1995: 570).

Area	Participant name	Age	Occupation	Participation Date
Mashishing Town	Batsepahoele Ncongwane	74	Pensioner	02 July 2022

Area	Participant name	Age	Occupation	Participation Date
Mashishing Town	Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana	78	Pensioner	02 July 2022
Mashishing Township	Bongani Khumalo	19	Unemployed	03 July 2022
Mashishing Township	Stanley Khoza	18	Unemployed	03 July 2022
Mashishing Township	Palesa Mahlala	18	Learner	03 July 2022
Mashishing Township	Veliswa Mlimi	20	Shop assistant	03 July 2022

Table 4.1: Biographical information of participants

Data Collection

The primary data of this research project was collected during three stages. Primary data is the raw material collected during the research process (Landers, 2018). The first set of primary data collected was the empirical narratives of Bakoni heritage that readily exist within literature. This I achieved through desktop research to achieve the objective of exploring the already existing narratives of Bakoni heritage. According to Bhasin (2020) this type of research method includes the finding, collection, and review of publicly available data on the research subject.[12] The desktop-based research of the Bakoni heritage consisted of a review of already available journals, books and internet sources that researchers have authored on the subject. I conducted a bibliographic search to identify, extract and compile available public information that exists on Bakoni heritage. Key sources included academic and non-academic works on the Bakoni; all of which could be considered potentially influential to the public based on their availability. Together these sources provide the public with a general understanding of the heritage of the Bakoni and therefore potentially influence the perceptions that exist regarding the heritage of Bakoni.

The second set was the photographic material that was obtained during the first stage of Photovoice. The third and final set was collected in the interviews and focus group discussions which I held in

[12] https://www.marketing91.com/desk-research/ Accessed on 15 May 2023

the second stage of Photovoice. This stage of data collection advanced democratic values as it entailed providing participants with cameras so that they could highlight their desired issues through photography (Wang, 2006: 148). Photography has been used from the early history of sociology to highlight social issues (Packard, 2008).

Secondary data was then collected through the analysis of these data sets. When people's thought processes decode their visual perception of an object in alignment to the pre-existing concept of it that they have formulated, people recognise those objects (Hall 1997: 6). As a PAR method, Photovoice enabled the research participants to engage with Bakoni narratives using their own photographic skills, own judgment, and their own interpretation of the Bakoni heritage. This was in line with how "PAR is participatory, meaning that people are engaged in examining their understandings, skills and values, and interpretation of their world and how these frames and constrain their actions." (Creswell *et al*., 2007: 257).

The secondary stage of the Photovoice methodology consisted of a Focus Group Discussion and semi-structured in-depth interviews where participants presented their photographs as I was "interested in what the participants themselves have to say about their own photographs" (de Lange and Mitchell, 2017: 182). All participants were given an opportunity to explain their photographs and highlight issues relating to the Bakoni heritage, which they sought to highlight by taking certain photographs. I chose interviews as the ideal method of accessing data on the photographs generated from the first stage of Photovoice and they were a particularly useful tool for accessing the participants' knowledge about Bakoni heritage and the significance and meanings of their photographs: "It is through interviews that researchers can access insight into people's perceptions, understandings, and experiences of a given phenomenon" (Scanlan, 2020: 4). I selected semi-structured, in-depth interviews as the ideal interview type for this stage of Photovoice because they provide a better flow of communication allowing for the participants to have freedom in which knowledge they choose to share and on which aspects of the photographs they wish to focus. This also allowed their participation to cover topics beyond specific concepts that were predetermined in the study.

Of particular importance in the secondary stage of Photovoice is the participants' memory and their ability to express themselves (Manyozo, 2016). In this stage participants were prompted to not only remember what their pictures were meant to represent but also to read the pictures as photographic text, "in Indigenous communities, ethnographic photography enables communities to share

important historical information about the communities and the people who used to live there and the experiences that they lived through" (Manyozo, 2016: 90). Some of these memories are not only theirs, but also of other people who might have passed on their narratives of the Bakoni unto them as "in subaltern politics, memory is an act of war, and as such, subjects exercise their agency by remembering other people's memories" (Manyozo, 2016: 89). This recognition also allows the researcher to accept that the interview might end up taking a quite different turn from what is expected. Portelli urges the researcher to give priority to what the participant wishes to share, rather than what the researcher wishes to hear (1979).

This secondary stage was especially important for me to assist those participants who felt that they could express themselves better using words rather than just pictures as "Oral sources give us information about illiterate people or social groups whose written history is either missing or distorted" (Portelli, 1979: 50). The oral expression element of the Focus Group Discussion also assisted me in picking up attitudes associated to certain narratives as "The analysis of images cannot be done without the co-researcher, who uncovers various layers and meaning for discussion" (Sim *et al.*, 2019: 35). During oral expression there are pieces of information that the researcher might be able to pick up which allow them to better understand the context and nuances of the received information. For instance, Portelli noted that some narrators may switch rhythms within the same interview as their attitude towards the subject of discussion changes (1979).

The primary data was collected over two consecutive days. The first day involved only two participants and the interview was conducted in the presence of three other people who are production team members with whom we were shooting a documentary for the overall MMM research project. With permission from the participants, the production team was shooting the interview I was conducting for use in the documentary. The production team had three members and their presence did not have much impact on the collection of my data. Even though one of the production team would sometimes ask questions; I was the one leading the interview.

There was an initial set of interview questions (Appendix 3) that I prepared for collecting the data but during the conversations I was listening closely for follow-up question opportunities. I sought to maintain an interpretive role whereby I was making observations, exercising objective judgment, and analysing not only the participants' interview answers and focus group discussions but also their interaction (Harling, 2012). One of the challenges with this stage was that some participants did not want to focus on the questions at hand, but instead would opt to speak about alternative

aspects that they wanted to talk about. Some of them seemed to not clearly understand the questions asked.

The research participants were all aware of the proposed study and confirmed their willingness to participate. See attached informed consent form (Appendix 5a). The first two participants were able to sign their informed consent forms at the data collection site. The second group only signed the form after I had collected the data because we struggled to find an opened internet cafe as it was a Sunday. Our search for a printer was also limited by the fact that we were racing against time. I displayed the digital copy of the informed consent form on the laptop, while simultaneously reading it out to ensure that they were aware of what it entailed. I then asked that they print, scan, and email me the copy after they had signed it. I emailed it to several of them too so that they could sign it and revert. Some emailed the form back within that very week but for others it took nearly two months and I had to remind them.

What led to this challenge was the fact that I had not printed the Informed Consent Form prior to meeting the second group of participants. I was hesitant to print the previous day because I was unsure of the language preferences of my would-be participants, so I thought I would only print on the day. To my detriment, Mashishing is a very small town, and it was hard to find a printer on a random Sunday morning or evening. In hindsight, I realise that this process would have been smoother had I printed many copies of the informed consent forms in all the languages in which I had translated them.

I transferred the photographs taken from the camera memory cards to my personal computer and uploaded them on the Google Drive storage cloud. The Focus Group discussion recordings were stored on Google Drive, and I then emailed these to myself. I transcribed one set of these recordings as they were in isiZulu and siSwati, which I understand. The second set of recordings were transcribed by a transcription service company as they contained the Sepedi language which I do not understand. The data was shared with my supervisor via email. I maintain email and cellphone contact with some of the participants and their close relatives and guardians. These are used whenever I require any follow up details. I will send the participants an electronic copy once the thesis has been examined.

The option for anonymity was offered to the participants but none of them requested it. Had any of them requested it, pseudonyms would have been used. Verbal consent to record and shoot

interviews was gained prior to the recorder being switched on and the commencement of interviews.

All these sets of data collected sought to address directly the three main objectives of this research project.

Data Collection Tools

Before deciding on Photovoice as my preferred data collection tool, I needed to first evaluate whether the issue I had identified as a subject of study could be ameliorated through political mobilisation and community awareness campaigns (Falconer, 2014). The issue at hand, being the lack of inclusion in Bakoni knowledge production, was identified as one that could be solved through political mobilisation and community awareness building in this research project.

Additional to my primary research objectives, I aimed to empower local and Indigenous community members by giving them a tool or platform to voice their narratives and to prompt social change using Photovoice (Zafro-Calvo *et al.,* 2020; Wang, 2006; Packard, 2008; Gant *et al.*, 2009; Lopez *et al.,* 2018). Whilst doing this, I also explored the benefits and challenges of using a participatory research method as a tool to document heritage.

I sought to answer two questions in the Photovoice methodology. First, is Photovoice a viable methodology to collect heritage data and to what extent? And second, what local and Indigenous narratives do the participants hold? Both these questions were meant to be answered using the secondary stage of Photovoice; which is the focus group discussions and interviews. Through the Focus Group Discussion interview schedule (Appendix 3) I collected data on the effectiveness of the Photovoice method in documenting heritage. I identified the challenges or limitations to the participants' expectations. The objective of the focus group discussion did not only prompt the Bakoni narratives that participants held, but it also evaluated the effectiveness of this data collection method in capturing the participants' expressions in an empowering manner. This was achieved through the observation of participants during the project.

Participant observation is a significant aspect of Photovoice (Manyozo, 2016). The perceived developmental value of Photovoice was observed to sometimes be overrated by participants as "Subject communities will self-orientalise their representations as long as they believe that it will bring donor resources or investment into their communities. Their narratives become performances

in advocacy" (Manyozo, 2016: 92). One of the participants stated that she would be consulting with her royal authorities to alert them to the presence of Bakoni stonewalls within Klingbiel Nature Reserve. She added "we could possibly lay and win a claim against this beautiful land." (Interview, Batsepahoele Ncongwane, 2 July 2022).

Photovoice processes have been conducted in many studies and have been adapted to suit different circumstances as discussed in my Literature Review Chapter. Heather Castleden and Theresa Garvin encouraged participation and pursued inclusion of as many participant voices as possible by modifying their Photovoice structure and schedule so that it would be more flexible in terms of recruitment time, "and a training session was replaced by several visits to participants. During these visits, researchers also found an opportunity to perform semi-structured interviews that helped them get more information and a better understanding of individual thoughts and perspectives." (2008: 2). I adjusted my Photovoice process in several ways to suit my own circumstances and this made my process unique.

Due to time constraints, I did not hold a photo exhibition at the end of the study. Instead, I stored the photographs on my laptop for reference during the focus group discussion.

After approaching the participants and after they had agreed to participate in the research, I explained in depth the research objectives and imparted with them basic photographic techniques. I used this session to focus on teaching the participants basic photography techniques and to elaborate on the overall theme of the topic to be covered.

Naydene de Lange and Claudia Mitchell describe one of the key activities in Photovoice as a 'lead-in' which includes using existing photographs to prompt participants to think and talk about those visuals (2017: 179). I adopted a similar approach in this study as I showed the participants a picture on my cellphone. The participants were then given cameras and asked to shoot photos with which they would later relate their narratives.

Following the Bakoni City site visit in Klingbiel Nature Reserve, we then drove back to the main premises of the Lydenburg Museum where we sat under the shadow of a tree and conducted our Focus Group Discussion on the images that participants had just taken. This session, I originally intended to conduct at the Lydenburg Museum Conference Room (see appendix 2), but I rather conducted it on the shaded lawn outside because of the extremely hot weather. This is where I was

able to understand the rationale behind the images they had taken and understand how hard, or easy, it had been for them to express their narratives in photos.

The Photovoice exploration included an aspect of how participants identify themselves so that the diversity of the participants was also documented. The Photovoice method, to an extent, forced this research project to consider the participants' lived experiences and presented them as more than just abstractions. This is in line with Dyll's observations that: "Transformation discourse in higher education is set out in university curriculum and policy but is contradicted by regulatory ethics regimes and neoliberal managerialism that encourages desktop research where rich lived experiences are codified into numerical tables and other abstractions" (Dyll, 2020: 15). This study defied this principle as it prioritised field research over desktop research. Flor Lopez, Fern Wickson and Vera Hausner (2018) highlight some of the creative arts-based research methods' benefits as it allows researchers to capture the complex texture of lived experience and suppresses hierarchies in social relations while empowering the participants.

There were several considerations that I needed to note during the facilitation of the Photovoice method. According to Sutton-Brown "despite its increasing use as a research methodology, very little information exists in academic literature about how to conduct a Photovoice study" (2014: 170). This made it challenging for me to envisage the study because out of all the Photovoice studies I had consulted none precisely suited the conditions under which my study would be conducted. I had to adopt all the elements which I thought would be relevant and leave out all those that did not apply.

One of the considerations of Photovoice is that it needs time to form a complete circuit of culture, which is " an environment in which cultural members produce, circulate, consume, reproduce and identify with meanings through their usage of texts and submission to values" (Manyozo, 2016: 89). A part of the Photovoice process that I learnt was especially important is building rapport with the participants ahead of initiating the Photovoice process. I realised this is one of the key activities in carrying out successful Photovoice sessions as it took a bit of time for my participants to warm up to me and to be confident with their participation. Several of the participants only gained confidence towards the end of the group discussion session. It appeared to me that this was because they were doubtful of my intentions, the relevance, importance, and accuracy of their knowledge, and how their participation was meant to benefit them. For some of the participants, it took some effort from me for them to participate efficiently. In most instances, especially with the younger

group, I had to ask follow-up questions and sometimes request attention and focus. It was more challenging for the younger group of participants to participate than it was for the older group.

I noted that some participants lacked confidence in their narratives. Others were doubtful of sharing their opinions in fear of contradicting fellow participants' accounts. I was also eager to distinguish whether the participants were reporting their own lived accounts or the lived accounts of others. This is a possible challenge for researchers during Photovoice (Manyozo, 2016: 92).

Castleden and Garvin noted that Photovoice can limit participation from elders as they might have mobility restrictions (2008). This was true for this study as it was challenging for the elderly participants on a physical level. It took notably longer for us to reach the stonewall cluster with the older participants than it did with the younger participants. The data collection site, as detailed in the Introduction Chapter, could not be reached by car and so we had to park it about a kilometre away and walk.

Despite the challenges, there were some successes. For example, I was able to not only successfully fetch and bring back the research participants to the Mashishing Township, but I was able to successfully recruit them into the project despite the short notice. The workshop before the Photovoice was conducted successfully, and the data collected successfully. I was able to reach my initial target of eight participants.

Data analysis: Participatory grounded narrative analysis

My analytical strategy was aimed at interpreting the study's findings according to a participatory perspective. However, "theory can blind us to aspects of the phenomenon that are not part of the theory" (Given, 2008: 872). The study therefore included possible 'new indicators' that may be concealed if too closely guided by already-published scholarship. It is for this reason that this study was guided by a previous Masters' study situated within in the MMM project. In March 2019, Nongcebo Ngcobo conducted fieldwork on the same site as this study. She actively sought to identify the various perceptions of participation held by a few of the differing team members. This allowed for a grounded approach that continued throughout my own fieldwork. It also allowed for the analysis of critical pieces of data that did not necessarily align to received theory.

During the focus group discussions, the Photovoice images were treated by the participants as signs that carry meaning that could be interpreted (Hall, 2013: 5). The analysis of data sought to draw

meaning from these images and focus group discussions. The participants were prompted to undertake a textual analysis as they described the significance of the pictures, they had taken in the first stage of Photovoice. Alan McKee describes textual analyses as a tool for researchers to gather information about how human beings make sense of the world (2003: 1). The units of analysis in this stage were social artifacts in the form of Bakoni stonewalls. Social artefacts are products of human action (Blanche, 1999: 109).

The textual analysis of the photographs led to the emergence of narratives that would subsequently produce knowledge about the Bakoni heritage. However, the textual analysis on its own did not answer the rest of the research questions. Especially not the one that sought to identify the pros and cons of Photovoice.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is used to identify, analyse and report patterns within data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). According to Antonina Lukenchuk, data analysis includes "organising data, selecting specific strategies and techniques, reporting the results through textural descriptions and visual representations (e.g., tables, graphs, figures), and summarising and validating the results based on research questions and/or hypotheses" (2017: 80). I chose a version of this data analysis method for this study because it is ultimately geared towards constructing meaning on Bakoni heritage and the use of Photovoice in heritage recording. The open-ended nature of qualitative research questions is aimed at facilitating the construction of meaning (Creswell, 2007).

Reflexive Thematic Analysis

I have adopted Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke's approach to thematic analysis which they refer to as *Reflexive Thematic Analysis* (2020). I chose this approach because it embodies the approaches that align with qualitative research and embraces the subjective skills and values that a researcher brings to the process. Other versions of thematic analysis, as identified by Braun and Clarke. are 'coding reliability', 'codebook' and most importantly to this study; 'reflexive variations' (2020). In comparison, 'coding reliability' emphasises accuracy and reliability while 'codebook' approaches rely on a coding framework.

The Reflexive Thematic Analysis approach was chosen for this study because it allows for the analysis to be an interpretive reflexive process where coding is open, organic and does not adhere to any coding framework (Braun and Clarke, 2020). Instead of viewing it as a burden, I viewed my

subjectivity as an asset. The choice of this approach was made in line with the theories that guide this study, as elaborated in the Conceptual Framework Chapter. “theory in qualitative research has a pervasive role that affects all aspects of the research process” (Anfara, 2008a: 869). Paradigms or worldviews further shape the research as they influence the practice of the research project (Creswell, 2007: 19). The reflexive nature of this approach allowed me to not only be able to locate myself in the study, but to also benefit from doing so (Fook, 1999).

Braun and Clarke (2020) have recently, slightly but significantly, modified their (2006) data analysis process and this is the approach that was followed in this study:

1. data familiarisation and writing familiarisation notes,
2. systematic data coding,
3. generating initial themes from coded and collated data,
4. developing and reviewing themes,
5. refining, defining and naming themes and,
6. writing the report. (Braun and Clarke, 2020: 4)

It is important to note that Braun and Clarke (2020) emphasised that this phase approach was not meant to be followed rigidly.

After I had developed the codes using both inductive and deductive analyses, I interpreted them into themes according to the concepts that have been discussed in the Conceptual Framework Chapter: “A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82).

According to the Reflexive Thematic Analysis approach, analysis does not have to be an exclusive choice of approach between either inductive or deductive analysis, instead, both approaches can be employed in the same study (Braun and Clarke, 2019). I used my subjectivity to identify patterns of meanings. I was cognisant and benefitted from my philosophical sensibility that local and Indigenous voices matter and that participation in knowledge creation also matters. These philosophical assumptions guided the process of theme generation: “The researcher’s role in knowledge production is at the heart of our approach!” (Braun and Clarke, 2019: 594).

This study acknowledges and adopts the change with regards to the "generation of themes" (Braun and Clarke, 2019) instead of "searching for themes" (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This moves towards a more active approach to themes aligns with the reflexive nature of this study as it carries the researcher's role right through to the data analysis stage of the research. Even though there is a systematic manner that was followed in analysing the data, the route leading to the generation of themes was according to the philosophical tenets to which I adhere (Khaldi, 2017). I developed themes in line with the research questions and conceptual framework of the study.

The necessity of conducting a deductive analysis rose from the need to identify closely what has been deemed as significant and relevant in the previous heritage policy, literature and previous Photovoice studies (in relation to its benefits and challenges). A deductive/theoretical thematic analysis is informed by the researcher's theoretical or analytic interest in the area of study and is used to conduct a detailed analysis of only some aspects of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 84). In this study, I used it to conduct a detailed analysis of the official and scholarly interpretations of the Bakoni settlement sites that exist within literature and to discover what methodologies were used to reach those interpretations. I employed the deductive analysis again to generate themes that relate to the benefits and challenges of using Photovoice as identified by other researchers who have used the method before and authored on it. This analysis spoke directly to answering fully the first research question and part of the third research question.

Coding was conducted only in the deductive part of my thematic analysis, and I did it manually: "In reflexive TA, a code is conceptualised as an analytic unit or tool, used by researcher to develop (initial) themes" (Braun and Clarke, 2020). I employed coding throughout the literature to find out what were some of the challenges and benefits that had already been identified within the process of Photovoice. I developed codes and ideas of what I was looking for within the participant interviews, literature and the Photovoice study. During the coding process, I printed out the interview transcripts and the literature review. I then wrote notes on the texts I was analysing using coloured pens and highlighters to indicate potential patterns and identify certain segments of data. Transcripts from the focus group discussion and interviews were categorised separately from the literature review data.

I then conducted the inductive thematic analysis to generate themes surrounding participants' opinions and narratives on Bakoni heritage and their experience in using Photovoice to document heritage: "Inductive analysis is therefore a process of coding the data without trying to fit it into a

preexisting coding frame, or the researcher's analytic preconceptions" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 83). I did this to ensure that there is no new potential knowledge that is excluded within the interview transcripts and literature because of my analytic preconceptions. I used inductive analysis to search through the participants' interview transcripts and literature for new codes that could develop themes relating to the participants' narratives about Bakoni heritage and their experience in using the Photovoice methodology.

Conclusion

The methodology of a study is one of the core elements of conducting research. In this chapter I sought to explain in detail this delicate and key process. I used this chapter to link the theoretical and philosophical assumptions of this study to the conduct of this research and how it relates to the research problem and questions. I demonstrated how this study's paradigm informed the design of this research, data collection and sampling. I identified, discussed and justified my methodological choices as they relate to the objectives of the study. I also explained how these objectives were met using different methodology choices.

The Photovoice methodology is complex in that different kinds of data are collected at different stages. It requires resources and time. I explained in this chapter how these resources and time were managed. I did not only justify the use of Photovoice to collect data, but I also explained how I modified it to suit my circumstances. I also shed light on some of the work that goes into Photovoice before and after the stage of data collection.

Finally, I elaborated on issues pertaining to reflexivity. I explained how I embraced it, how this study benefitted from it and what aspects of my positionality were relevant to this study.

Chapter 5: Data Presentation and Discussion

Introduction

The main objectives of this study have been elaborated on in the previous chapters and this chapter presents and discusses data in relation to the literature I have consulted and to the theory that I have explained in previous chapters. The data was collected in various stages and different forms to answer the research questions.

The data for research question one that seeks to identify and discuss the official and previous scholarly interpretations of the Bakoni settlement sites and rock engravings, as well as their associated methodologies, was presented in Chapter Two, as it reviewed associated literature from previous scholarship. This data has already been presented thematically in the Literature Review chapter. Data for this research question will, therefore, not be presented again, but it will be included in the discussion of the new data generated from this study's fieldwork, to compare what has been previously published, in relation to the interview responses by this study's participants.

Similarly, part of the data for research question three that seeks to explore benefits and challenges of Photovoice as a Participatory Action Research method for heritage recording, is also presented in Chapter Two. The reason for this is that Photovoice is a well-researched methodology (Falconer 2014, Larry *et al.*, 2009, Castleden and Garvin 2008). It is, therefore, important to identify the already established challenges and benefits. Yet, Photovoice has not been used in relation to the Mashishing sites so it is imperative that new data was generated through speaking with local people. This chapter, therefore, presents the responses shared by this study's research participants in what they identify as the benefits and challenges. The previous scholarship on Photovoice will be included to establish an analytical discussion between what has already been established and the new responses from the Mashishing participants.

Data for research question two is the only question that will be wholly addressed in this chapter, as the primary objective here is to identify contemporary local narratives regarding the Bakoni heritage that can be unearthed using the Participatory Action Research method of Photovoice. This data was collected during the Photovoice focus group discussions and interviews that followed the participants taking photographs (as discussed in the previous chapter). With the guidance of Braun and Clarke's (2019: 589), reflexive thematic analysis the predominant topics shared by the research participants were generated into "fully realised themes (patterns of shared meaning underpinned by

a central organising concept)". These "domain summary themes are organised around a shared topic but not shared meaning" because as so aptly described by Braun and Clarke (2019: 593) themes "aim to capture the diversity of meaning in relation to a topic or area of focus". Diversity of meaning is a guiding principle in a study of this nature that aims to acknowledge and record a multivocal and local narrative. The central organising concepts are provided in the research questions, but with the intersection of my own subjectivity and reflexivity as researcher. To elaborate, the coding process required "a continual bending back on oneself—questioning and querying the assumptions we are making in interpreting and coding the data. Themes are analytic outputs developed through and from the creative labour of our coding" (Braun and Clarke, 2019: 594). The coding was therefore an iterative process.

An important aspect of Braun and Clarke's (2019) thematic analysis is that of transparency. Beyond the Braun and Clarke's influence in generating themes, I found Yonela Vukapi (2020) and Govender (2020) helpful in analysing and presenting the Photovoice data. Govender's (2020) approach guided the analytic process of meaning units, identifying codes, organising them into tabs and then categorising them to formulate themes, as presented in Table 5.1 below.

Meaning Unit	**Condensed Meaning Units**	**Codes**	**Categories**	**Themes**
"I saw a grinding stone; this tells us that they used to eat ground food and so they must have practiced agriculture."	- I saw a grinding stone, this tells us that they used to eat ground food and so they must have practiced agriculture.	The observed grinding stone confirms the notion that the Bakoni practiced agriculture.	Bakoni practicing Agriculture	Usage of Stone
"We are going to use these stone walls, as proof that they passed in that land and they dwelt there."	- We are going to use these stone walls to prove that this land once belonged to us.	The Bakoni stonewalls can be used to prove that this land once belonged to the modern Pedi.	Modern Pedi as Bakoni	Land Dispossession

“The shape of the stonewalls reminds me of Xhosa and Zulu people's traditional huts.”	- The shape of the stonewalls reminds me of Xhosa and Zulu people's traditional huts.	The Bakoni stonewalls are similar to Xhosa and Zulu traditional huts.	Stonewall similarity to Xhosa and Zulu structures	Identity
“For me, I enjoyed using the camera because it was my first time using it. I normally use my phone to take pictures but today was my first time using an actual camera for that long. I came here not knowing how to use a camera but now I can confidently say I am able to use one.”	- I came here not knowing how to use a camera but now I can confidently say I am able to use one.	- For other participants, it was easy to use a camera and they did not experience any challenges. - Some participants gained skills in using a camera through this activity.	- Photovoice enables expression - Gaining camera skills	Photovoice benefits

“Our comfortability with the camera varies. Those who were more comfortable were able to explore more meanwhile those who were not quite comfortable spent more time trying to focus on the operation of the camera.”	- There is a difference between the pictures captured by a person who has been taking pictures for a long time and someone who does not.	- It was challenging to make photographs for some of the participants for whom it was the first time using a camera. - Those who were more comfortable were able to explore more meanwhile those who were not quite comfortable spent more time trying to focus on the operation of the camera.	Participants facing challenges because of never having used a camera	Photovoice Challenges

Table 5.1: The analytic process of meaning units and the generation of themes

The Photovoice methodology allows for the generation of many photographs which I found can be challenging to present in a clear, coherent and organised manner. The way in which the Photovoice photographs are presented in this study is adopted and adapted from Yonela Vukapi’s (2020) Photovoice study. Vukapi presented the generated themes and subthemes according to her study’s main research questions (2020) and was also able to show the multiple Photovoice photographs. This study is similar in that the photographs are presented in a table format with descriptions. However, it is different in that the tables are segmented and presented according to themes. I found this style of presentation useful because it was able to exhibit the many Photovoice photographs in an organised manner that also provides space for the description of individual photographs.

Although the visual data from the Photovoice was not a core part of the thematic analysis, as explained in the previous chapter, some of it is presented in this chapter to illustrate the themes. The next section will present the findings in response to the question of the benefits and challenges of

Photovoice in the Mashishing setting. They will be analysed in the conceptual framework of representation theory (du Gay *et al*., 1997; Hall, 1997b; Motzkin, 2002; Derrida, 1982; Smith, 2009), participatory communication theory (Servaes, 1996; Doudaki and Carpentier, 2021; Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009; Huesca, 2008). The remainder of the chapter will then present and analyse the data that was collected in focus groups and interviews, but organised into the following generated themes that reflect the local contemporary narratives of the Bakoni sites: Indigenous and Local Bakoni Narratives, Usage of Stone and Structure, Land Dispossession, Modern Pedi as Bakoni/Identity of Bakoni and Condition of Bakoni Stonewalls. In this chapter, I will interpret these findings in connection with literature and theory.

This chapter, therefore, present its findings in line with research questions two and three, in the context of theory and previous literature. It also presents several of the Photovoice images photographed by the participants, a portion of the focus group discussion responses and includes the participants' biographical information.

Photovoice

In this study I use Photovoice to amplify the voices of the Mashishing local and Indigenous community members by exploring their narratives about the Bakoni heritage. As a methodology involving the art form of photography, I conducted Photovoice to identify various perceptions (Lopez, Wickson and Hausner, 2018: 1).

Although the subject of my Photovoice process is the Bakoni stonewalls, the Photovoice methodology in itself is also a subject of study in this research as I intend to explore its capability as a method of recording heritage. The Photovoice methodology was part of the subject of study in that I sought to produce knowledge regarding its benefits and challenges. The first set of data regarding the Photovoice methodology was collected and presented in the literature review as scholarly studies conducting Photovoice were consulted to consider what challenges and benefits were identified by previous researchers who adopted this method. This sought to address research question two.

In this chapter, I present and analyse the themes generated according to the challenges and benefits as identified by the participants of this study. I present and analyse these findings in relation to theory and literature to address research question three. It depicts what participants said about using photography as a language to represent themselves. The Photovoice methodology was guided and

aligned with the theory of participatory communication, using the principles of dialogue, voice and action.

From the initiation of communication with the participants, to carrying out the Photovoice process and the continuous engagements post-data collection, cooperation was mobilised, emphasising the significance of community participation. Before the initiation of the first stage of Photovoice, the participants cooperated in a Photovoice workshop that was facilitated by meaningful dialogue because “cultural meanings are co-created in dialogue” (Dyll, 2020: 12). During the first stage of Photovoice, the participants engaged in action. The participants were encouraged to cooperate as they took turns in using the cameras as there were more participants than cameras. This was achieved through initiating and maintaining dialogue between myself and the participants and among the participants themselves, as “[i]nteraction and socialising provides ground for social production” (Apaydin, 2020: 94).

This cooperative spirit extended into the second stage of Photovoice in the form of follow up/ reflection focus group discussions and interviews that were reliant on dialogue and voice. ‘The voice’ considered was not only that of the individual participants involved but also of their respective local and Indigenous communities (Radley, 2010: 269). The participants, through their engagement, were actively 'naming the world’ in sharing narratives on Bakoni heritage and discussing Photovoice methodology. This stage of Photovoice, based on dialogue, was crucial in the inclusion of local and Indigenous Mashishing narratives. In this way dialogue can be instrumental in dismantling the assumptions of archaeologists and academics as the only knowledge bearers (see Dyll, 2018: 339). Its inclusion in the methodology, reinforces the belief that communication involving community participation is integral to sustainable development (Manyozo, 2006: 83). This idea is supported by Kim’s (2022:124) argument that “[w]ithout the process that values the voices and the agency of the oppressed, the result will only replicate the injustices, which may be digitally driven yet mirror the existing injustices on the ground”. In essence, the Photovoice methodology, through its integration of dialogue, voice, and action, served as a powerful tool for community empowerment and the preservation of cultural heritage. The enthusiasm and engagement displayed by research participants was evident.

The research participants were biographically diverse, and this enabled me to collect comprehensive data on the participant experiences with the Photovoice methodology. One of the most notable benefits of Photovoice was that the younger participants enjoyed the Photovoice methodology and

found it useful. This was also reflected by Falconer (2014) who noted that students, most of whom were young people, were ideal participants for his Photovoice project because they were literate, compliant and eager. Similarly, Gant *et al*. (2009: 361) found that "Photovoice seems to have a special appeal to young people and a potential to engage children and adolescents". On the other side of the biographical spectrum, it was noted that the older participants in this study expressed issues with regards to accessibility of the Photovoice site.

Photovoice proved to have an ability to offer insight into how Mashishing local and Indigenous communities make sense of the Bakoni heritage. It also provided insight into the knowledge production process in which the participants were involved. This is also noted by Manyozo (2016: 80) who acknowledged Photovoice's ability to offer researchers an understanding of how communities make sense of images that represent them.

Challenges

There have been numerous studies about the Photovoice methodology that have documented some of the weaknesses and challenges of the Photovoice methodology (Manyozo, 2016; Castleden and Garvin, 2008; Falconer, 2014). Some of these challenges were inherent in this study but some were not. Several of the challenges highlighted in this study include issues regarding camera operation, visibility and accessibility of Photovoice sites and subject. In essence, the challenges identified in the literature collectively highlight the delicate nature of the Photovoice process and the factors that need to be considered in the conduct of Photovoice research. To capture participants' narratives in an effective and valid manner, Photovoice researchers must navigate issues related to mobilising and securing necessary resources, time management, and facilitating access to Photovoice sites and subjects amongst others.

Cost and resources

Some of the most obvious costs and resources to be considered before conducting the Photovoice methodology are the cameras, travelling costs, accommodation expenses and time. Falconer (2014) identified the need for careful consideration of costs and resources involved in the Photovoice methodology. One of the very first challenges experienced in the study was to secure eight cameras which would be used in the first stage of Photovoice as all participants had to have cameras at the same time to ensure efficiency during the data collection effort. Out of the eight cameras, I managed to secure only four. This proved troublesome on the second day of Photovoice in which I had six

participants. As a result, some participants had to wait for others to finish before they too could use the cameras. This emphasises Falconer's assertion that Photovoice researchers need to consider resources. The issue of enough cameras was raised by one of the participants, Bongani Khumalo, as a challenge: "Some of them had to fight for the opportunity to shoot because the cameras were not equal to us" (Focus group, 03 July 2022). Although there was this constraint it did on the other hand encourage co-operation and dialogue between the participants.

Another factor that could have been a potential issue (had I not received assistance from the Mashishing Marking Memories project) was logistical expenses. Photovoice is based on fieldwork, and this means that researchers and participants have to travel to the Photovoice subject location (Harper, 2002). Some of the less obvious logistical expenses of Photovoice may include transport for the participants and catering for the researcher and/or participants. This may prove to be a challenge for researchers who are not able to afford such costs.

Carrying out Photovoice requires that the researcher builds rapport with participants before initiating the Photovoice process (Lukenchuk, 2017: 78). Building rapport relies on spending enough time with the research participants which is something that is not guaranteed under some circumstances. In this study, my time with the participants was limited. While I am aware of the need for ample time in the field and the necessity to build rapport, financial constraints did not allow for this. Fieldwork in Mashishing required a 700-kilometre drive from Durban to Mashishing and additional funds were required for accommodation. This was paid for by one of my supervisors, as I did not have the funds and therefore, I was determined to conduct the Photovoice in the four days afforded to me. It was because of this that I could not build enough rapport with research participants which resulted in some of them holding back from the research activities because of lack of trust and not being inspired to participate. Keeping participants inspired and engaged in the conduct of research and training them in the required skills are some of the factors that require time from the Photovoice researcher. This means that Photovoice researchers should ensure that they invest sufficient time into the process. However, upon entering the field I ensured that I built a sense of collegiality and cooperation through dialogue and clear communication on expectations and the affordances for the participants to share as openly as possible and to ask questions as and when they arose, as discussed above.

During the Photovoice methodology, facilitators are usually required to introduce participants to the subject topic, photography techniques, inspire participants towards a plan of action, and facilitate

focus group discussions or interviews (Gant et al., 2009: 360). These multiple tasks can be difficult to achieve. It is, therefore, important to be well organised. Another way in which I mitigated this challenge is through my skills as a photographer and being familiar with the terminology and how to explain the features, processes, and skills involved in photography. Some participants were quick to grasp this knowledge but for others it took a bit longer. I could also observe that the idea of learning something new about the camera was exciting, while for others it seemed that it was not as interesting.

Ethical clearance

I also experienced challenges in obtaining ethical clearance for visual participatory research, under which Photovoice falls. This emphasises the need for proactive communication to address potential risks: “We have experienced the challenges of doing visual participatory research when submitting research protocols for ethical clearance to the ethics committees of universities (de Lange and Mitchell, 2017: 185). In this study I had to secure ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu -Natal and the Mashishing Museum, which is the custodian of the Bakoni stonewalls within the Klingbiel Nature Reserve. I had to mitigate this potential risk by communicating early and explain my intentions as clearly as possible.

Mobility

The potential limitation of participation of elders due to mobility restrictions and Photovoice site accessibility is identified by Castleden and Garvin (2008) as a significant challenge. This was experienced and expressed by Batsepahoele Ncongwane and Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana, as the two senior participants of my study. When walking back to the car after capturing the photographs, they complained about the long walk and stony-faced surface on which they were walking. This had the potential to hinder participation and could have led to the exclusion of certain individuals and thereby certain opinions and narratives.

Language

Language barriers may also pose challenges in the successful and effective conduct of Photovoice due to its dialogical nature. I am a native isiZulu speaker and, in this study, there were participants whose home language was isiZulu, siSwati and sePedi. It was easy for all the participants to understand isiZulu which mostly communicated in, except for one Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana who only spoke and understood sePedi. This proved a challenge during the first stage of Photovoice

when I had to provide a training workshop and also during the second stage of Photovoice during the interview. However, Batsepahoele Ncongwane could speak and understand both sePedi and isiZulu and was able to assist with translating the communication between myself and the participant. Even though this was appreciated and beneficial to the study; it did have a potential negative effect on the study because Batsepahoele Ncongwane is not a professional interpreter and therefore I could not guarantee whether she was accurately mediating the interaction between myself and the participant. This puts not only the researcher at a disadvantage but also the participant whose opinions and narratives might be unintentionally misrepresented. Additionally, with those that spoke the same language I was able to pick up metaphors, nuances and ask follow up questions where clarity was required. As a result, some of the nuances, metaphors and clarity was lost during the interview with the participant who could only speak SePedi. The involvement of interpreters may create a mediated, second-hand experience (Manyozo, 2016: 84), potentially impacting the recording of participants' narratives. This may be so, because “our depictive ability depends on the existence of our descriptive ability” (Motzkin, 2002: 204). Secondly Batsepahoele Ncongwane was not compensated for the interpretation service that she executed. Since Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana could only express herself in sePedi, this meant that I had to contract a translation service to translate and transcribe the audio of the interviews. The issue of language is intertwined with the issue of the Photovoice methodology being costly and requiring various resources.

Camera operation

The evolution of technology over the recent years has not only improved the exchange of knowledge but has also opened opportunities for the sharing of experiences. The adoption of technology has promoted connectivity, breaking down traditional barriers, and empowering communities, including those traditionally marginalised, to actively participate in the global exchange of information and ideas (UNESCO, 2018: 28).

The camera was central in the way that we conducted Photovoice because the first activity was taking photographs of the stonewalls using small compact cameras. Technology has always been viewed as crucial in efforts to develop the lives of humankind. Tufte and Mefalopulos (2009) note that this was reinforced during the 20th century whereby each new technological development was advanced to better humankind. However, the lack of familiarity with technology proved troublesome for some of the participants: “Well for me it was the first time using a camera, so I had

no idea how you do this or what happens when using this. Yes, so please forgive me for not being able to use the camera the way it is supposed to be used" (Focus group discussion, 02 July 2022, Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana).

Some participants had never used a camera such as the one provided to them. For others it was their first time touching a camera. Participants, particularly those unfamiliar with cameras, may pose a risk of damaging equipment. Despite the tutorial on camera operation before the commencement of the photo taking, some participants found it challenging to operate the camera and therefore they felt their ability to express themselves using the camera was hampered. de Lange and Mitchell (2017) also experienced this challenge during their project, and they had to provide a workshop focusing on framing, angle, lighting and other photography considerations.

Those who were more comfortable were able to explore and express themselves through concentrating on their choice of content or angle, meanwhile those who were not quite comfortable spent more time trying to focus on the operation of the camera. From my observation, some of the pictures were a bit blurry and the subject was out of focus. Several of the photographs were also skewed which indicated that the participant did not pay attention to the framing and composition of the photograph. This signalled that participants who are inexperienced with the use of a camera may struggle to express their narratives and opinions during Photovoice: "I think mine were different because I couldn't get a clear picture. I think I struggled with the use of a camera. Even though I could see for everyone else it was easy, but for some reason mine were blurry" (Focus group discussion, 03 July 2022, Bongani Khumalo).

One of the participants felt that there was a clear difference between the photographs taken by participants who are experienced in the use of a camera and those who were less experienced: "Our comfortability with the camera varies. Those who were more comfortable were able to explore more meanwhile those who were not quite comfortable spent more time trying to focus on the operation of the camera" (Focus Group, 3 July 2022, Buhle Fakude).

While the intention of Photovoice is participatory in that it can improve participant's engagement (de Lange and Mitchell, 2017), in practical application it may inadvertently hinder the participation of members in the group who may be unfamiliar with the technology. Participatory communication theory usually critiques the use of exogenous methods, but in some ways the camera and photography may be considered exogenous. By extension "social change cannot be achieved

through any abstract entity exogenous to human agency however advanced and innovative a technology may be" (Suzina and Tufte, 2022: 124). In participatory projects it is important for exogenous community development approaches to acknowledge the importance of Indigenous communications (Manyozo, 2018: 404). For this reason my methodology included reflection interviews and focus groups that allowed participants an opportunity to explain their photographs and experience, thus including an oral form of engagement.

The issue of never having used a camera before was experienced and approached by participants in different ways. For some, they felt intimidated by the camera and were consumed by fear of 'breaking' the camera. For others, they were excited at the opportunity of using a camera for the first time. For Veliswa Mlimi it was the latter: "Personally, it appealed to me because I wanted to see if I could capture the giraffes using this camera zoom function" (Focus group discussion, 03 July 2022).

The below photographs (Photograph 1, Photograph 2 and Photograph 3) are blurry. This is because the participants did not use the focus function of the camera properly due to their declared inexperience in using cameras. They were unable to express themselves as desired due to lack of adequate knowledge in camera operation.

Photograph 1: One of the failed attempts of capturing a photograph due to lack of technical experience in the use of a camera (Photographer: Bongani Khumalo).

Photograph 2: One of the failed attempts of capturing a photograph where the subject is blurred (Photographer: Bongani Khumalo).	
Photograph 3: Participant struggled to bring to focus the subject of interest (Photographer: Bongani Khumalo).	

Photograph 4: Giraffes captured using the zoom function (Photographer: Veliswa Mlimi).

There were a variety of aspects that the participants chose to represent through the photographs, attesting to the fact that "not only are Indigenous groups diverse, so is their production and use of media forms" (Stoddard, Marcus, and Hicks, 2014: 11). Participants focused on various aspects in order to express various narratives and opinions about either the Bakoni heritage or the Photovoice methodology. However, Veliswa Mlimi chose to experiment with the camera during the first stage of Photovoice as she took a picture of distant giraffes in order to explore the zoom function. This exhibited the agency which is afforded to participants in Photovoice projects (see Photograph 4). Palesa Mohlala's reflection acknowledged that perhaps for some participants it was a bit of fun: "Some of them you could see they were just taking pictures for fun. For others it was like a silly field trip" (Focus Group Discussion, 03 July 2022).

Visibility and accessibility of the subject of Photovoice

Visibility of the stonewalls emerged as one of the key issues during the exploration of the capability of Photovoice. The Bakoni stonewalls are in an open field inside the Klingbiel Nature Reserve and the stonewall clusters we accessed were located in a hilly part of the Nature Reserve and there is no established road to reach them. Rains had eroded the gravel road and its surface was laden with big and small stones. In order to drive to the stonewalls, we required a vehicle with high ground clearance. The vehicle we were using did not have high ground clearance and we had to park it about half a kilometre away from the stonewalls and then walk up the hill on the hot day with no shade at all. For the much older participants, this was considerably challenging as they had not prepared themselves for walking such a long distance, let alone ascending such a hill in the open sun. They complained that because of their age, walking long distances was a challenge. In

addition, they were wearing formal shoes with heels. As our methodology was based on taking photographs, we had no choice but to physically access the stonewalls. Participants who were willing to walk further were able to discover more aspects to the site than others did,. It can be challenging to conduct the first stage of Photovoice methodology if there are accessibility issues, which is likely to frequently be the case as "most displays of cultural heritage are not visitor-friendly" (Liu and Jin, 2022: 2). The below photograph (Photograph 5) was created by one of the older participants to express herself regarding the hardship she experienced when accessing the Photovoice site because of the terrain.

Photograph 5: The rough surface leading to the Bakoni stonewalls (Photographer: Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana).	

The lesson to be learnt from this is that as a researcher using Photovoice it is important to inspect the site for accessibility issues and prepare accordingly. It is also important to know enough information about the research participants ahead of the site visit and consider potential mobility issues due to age; and also to communicate in good time of the need to dress comfortably.

During the Focus Group Discussions, one of the challenges highlighted was the lack of visibility of the stonewalls. During the time we conducted the methodology the grass was overgrown. Some parts of the stonewalls were not properly visible because of the overgrown grass and some participants expressed challenges in trying to photograph such areas. Additionally, there were also overgrown shrubs that have thorns. The overgrown grass and thorny shrubs in between the stonewall clusters made it challenging to access some of the areas. Participants highlighted that their ability to express their ideas was limited to parts of the stonewalls that they could see and the areas that they could access:

> Some of the stones were covered by the tall grass so that made it hard to see them properly. At times you could see what you wanted to take a picture of but it was challenging because it was covered by the grass, so you would take the picture and see that the picture is dominated by the tall covering grass. (Focus group discussion, Stanley Khoza, 03 July 2022)

> Because as she said, the issue of the tall grass was challenging. (Focus group discussion, Veliswa Mlimi, 03 July 2022).

Clear visibility of a heritage site stimulates imagination and thought (Powlesland and Ferraby, 2019: 485). The condition of the tangible heritage sometimes obstructed the effectiveness of the Photovoice methodology.

Photovoice is a methodology that includes both the act of visual recording through photography, followed up by dialogue in interviews and focus groups. It, therefore, encourages the recording of intangible heritage that would emanate from dialogue on what was visually engaged. The participants' lack of close contact with the stonewalls and the resulting hindrance to photographing what they wanted, impacted their narratives related thereto, and as such, points to the important relationship between intangible heritage and material culture. Intangible heritage is embedded in all material culture as "material culture…is a physical residue of past intangible heritage" (Morris, 2014b: vii). Deacon (2004:3) also asserts that the meanings embedded in tangible and intangible heritage are inseparable.

Considering this from a participatory perspective, this finding can serve as a metaphor or illustration for a persistent issue in knowledge creation, or even development. The fact that the lack of access by local communities to their own heritage is a significant detriment to gaining full knowledge of that site. There have been cases where Indigenous people have been restricted from accessing sites of heritage and this leads to the sites losing their significance to the people (Ndlovu, 2011: 43). Nicholas and Smith (2020: 137) lament the loss of access to heritage sites as a factor that may lead to the disadvantage of Indigenous people. The important task of reconstructing and explaining the South African past should not exclude anyone (van Vollenhaven, Scott and Harcombe, 2017: 122).

Using a camera to capture data was sometimes challenging for one of the participants because she was at times scared of walking closer to the object of interest in fear of being exposed to dangers such as wild animals and thorny shrubs. There were clear signs that there were wild animals residing within the nature reserve and so the participant did not want to stray too far away from the

group. This participant's reluctance to approach objects of interest due to the presence of wild animals within the nature reserve showed how nature conservation can influence the collection of data and participation in Photovoice projects. This was regarded as limiting the participant's access and therefore participation. van Vollenhaven (2014: 9) notes that restricted access to heritage resources can have adverse effects on their marketability. Although this study's intention is not to market the Bakoni stonewalls, it is however interested in adopting a more open approach to the stonewalls so that the local and Indigenous communities can participate in narratives generated related thereto: "Taking a more open approach to heritage and conservation, presents opportunities for new narratives to emerge from the landscape" (Powlesland and Ferraby, 2019: 484).

The physical state of the stonewalls highlighted the complex balance between conservation efforts and ensuring access for meaningful heritage engagement. Problems of conservation and interpretation face all heritage sites, in part because their meaning is always contested and politicised (Deacon, 2004: 7). Thinking about how access and visibility could have been improved is complicated by having to balance the conservation of nature (the natural vegetation and the wild animals). A management plan for the Bakoni stonewalls would have to dictate how this is managed as it details "recommendations as to the preservation, conservation, interpretation and utilisation of cultural resources" (van Vollenhaven, 2014: 8). The belief that local and Indigenous communities should take part in the management of heritage resources is supported by the National Heritage Act (1999: 16).

One of the participants felt that the issue of overgrown grass (see Photograph 6, 7, 8 & 9) could have been only overcome if another method was used: "For me I think even other methods would have been relevant because maybe it would have allowed us to overcome the issue of the overgrown grass" (Focus group discussion, Buhle Fakude, 03 July 2022). However, the participant could not clarify what alternative methods would have worked. The obstruction to the view of the Photovoice subject is a significant consideration because Photovoice is a visual method.

Photograph 6: The overgrown grass obstructing view of the Bakoni stonewalls (Photographer: Stanley Khoza).	
Photograph 7: The overgrown grass obstructing view of the Bakoni stonewalls (Photographer: Veliswa Mlimi).	
Photograph 8: The overgrown grass obstructing view of the Bakoni stonewalls (Photographer: Veliswa Mlimi).	

Photograph 9: The overgrown grass obstructing view of the Bakoni stonewalls (Photographer: Stanley Khoza).	
Photograph 10: Thorny shrub blocking view of the stonewalls and limiting close proximity access to the subject of Photovoice (Photographer: Veliswa Mlimi).	
Photograph 11: Signs of wildlife in the area hampered free movement of participants fearing danger (Photographer: Palesa Mahlala)	

Photograph 12: More signs of wildlife in the area hampered free movement of participants fearing danger (Photographer: Palesa Mahlala)	

Photograph 11 & 12 were expressed as demonstrating signs of wildlife. This was not to only support the narrative that there must have been wild animals the Bakoni people were protecting themselves against, but it was to also validate the participants' fear of the possibility that there are wild animals; preventing the participants' free movement around the Photovoice field. One of the participants had eyesight problems. She felt that this further limited her participation in the project because eyesight was required both in the first and second stage of Photovoice. She was initially challenged during the first stage of data collection where she was requested to photograph the stonewalls. She was again challenged during the focus group discussion as she was asked to recall her ideas and narratives using photographs. Participants with eyesight issues may be challenged in the Photovoice methodology because it is a visual methodology and "the visual medium is also an extension of human vision" (Liu and Jin, 2022: 1).

The participant's limited access due to fear and eyesight problems during both stages of the Photovoice methodology demonstrates the need for Photovoice researchers to be adaptable in their planning and execution to accommodate diverse participant needs.

Benefits

Although it is discussed above that a longer time in the field would have enabled improved rapport, having completed the data collection process over two days, I found Photovoice to be an efficient method to collect data in a short space of time. This benefit is also identified by Falconer (2014: 12). Photovoice proved to be a flexible and adaptive methodology that can conform to new circumstances without affecting the quality and validity of the data collected (Castleden and Garvin 2008: 2). My study was designed in such a manner that would allow me to collect data within one day. But due to some participants pulling out of the study, I had to amend the study's schedule to

allocate more time for sourcing alternative participants and accommodate them for data collection. Despite these last-minute changes, I was able to collect data effectively. Additional benefits of Photovoice that I discuss in this section include its ability to revive memory, experiential and spiritual engagement, skills acquisition, and participatory expression.

Reviving Memory

Memory is a significant consideration in determining what is heritage and what is not. Memory is central to the definition of heritage (Smith, 2009: 53). The importance of history, heritage and culture in understanding the past, analysing the present and planning for the future is detailed in the National Development Plan 2030 (2012: 304): "Through heritage, people communicate the stories of their past in the present" (Linn-Tynen, 2020: 260).

As I have already established that several participants felt that the photographs enhanced their ability to express themselves effectively, the second stage of Photovoice, in the form of reflection interviews and focus groups, was also beneficial for their memory. It enabled not only personal agency, but also collective memory (as discussed above). This relationship between memory and agency is explained by Manyozo (2016: 89): "in subaltern politics, memory is an act of war, and as such, subjects exercise their agency by remembering other people's memories".

The second stage of Photovoice included local and Indigenous representations and reflections. The engagement with ideas of the past in storytelling allows us to transform ourselves today (Iseke, 2013: 572). Participants acknowledged that the pictures were able to remind them of the thoughts and feelings that they had experienced when they took the photographs. It has been observed in other studies that visual media may have an advanced ability to represent types of Indigenous knowledge that are otherwise excluded (Stoddard, Marcus and Hicks, 2014: 11). The benefit that comes with the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge is that it can be empowering to the members of that Indigenous community (Iseke, 2013: 572). This idea is expressed in Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana's reflection: "It's true that when we see these pictures, we remember how we heard our forefathers journeyed and are grateful that we are able to see where they had planted walls or shelters up until they got to settle in Boomplaats" (Focus group discussion, 02 July 2022).

The developmental aspect did not only come from the camera usage skills gained, but also from learning more about the subject of research; the Bakoni heritage: "For me, I think I was able to

express myself properly because I was able to find answers for some of the questions I had about the Bakoni history" (Focus group discussion, Veliswa Mlimi, 03 July 2022).

The inclusion of Indigenous and local knowledge of the Bakoni heritage may help to decolonise (and also contribute to) the body of knowledge that currently exists on the Bakoni heritage and identity. Alexander (1994: 260) noted that as visual media "mirrors" society, it should also mirror its multi-cultural character. The second stage of Photovoice proved to be accommodating to the many narratives and realities of the participants that they were able to share. Meaning cannot be conclusively fixated because it is the result of our various social, cultural and linguistic codes (Hall, 1997a: 23). The Indigenous and local community members who participated in this study were not only being represented in the study, but they were simultaneously representing their social grouping: "Members of the same culture must share sets of concepts, images and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus to interpret the world, in roughly similar ways" (Hall, 1997a: 4).

There were numerous sets of pieces of information that were prompted from the research participants. These ranged from narratives emanating from the history and heritage of Bakoni to the participants' views and opinions on the Photovoice methodology. Having intended to represent various opinions and narratives in the first stage of Photovoice, it could have been possible for the participants to omit some of these ideas in the second stage of Photovoice. However, the viewing of the photographs during the second stage of Photovoice ensured that all of these thoughts and feelings were captured and could be brought up once again in the second stage of Photovoice. This was also apparent in Manyozo's (2016) study as he noted that "As a theoretical and methodological facility, photo elicitation repositions the performance of representation by extending it from the time of photography to the time of consumption" (Manyozo, 2016: 83). This affordance of photography is reflected in Batsepahoele Ncongwane's statement: "Pictures add onto what we know about this story, seeing pictures on its own reminds us of what happened" (Focus group discussion, 02 July 2022).

Participants expressed feelings of gratitude for the opportunity to participate in Photovoice as a knowledge production activity. The data collected in the form of photos can be stored and shared for use beyond just the study. One of the participants requested that the Photovoice photographs be shared with her so that she could store them and share with other family members and upcoming generations. She said that others who are not able to reach the Bakoni stonewalls should also

witness them through these photographs. Photographs emanating from the Photovoice process can be used beyond the photo taking activity itself and can travel through time and space. Veliswa Mlimi explained: “I think this [method] was the best because we were able to take the pictures and now here we are reviewing them some more” (Focus group discussion, 03 July 2022).

Experiential and spiritual engagement

In the way that this study was designed, the methodology required that the participating Indigenous and local community members engage with the Bakoni heritage physically. This was characterised by visiting the Bakoni stonewalls and observing and photographing the stonewalls from a close proximity. This visit was considered by some participants to be spiritually significant as they viewed it as visiting the place of their ancestors, which simultaneously introduced the issue of accessibility to the Bakoni heritage sites. Batsepahoele Ncongwane expressed this spiritual importance and the desire to be able to access the site freely:

> We wish that the place could be well fenced and then so that, and the walls be rebuilt so that it shows that there was once something like this, and be well fenced since that would be monumental to show that our ancestors, and those he travelled with, once passed this place, and then we’d pass on to the other side in Spekboom to inspect how the place there is because that is where his grave is and even today we still want to be able to enter that place so that we claim that place so that it could at least be fenced as well because that place has his grave there. (Focus group discussion, , 03 July 2022).

This association of the stonewall sites with ancestors introduced a spiritual aspect to the narratives that emerged. Indigenous people use spirits, deities and gods to make sense of their realities (Manyozo, 2018: 406): “Working in African conditions involving ordinary people is a constant reminder that they rarely separate Subject from Object, the spiritual from the nonspiritual, and the natural from the supernatural” (Tomaselli, 2019: 261). The NHRA (1999) also recognises the value and significance of heritage in the spiritual well-being of communities.

It must also be noted that it was the older participants who had an interest in the aspect of spirituality. The younger participants did not focus on the spirituality of the activity. This could be because spiritual knowledge may be more valued by senior members of a community. The senior members of the community are considered to possess privileged Indigenous knowledge which “mediates the relationship between the community and its gods or spirit deities” (Manyozo, 2018: 405).

Only two of the younger participants were relatively more interested in the history of the Bakoni heritage.

> I was able to experience and learn more about what was happening in the ancient days. I learnt about how they lived and so on. (Focus group discussion, Veliswa Mlimi, 03 July 2022)

> For me, I agree, the pictures I took were of things that I thought the Bakoni people were utilising in their everyday life. Some of the pictures I took because I wanted to enquire about them after. (Focus group discussion, Palesa Mohlala, 03 July 2022)

While photographs do provide an important visual memory that can be passed on from family to family or within a community, actually being at the site was significant to the heritage engagement experience and what/how they learnt about the Bakoni stonewalls. Some of the participants said that the Photovoice activity provided an intensive learning experience because they witnessed them firsthand. For some, this activity initiated a desire for them to know more about their background as they felt that the Bakoni stonewalls form part of their ancestral history.

Spirituality is inseparable from identity (MacDonald, 2009). The use of Photovoice as a tool to facilitate the affordance of spiritual connection is significant as it thus adheres to the participatory principle of the centrality of culture not only as a means in any project but as an end itself (Manyozo, 2006; Kashope-Wright, 2020; Tomaselli, 2019; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021; Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009). The method valorises the idea of spirituality in knowledge construction and meaning making for many peoples. This is significant as it challenges the hegemony of the mainstream and “offers an entry point for listening to the voices at the margins (Dutta, 2011: 7; see Spivak, 1988; Lange and Dyll-Myklebust, 2015). The incorporation of the spiritual aspect of narratives may subvert the typical Western science values. Western science has a tendency of avoiding aspects of local identities. This leads to research projects avoiding the topic of spirituality in their conduct (Dyll and Tomaselli, 2016: 5). Such practice is also regarded by Dyll (2020: 2) to be in line with decolonisation as the objective is to include the direct experiences of the Indigenous whom researchers have traditionally regarded as the subjects of research.

The claim that spirituality is linked to identity is also supported in the holistic nature of African spirituality (Gumo *et al*., 2012) that includes "animals, people and the environment as all part of each other in some way" (Lange and Teer-Tomaselli, 2022: 23). The environment includes "the social, political, economic, spiritual and natural environment which comprises living and non-living things," (Gumo, *et al*., 2012: 524), including ancestors.

Some participants considered the stonewalls to represent the gravesite of their ancestors. In this sense, the Photovoice experience could be described as spiritually fulfilling for some. This is similar to what was found in the Biesje Poort project that took place in the Northern Cape (Lange *et al*, 2013): "Walking the extensive rock faces together enabled the team to find intersubjective spaces (Müller Jansen 2013), thus operationalising Dervin's (2003) idea of relational and collective sense-making in the physical, spiritual and conceptual landscape of the Biesje Poort terrain" (Dyll, 2020: 14).

Skills acquisition

Participatory Action Research has a democratic impulse as participants must be involved directly and equitably in all the dimensions of the research process (le Grange, 2001). In this study, research participants were involved from the point of planning the meeting time and walking route to take on the day of data collection. This was especially important and beneficial for the data collection not only because the participants knew Mashishing better than I did and do, but also because it instilled a sense of ownership of the research in them, which ignited their interest to want to see the research succeed. This allowed for the multiplicity of narratives within the study and for all narratives to be considered equally despite social, age and cultural differences within the group of participants.

This study has at least two reasons for it to be considered as an innovative initiative that contributes positively towards development as social strengthening. Firstly, through the employment of Photovoice, it integrates cameras in its conduct, which can be regarded as a modern media system. Modern media systems can be employed as development innovations in themselves (Manyozo, 2018: 398). The second reason is because it is a Participatory Action Research (PAR). This study is a methodological intervention that promotes learning and reflection which can potentially improve local conditions in skills training and a sense of ownership by local participants (Manyozo, 2018: 396). Some participants reported that they had gained camera use: "For me, I enjoyed using the camera because it was my first time using it. I normally use my phone to take pictures but today was my first time using an actual camera for that long. I came here not knowing how to use a camera but now I can confidently say I am able to use one" (Focus group discussion, Bongani Khumalo, 03 July 2022).

As a PAR project, this study combined research with a development intervention through the incorporation of learning and reflection (Manyozo, 2018: 396). This speaks directly to some of the

Photovoice methodology benefits as a participatory method. Participants also highlighted gaining skills in the use of a camera. As previously mentioned, some participants had never used a camera before, but they claimed that they were considerably better skilled at using a camera after partaking in the Photovoice activity: “Participatory communication can promote skills transference and empowerment when academics and Indigenous communities collaborate and work towards one goal” (Lange, Magongo, and Barnabas, 2011: 4). Michael Dokyum Kim (2022: 122) also acknowledges that “digital communication technologies are regarded as the agents of change on their own, wherein technological development is seen as equivalent to social progress” (Kim, 2022: 122). This highlighted the developmental nature of not just participatory research but also that of Photovoice.

Through Photovoice, the participants felt enabled and empowered in a process that they had previously believed was only for professionals. Participants believed that their level of inclusion would have been different if a different method was used. Some of them said that this made them feel important. Some participants felt that the Photovoice was the best method they could use to participate in a knowledge production process because they did not need any special skills to participate: “Under appropriate conditions, disenfranchised groups previously excluded from global or local knowledge flows can have access to resources for innovative and capacity building purposes through the appropriate use of ICT” (Sutz, Gioransson and Arocena, 2014: 15).

Participatory expression

From my observation, the participants were able to share their thoughts and opinions in a free and relaxed manner. With images at the centre of the process, deeper elements of human consciousness were evoked and mobilised to assist the participants to express themselves (Harper, 2002: 14): “Film and other visual media in particular may be better able to illustrate or represent the types of Indigenous knowledge or Indigenous epistemologies that are often excluded from the historical canon or valued alongside more Western views of knowledge” (Stoddard, Marcus and Hicks, 2014: 11). Digital tools are key to accessing knowledge (Powlesland and Ferraby, 2019: 485).

This free expression of participants was despite the local traditional power and gender imbalances that existed within the group of participants: “Indigenous women and girls may face multiple forms of discrimination, both within their local communities and externally, due to their gender as well as their Indigenous identity” (UNESCO, 2018: 10). This was achieved through ensuring that at least

one of each and every individual participant's photograph was selected for discussion and that each and every participant actively engaged in discussion .

Despite this general freedom of expression observed, one of the participants was slightly reserved compared to others. It was hard to read whether this was a result of her personality or if it was because of power dynamics within the group. Being aware that "conflict and power struggles are a common feature in communication for participatory development projects" (Lange, Magongo and Barnabas, 2011: 8), I tried to avert her exclusion in the focus group discussions by sometimes prompting her directly to answer some of the questions.

It is crucial to approach such dynamics with consideration because should the conduct and outcomes of this study neglect participation, it risks promoting exclusion, discrimination and the maintenance of imbalanced power structures (Doudaki and Carpentier, 2021). I strived to create an environment where everyone would feel seen and their input valued. This project benefitted from Photovoice's flagship goal of democratising the process of knowledge production and giving voice to those who may be marginalised (Lopez, Wickson and Hausner, 2018: 2). In this project the participants were empowered to not only speak but also to represent themselves, their opinions and narratives, which are integral to participatory projects (Manyozo, 2016: 80).

Photovoice inspired collaboration within the participants of this project. This was observable from the moment they took the cameras and then spread out onto the field; making sure that they did not cover the same area of the field at the same time, or that they were not obstructing each other's field of view. Others could be seen showing each other various kinds of subjects of interest within the Bakoni stonewalls, while others would be simultaneously conversing and photographing with evident interest and excitement. This continued to the second stage of Photovoice as participants collaborated in discussing meanings and narratives: "When two or more people discuss the meaning of photographs they try to figure out something together" (Harper, 2002: 23).

Even though Photovoice inspired collaboration, some participants appreciated the fact that the first stage of Photovoice allowed them to work on their own. They said that this was preferable to them because they preferred working on their own rather than in groups: "I appreciate working alone and doing silent jobs without me having to talk to anyone" (Focus group discussion, Veliswa Mlimi, 03 July 2022).

This democratising nature of Photovoice created an empowering environment within which participants could be potentially developed. As a creative and arts-based methodology, Photovoice was effective in encouraging participants to share their opinions with freedom and expression. Arts-based methods in research improve the ability to record the complexity of lived experience, promote democratic relations and communicate insights in empowering ways (Lopez, Wickson and Hausner, 2018: 1).

Indigenous and Local Narratives on Bakoni Heritage

Intangible heritage has been used to compose new interpretations of South Africa's colonial history ever since the advent of democracy in 1994 (Deacon, 2004: 2). This highlights the importance and significance of intangible heritage in the development of communities: "Narrative has a potential to catalyse processes of behavioural and social change" (Winskell and Enger, 2014: 191). This is why it is important to ensure that local and Indigenous intangible heritage, in the form of narratives, are mobilised and explored. The prevalence of Indigenous and local community narratives in this study are meant to tip the scales of power towards the local and Indigenous communities. Power dynamics determine whose narrative prevails (see Winskell and Enger, 2014: 191).

The mobilisation of these narratives is not only for the good of the local and Indigenous community, but it is also good for the value of the Bakoni heritage. The accommodation of alternative interpretations preserves the value of heritage (Deacon, 2004: 7). Linn-Tynen also observed that the omission of certain people's heritage has significant consequences for society and has a negative impact on the collective memory of that society (2020: 260). In this section, I seek to highlight the narratives of Mashishing local and Indigenous community members regarding the Bakoni heritage.

Photovoice has been acknowledged to facilitate research with communities, rather than on them (de Lange and Mitchell, 2017). For most of the participants, photography enabled Mashishing community members to share narratives about the Bakoni people and their experiences, supporting the claim that "ethnographic photography enables communities to share important historical information about the communities and the people who used to live there and the experiences that they lived through" (Manyozo, 2016: 90).

The intangible heritage in this study are the narratives associated with Bakoni heritage. This section presents these narratives that emerged from the research participants. Some of these narratives represented are narratives that participants have derived from visiting the Bakoni stonewalls. These

narratives represent the varying interests and aspects that participants considered during the Photovoice process. On the other hand, some narratives were adapted from knowledge and stories the participants have received from others, demonstrating that "[i]ntangible cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation" (Irandu and Shah, 2016: 156). This intersection of various aspects, resulting in various narratives sometimes resulted in the participants disagreeing about some of the emerging narratives: "As much as it is ideal to take into account various perceptions of heritage and archaeological projects, there is however a possibility of conflict" (Mokoena, 2015: 32), of which I was aware and mitigated by including all participant voices so as to ensure an equal distribution of power resulting in various layers of discourses.

This section addresses research question two by presenting and analysing some of the inductive local and Indigenous oral narratives that were unearthed using Photovoice, regarding the engaged Bakoni heritage. It does not present a narrative analysis *per se*, but as explained above themes have been developed through thematic analysis. The use of the term 'narrative' here is deliberate to acknowledge the opinions, ideas and stories shared by the participants, when reflecting on their photographs of the stonewalls and the cultural landscape. The Bakoni stonewalls, as a tangible heritage resource, are viewed by participants as a residue of past actions (Morris, 2006: 44) from which narratives can be derived. These narratives are grouped under the following themes: usage of stone and structure, land dispossession and identity. Although not concerned with development *per se*, this idea is adept in also addressing the identification and presentation of knowledge that can be created in the intersubjective space of material culture and a local person through a participatory method such as Photovoice.

Usage of Stone and Structures

The usage of stone was one of the most prominent talking points during the focus group discussions. The secondary data in the literature review highlights various scholarly interpretations as to the origins of the stonewalls and their uses. The research participants also had their own versions but most interestingly was their interest in the reasons as to why stone was used instead of any other material. Although some participants believed that the stones were used simply because it was easy to gather them, some assumed that there must have been a specific purpose to the use of stone. However, they were not too clear on what those purposes would have been: "I'm sure there is a specific or particular purpose to it which we do not know" (Focus group discussion, Batsepahoele

Ncongwane, 02 July 2022). One of the participants photographed a lower grinding stone which was in the vicinity of the stonewalls(see Photograph 13).

Photograph 13: Lower grinding stone found in the vicinity of the stonewalls to depict narrative of Bakoni agricultural practice (Photographer: Veliswa Mlimi)	

She photographed this to highlight the narrative that the Bakoni must have practiced agriculture: "I saw a grinding stone, this tells us that they used to eat ground food and so the must have practiced agriculture" (Focus group discussion, Veliswa Mlimi, 03 July 2022). Even though the participant did not say what would have been ground on the stone; she did link it to food and agricultural practices. Lydenburg Museum curator, JP Celliers (2019:2) also notes the significance of the presence of a grinding stone in reinforcing the narrative that the Bakoni were an agricultural society because grinding stones are typically used to grind grains (2019: 2). The narrative that stonewalls were built to assist agriculture seems to be dominant in literature. Delius *et al*. conclude that the arrangement of the stones was to prevent soil erosion and avail additional land for cultivation (2012: 404). Whitlock also claims that the stonewalls are a symbol of the superiority of the Bakoni's agricultural practices (2022).

Additionally, some participants expressed their belief that, contrary to the agricultural use of stonewalls, the stonewalls were built for protection against attackers and predators.

> I see walls that they were hiding behind so that when people come or try to attack, they are protected. (Focus group discussion, Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana, 02 July 2022)

> I'm sure that every time they went sleep they were cautious because they had to guard against animals hunting them. There are many animals here and that must have been a concern. Worse, during those times, there could have much more animals in the area. (Focus group discussion, Bongani Khumalo, 03 July 2022)

de Klerk (2019: 5) corroborates the security purposes of Bakoni stonewalls as she sustains that the architecture of the Bakoni stonewalls suggests that they were built as a defense mechanism by its inhabitants (2019: 5).

One of the participants said that the stonewalls were made by the Bakoni so that they could divide their families: “We were looking at the way they had grouped themselves to indicate their families” (Focus group discussion, Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana, 02 July 2022).

There were also narratives about the Mashishing location. One of the participants highlighted that the Mashishing area was named after the kind of grass that can be found in the area which in sePedi is called ‘*le sheshe’*. Some of the participants also expressed their belief that the area had a lot of animals during the occupation of the Bakoni. This would coincide with the narrative that part of the stonewalls’ functions was to protect people, livestock and agriculture from attackers and predators (see Photograph 14 & 15).

Photograph 14: The stonewalls captured as a barrier to protect the Bakoni (Photographer: Bongani Khumalo).	
Photograph 15: The stonewalls captured as a barrier to protect the Bakoni (Photographer: Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana).	

Land Dispossession

Land dispossession is a sensitive topic in South Africa due to decades of forced removals and dehumanisation that characterise its history (Barnabas, 2014: 2). It was mostly the older participants who were concerned with issues of land dispossession and land restitution. These participants, who are Pedi, expressed concerns that there were residential buildings so close to the Bakoni stonewalls. This gated residential complex is built next to the Klingbiel Nature Reserve in a section that is less than a kilometre away from the Bakoni stonewall cluster we were photographing. They claimed that the land must have been dispossessed at some point for those houses to be built there. They regarded the existence of these modern houses as evidence of this. One of the two participants proposed that they should lay a land claim for the land on which the stonewalls are situated: "It is totally wrong because if we are going to claim that place then it means even that one is ours but now they've built" (Focus group discussion, Batsepahoele Ncongwane, 02 July 2022).[13]

Heritage is not only important for the past but it is also important for the future (Powlesland and Ferraby, 2019: 485). The participants felt that the Bakoni stonewalls could be used to prove that this land once belonged to the modern Pedi. They were using heritage for the benefit of their future. Batsepahoele Ncongwane elaborates that "[w]e are going to use these stone walls, as proof that they passed in that land and they dwelt there. Isn't it telling they dwelt there at which time in that place" (Focus group discussion, 02 July 2022).

Photograph 16: The gated residential complex a few metres away from the Bakoni stonewalls (Photographer: Batsepahoele Ncongwane).

[13] Close to Klingbeil Nature Reserve, the Boomplaats site is the location of a successful South African land-claim whereby the property was restituted to its original owners (Delius 2007:79, note 10). The Dinkwanyane Community returned to the farm in 2001 after the approval of their 1997 land claim (Mulaudzi, 2002). Thereafter the farm was subdivided into residential, farming and tourism zones.

Photograph 17: Another photograph showing the gated residential complex a few metres away from the Bakoni stonewalls (Photographer: Batsepahoele Ncongwane).

Visiting the Bakoni stonewalls induced emotional expressions from the participants who associated the tangible heritage with a painful memory of past land dispossessions. “Cultural heritage has the power to evoke intense emotions” (Linn-Tynen, 2020: 260). Batsepahoele Ncongwane expressed concern with the fact that there were now gated residential complexes in the vicinity of the Bakoni stonewalls and interpreted this to mean that the land must have been dispossessed at some point in order for the complexes to be eventually built in the area (see Photograph 16 & 17). As an art form, the Photovoice photographs evoked emotions from Batsepahoele Ncongwane and captured the multi-sensorial nature of the experience that has been previously identified by Lopez, Wickson and Hausner (2018):

> In actual fact, uhm, we feel that pain that our place has been repossessed whereas it could have been a place for us to come back to actually, yes. But slowly we have returned to another one, which was previously repossessed from us but we have returned, we are returning to it, like the area of Boomplaas, yes” (Focus group discussion, 02 July 2022).

Tangible and intangible Bakoni heritage served as resources of power (Smith, 2009: 282). The same participants recalled hearing stories of KhoeSan once having inhabited the Mashishing area. The presence of KhoeSan-speaking people in the Mpumalanga area in the distant and recent past is supported by formal research particularly relating to rock painting[14] and the Chrissiesmeer //Xegwi community (see Potgieter, 1955). Not only was there a presence of other ethnic, language and economic groups, but also an integration. Delius and Schoeman (2008: 156) thus conclude that the Bakoni were of various ethnic groups with various identities and histories (2008: 156). This integration between the Bakoni and other African peoples seems to be significant. This “blending” of groups is not unique in southern Africa, particularly at “historically frontier zones”, such as the

[14] See https://sahris.sahra.org.za. Accessed on 8 January 2024.

Gariep/Orange River area of the Northern Cape, where KhoeSan-speaking people of different languages and economic origins integrated with seTwsana-speaking African farmers and later Nguni speaking migrant workers (Lange, 2011: 3-4). It also highlights Stuart Hall's (1992) argument that as much as identities are usually essentialised for political or economic reasons, they are in fact fluid and constructed depending on context and interactions. By extension the local readings of heritage, as representations of cultural identities, are plural. It is therefore important to explore the contemporary oral narratives of the stonewalls to discover what is meaningful for people today. According to Delius and Schoeman, Nguni people intruded the area which was then dominated by seSotho-speaking communities (2008: 143). Meanwhile, Celliers accredits the dispersal of Bakoni to the Mfecane wars of the early 1800s which threatened their security in the area (2019: 2).

The narrative of land dispossession and the act of sharing such narratives can be perceived as an attempt by the Indigenous to reverse the loss of land that they have suffered: "Since colonisation began, Indigenous people have sought and fought to regain control of the land taken from them" (Gordon *et al*., 2022: 3). This can be viewed as a rightful attempt.

However, there is another side to the coin. "A person or community chooses to recognise something as heritage—to protect it, interpret it, share its history—because of the narrative they wish to recognise and associate themselves with in the present" (Linn-Tynen, 2020: 261). These narratives surrounding the issue of land dispossession do however need to be approached with particular caution as it potentially relates to financial gain to those who lament dispossession. Manyozo noted that subject communities, the local and Indigenous in this instance, tend to self-orientalise their narratives when they believe that it could lead to the benefit of their communities (2016: 92).

The issue of land dispossession is closely linked to that of identity because it begs the question: from whom must the land have been dispossessed and by whom?

Identity: Modern Pedi as Bakoni

As there is a relationship between the themes and findings of this study, identity has already been discussed above, in terms of its connection to spirituality and land, as well as its fluidity. This section continues the discussion on identity.

The Bakoni stonewalls as tangible heritage represented a sense of identity for the local and Indigenous communities of Mashishing: "Material or tangible heritage provides a physical

representation of those things from ‘the past’ that speak to a sense of place, a sense of self, of belonging and community” (Smith, 2009: 30). Further to this, the Bakoni stonewalls were also regarded as a resource of power as they are a symbol that represented identity: “Structured by representation, the represented subject is also a representing subject” (Derrida, 1982: 315). This dynamic influenced the kinds of narratives that emerged and how they were represented by the participants based on their identities: “Both tangible and intangible heritage serve as resources of power in this process of surveillance as they become symbolic of identity claims” (Smith, 2009: 282).

The magnificence of the Bakoni stonewalls appears to lead the conversations around them almost always to debate the identity of their originators, both in published scholarship (Delius and Schoeman, 2008, Wade, 2009, Musinguzi and Kibirige, 2009, Dimri, 2022, Whitlock, 2018) and amongst this study’s participants. Most of the narratives that emerged regarding the identity of the Bakoni sought to claim that the Pedi were the direct descendants of the Bakoni. The Pedi are of Sotho origin. The name Sotho is derived from *batho ba baso*, meaning dark or black people (Kusel, 2005). This narrative predominated even though most of the participants were amaSwati. Despite the stonewalls’ magnificence, some participants were willing to admit that they were not genealogically related to the originators of the stonewalls. This is contrary to Guodaar and Bardsley’s assertion that some groups in Africa tend to claim Indigeneity through self-identification (2021: 222). Ndlovu (2011: 50) also noted that “others might be claiming such linkages (to heritage sites) for political or economic gain”. This did not seem to be relevant to most of this study’s participants and there was also no debate within the participants with regards to the identity of the originators of the stonewalls, they all seemed to agree. Delius and Schoeman noted that it is accepted that the term Koni is a seSotho word used to describe Nguni or Ngoni people (2008: 143): “It shows the significance of the Pedi tradition and the way they lived so that even after they had left, it would be evident that there was a BaPedi tribe, the Dinkwanyane’s” (Focus group discussion, Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana, 02 July 2022).

However, the contrasting narrative found in literature is that the Bakoni people were various tribes who lived in the area at various times. This narrative is supported by Delius and Schoeman (2008: 156): “Research on other communities of this period in the region suggests that while chiefdoms were ruled by dominant lineages they were usually composed of a complex amalgam of groups of diverse origin and disparate cultural forms which were caught up in a constant process of fusion and fission and cultural transformation” (Delius and Schoeman, 2008: 145). Apartheid in South Africa

also played a big role in compartmentalising and dividing different races and different African groups based on essentialism and a belief in fixed tribal identities. Before the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, people of mixed descent use to live in mixed areas (Lange and Dyll-Myklebust, 2015: 1). Some participants recalled hearing about Bakoni people always moving from one area to the next. They had to keep moving in search of food, shelter and pastures for their livestock. This supports the narrative that they were practicing agriculture (Celliers, 2019). According to one of the participants, the Bakoni once moved from the Mashishing area to settle in the Spekboom area.

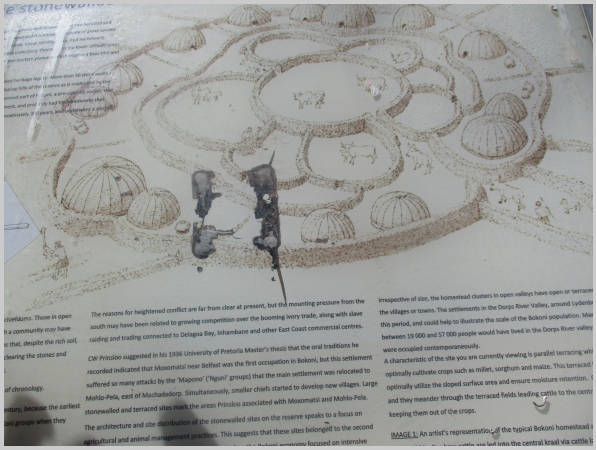
This narrative is one of the factors that further complicates the process of trying to identify who is Indigenous and who is not. Guodaar and Bardsley (2021: 222) acknowledge this complexity, explaining that "the definitions and conceptualisations of Indigeneity are heterogeneous with numerous ambiguities and complexities at regional and national scales". Also, contemporary ethnic groups allow multiple ethnic identities (Korff, 2003: 6). This contributes to the ongoing debates around the originators of the Bakoni stonewalls and the fluidity of identity: "Multi-vocality [as a participatory principle] has also facilitated the acknowledgement of divergent and multiple conceptualisations of history and heritage within academic and public policy contexts" (Smith, 2009: 37). The complexity of African Indigenous identity was directly expressed by Batsepahoele Ncongwane: "I am actually, by birth, Pedi. So there's my older sister, and I am younger than her, I was then taken by the Swati and the Swati's were the ones that killed our great-grandfather, you see that, so there is where we fight but there is also where we unite" (Focus group discussion, Batsepahoele Ncongwane, 02 July 2022).

Some of the participants noted how the Bakoni stonewalls were similarly shaped to Xhosa and Zulu traditional huts. Others noted that they were like the Sekhukhune Royal Palace (see Photograph 18 below).

> The shape of the stonewalls reminds me of Xhosa and Zulu peoples traditional huts. (Focus group discussion, Palesa Mohlala, 03 July 2022)

> It means that the way we see it, if we compare with the way the Sekhukhune royal palace is built and designed, because the people who built these walls come from Sekhukhune's people. (Focus group discussion, Batsepahoele Ncongwane, 02 July 2022).

Photograph 18: An imagination of what the Bakoni stonewalls must have looked like. Photographed inside Klingbiel Nature Reserve near the stonewalls to highlight similarities with contemporary traditional structures (Photographer: Palesa Mohlala).



These participants viewed the Bakoni stonewalls as an expression of different identities, therefore highlighting the idea that material culture is a strong manifestation of identity communication (Irandu and Shah, 2016: 155).

Conclusion

This chapter presented and analysed the local and Indigenous narratives about the Bakoni stonewalls as engaged through Photovoice. It also presented a discussion on the benefits and challenges of Photovoice as experienced by the research participants. The Photovoice photographs generated by the participants are also presented with descriptions.

It also provides excerpts from the focus group discussions to give insight into the narratives expressed by participants. These narratives were presented and analysed in relation to the literature consulted, using the theories identified as significant to this study. Although the narratives on the Bakoni presented in this chapter do not seek to counter any previously published scholarship, they do provide a necessary nuance to the existing body of literature regarding Bakoni heritage. This focus on Indigenous and local narratives regarding the Bakoni does not only seek to include these communities in knowledge production but it also seeks to provide us with a better understanding of the Bakoni stonewalls and the Photovoice methodology as a data collection instrument.

The biographical information of the participants was presented to contextualise the findings and the presentation of their data. The production of knowledge should not be separated from the personal contexts of the researchers (Pierce, 1995: 570).

The reason behind the inclusion of photographs falls in line with the overall study's objective, which is to amplify the voice of the local and Indigenous community of Mashishing. It is so that we can see the world through the participants' eyes and facilitate their representation through Photovoice. The Photovoice methodology allows for the generation of many photographs, which I found can be challenging to present in a clear, coherent and organised manner.

The study benefitted from participatory communication principles. Dialogue and cooperation assisted in ensuring that data was collected successfully. From the initiation of communication with the participants, to carrying out the Photovoice process and the continuous engagements post-data collection, cooperation was mobilised, emphasising the significance of community participation. The younger participants that participated in the study explicitly expressed their enjoyment of the Photovoice methodology. Meanwhile, the older participants were challenged with mobility issues in accessing the Bakoni stonewalls.

The various resources required to carry out Photovoice proved that this can be a very costly method of conducting research. The need for careful consideration before taking on Photovoice projects was clear. It emerged that there are both obvious and lesser obvious resources that are required to carry out Photovoice. This demonstrated the need for careful planning in executing Photovoice projects.

One of the main findings is that the issue of language can have a considerable impact on the research when one of the participants speaks a different language to that of the researcher. This does not only mean that there is knowledge that might be missed during the interviews, but it also creates a mediated experience for the participant whose input must be translated. This also created additional expenses for me as I had to hire a transcription service for the sePedi interviews to be translated.

As Photovoice is based on photography, the operation of the camera was central to this study. Unfortunately, not everyone was well versed in the use of a camera. The participation of individuals relied closely on their ability to use a camera and the individuals that were less skilled in the use of a camera were slightly hampered in expressing their ideas because of their limited skills. The provision of a brief workshop was not only beneficial but also crucial to teach and remind participants on how to use a camera. It was observed that when participants are confident in their camera operation, their participation is enhanced.

It was also apparent that the visibility of the Bakoni stonewalls was important for participants to express themselves using photography. Some participants complained about the overgrown vegetation hindering not only their vision but also their access to the desired proximity to the stonewalls. This signalled that a potential solution would be to inspect the state of Photovoice subjects before conducting it.

It was also expressed that Photovoice assisted in reviving participants' recent and historical memory. During the second stage of Photovoice participants used the photographs to recall some of the ideas that they had aimed to share during the first stage of Photovoice. Some photographs prompted them to remember narratives about history they had heard regarding the Bakoni. The older participants associated this visit to the Bakoni stonewalls with spiritual elements due to the stonewalls reminding them of a gravesite.

Within the narratives shared, some of the participants focused on the usage of stone in the building of the Bakoni stonewalls. The presence of a lower grinding stone in the vicinity of the stonewalls was used by one of the participants to assert the narrative that Bakoni practices agriculture. This is a claim that has been repeated in some literature hailing Bakoni agriculture as superior and innovative. Another narrative that emerged in relation to the usage of stone was that the stonewalls were built to protect its inhabitants.

One of the benefits of Photovoice that were identified was that it can promote skills and knowledge acquisition. Participants said they acquired new knowledge about operating a camera and about the heritage and history of Bakoni. Participants said that Photovoice enabled them to participate and express themselves well. This fulfilled the developmental aspect of this study as a participatory development initiative.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Introduction

The objectives of this study were inspired by the exclusion of local and Indigenous interpretations of the Bakoni stonewalls of Mashishing. Additionally, another objective was to contribute to the understanding of the benefits and challenges of Photovoice as a heritage recording and knowledge production tool.

The advent of democracy in South Africa has led to an increased interest in heritage and the role it plays in nation-building. The Bakoni stonewalls are some of the material culture that aligns to this interest as they are regarded as a glimpse into the country's precolonial history. As a result, there have been numerous academic and recreational, formal and informal studies conducted on the stonewalls which have generated various narratives. Only a few of these studies have directly involved Indigenous and local communities (Musinguzi and Kibirige, 2009) and their interpretations of heritage (Delius, 2007). Indigenous peoples have amassed a wealth of knowledge over generations about the local environment (Gordon *et al*., 2022: 9) and this study documents this kind of knowledge about Bakoni heritage: "As knowledge holders, community elders should be primarily engaged as lead experts in documenting and disseminating traditional knowledge" (Obiero *et al*., 2022: 9). The approach to this study sought to capitalise on this knowledge and to highlight it to ensure that it is part of the knowledge cannon that informs the nation's understanding of the Bakoni stonewalls.

The objectives of this study were as follows:

(i) What official and scholarly interpretations of the Bakoni settlement sites already exist and what methodologies were used for those interpretations?

(ii) What contemporary Indigenous and local narratives about Bakoni identity and heritage can be identified using the Photovoice participatory method?

(iii) What are the benefits and challenges of Photovoice as a Participatory Action Research method for heritage recording?

This Conclusion Chapter then seeks to highlight some of the study's major findings as per the research objective and what other areas were identified as areas for possible research.

The introduction chapter provided the background to the study and set up the main intentions of this study. It positioned the study in terms of its problem statement.

Existing official and scholarly interpretations of the Bakoni stonewalls

The Literature Review Chapter delved into existing interpretations of the Bakoni stonewalls in order to answer the first research objective. This chapter also partly addressed the third research objective by exploring other Photovoice projects that have been conducted before, highlighting the viability and potentiality of Photovoice as a participatory methodology. The literature discussed both previous scholarship and non-academic sources, such as policy that contextualised the study. It was important to also document the evolution of local and international cultural heritage policies as they demonstrate the evolution of how heritage has been perceived over the decades. This contextualised this study's research problem and contributed towards understanding what values informed the interpretation of Bakoni heritage. This study demonstrated that there has been a shift over the years regarding what is regarded as heritage and what is not. It also highlighted the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage. It emerged that Western conceptions of heritage used to have a dichotomous view of tangible and intangible heritage. However, over the years this has changed.

This chapter also consulted literature on heritage recording and knowledge production to explore the dynamics surrounding the inclusion of 'subaltern' people in such processes. It documented the dichotomous relationship between Western Knowledge Systems and Indigenous Knowledge Systems while explaining the concept of participatory heritage recording. One of the key findings was that there is a tendency for Western Knowledge to be considered as more valuable than Indigenous Knowledge.

This chapter also found that there is an assortment of contradicting narratives regarding the heritage of Bakoni, particularly surround the originators of the Bakoni stonewalls. Most attempts at interpreting the Bakoni stonewalls have prioritised technical, expert, and academic interpretations of the Bakoni stonewalls, at the exclusion of local and Indigenous interpretations. My main intention in this study was not to counter or dismiss already existing (technical, expert and academic) interpretations of the Bakoni stonewalls, but it was to ensure that those of the local and Indigenous community of Mashishing are also included in the record of interpretations: "By

recognising and valuing other knowledge systems, science and technology may develop new insights of relevance to engineering, water management and sustainable development among others" (UNESCO, 2018:15). This is with the belief that improved knowledge and understanding of Bakoni heritage could lead to more effectiveness in mobilising this heritage for various purposes, including that of nation building.

Stonewalls built by Bakoni

There is an acknowledgement from multiple authors that the Bakoni people were responsible for the building of these stonewalls (Whitlock, 2022, de Klerk, 2019): "The Bakoni people had made alterations to the landscape, alongside other innovations such as crop rotation and livestock management, in order to enhance the agricultural yields in these grasslands" (Dimri, 2022[15]). This paints a picture of an innovative society present in Africa long before colonialism. Other claims extend to the Bakoni using the stonewalls as road networks to direct the traffic of livestock. Roads and innovation are associated with 'civilisation' and the prevalence of this claim supports the narrative that the Bakoni were innovative before the invasion of colonial forces in the continent. This would oppose colonial assumptions that colonialism is responsible for civilisation in Africa and therefore challenging this assumption is important in the South African journey of nation building.

Stonewalls built by external forces

There are authors that have published work suggesting that the Bakoni stonewalls were built by other actors outside of the Bakoni people. Peter Wade (2009: 58) claims that the Bakoni stonewalls exist as a result of "gold-seeking traders from India" who inhabited the Mpumalanga area at the time of the establishment of the stonewalls. This insinuates that the Bakoni people had no role in the construction of these cultural sites. Additionally, Tellinger (2013) attributed the establishment of the stonewalls to the Annunaki, a group of mythological Gods.

It is important to note that the research upon which both these studies were founded did not include any local or Indigenous narratives and knowledge. These efforts at explaining and understanding the Bakoni stonewalls does not involve the input of local and indigenous people of Mashishing. This aligns to past racialised assumptions that do not acknowledge knowledge production to African people could have built these majestic structures. In other words, "the legacy of racialisation and its

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[15] www.historicmysteries.com/bakoniruins/

ideology continue to reshape knowledge construction of Indigenous Peoples via colonial research ontologies, epistemologies, and axiologies, which are so fundamentally subtle and "common sense" (Rigney, 1999: 114). This exclusion in knowledge productive is an injustice to the Mashishing local who are geographically and historically related to the Bakoni stonewalls: "Indigenous Peoples think and interpret the world and its realities in different ways from non-Indigenous Peoples because of their experiences, histories, cultures, and values" (Rigney, 1999: 113). Indigenous peoples' narratives are crucial in producing more knowledge about Bakoni heritage. They lead to our improved understanding of the Bakoni heritage, and particularly in terms of their contemporary value to Mashishing local and Indigenous communities as sources of heritage and storytelling.

Age of Stonewalls

One of the dominant topics regarding the Bakoni in literature is around the age of the stonewalls. Some of the earliest claims to the stonewalls' age is that they were present 200 000 years ago (Walkersons Hotel, 2014). This claim potentially suggests that Bakoni were not involved in the construction of the stonewalls because they are known to have inhabited the areas from the 1500s (Delius *et al.*, 2012). These two opposing claims embody the range of some of the contradicting narratives that exist regarding Bakoni heritage. The issue of their age is central to debates surrounding their origins, creators and purpose.

Indigenous and local narratives about Bakoni

The data presentation and discussion chapter addressed the second research objective in that it revealed the participants' narratives about Bakoni heritage. This provides summarised and synthesised conclusions on some of the narratives that were expressed by the study participants that allowed "individuals to tell their experiences in their own words" (Blackie *et al*., 2023: 7). I subscribe to Dyll's (2014: 534) use of the idea of narratives that can "agitate, complicate, induct and animate, and thus have the power to challenge received 'rational' authoritarian modes of development". By extension the local readings of heritage, as representations of cultural identities, are plural. It is, therefore, important to explore the contemporary oral narratives of the stonewalls to discover what is meaningful for people today. This research has explored issues of identity, spirituality, heritage and history. The photographs captured by the participants not only record physical remnants of the past but also unearthed the narratives that inform Bakoni heritage within the local and Indigenous communities.

Spirituality

One of the unexpected highlights of the data collection was the participants' opinions on the spiritual element of the Photovoice activity. It must be noted that the older participants seemed to have an interest in the element of the spirituality of our visit to the Bakoni stonewalls. This signalled the participants' perceived close relation to the Bakoni heritage. One of the participants referred to the stonewalls as the place of her ancestors and implied that it should be given equal significance as to a gravesite. The participant also stated that even though she is not entirely sure of what the spiritual purposes of the stonewalls could have been, but she is sure that there was a certain spiritual purpose for the stonewalls. The same participant also commented when we first arrived at the stonewall site that the energy was different around the sites, suggesting the presence of spirits in the area. The younger participants did not necessarily focus on the spirituality of the activity. This could be because spiritual knowledge may be more valued by the senior members of a community.

The narratives captured through Photovoice went beyond the narratives of the individual participants as they sometimes represented narratives of their collective communities. This study's emphasis on narratives is not only with the intention of contributing to Bakoni heritage knowledge but it is also meant to advocate for the recognition, inclusion and preservation of both intangible and tangible cultural heritage.

As I conclude this research, the narratives captured will serve as voices of the ancestral spirits of Bakoni reverberating from beyond the realms of our precolonial history. Their civilised and historic voices, which had been silenced by colonialism, have found expression once again, paving way for our better understanding and empowerment through the contemporary and engagement and interpretations of the local people.

Land dispossession

An important theme that emerged, particularly among the older participants, was the interest in issues pertaining to land dispossession and restitution. Advocating for action, one of the participants suggested that the stonewalls could be used to institute a land claim as it is tangible proof that the Bakoni, who are regarded as the contemporary Pedi, once resided there.

Fluidity of Identity

There were various opinions regarding the identity of the Bakoni people as most of the participants believed that Bakoni people are the modern Pedi people: “The Bakoni are a sub-group of the Northern Sotho speaking people who were living in the Lebowa homeland when the museum was established” (Musinguzi and Kibirige, 1985:152). One of the participants highlighted hearing that the area was once inhabited by KhoeSan people. Musinguzi and Kibirige (1985:154) express this belief that the San and Bakoni once inhibited the same areas in Central Africa. Another participant expressed that the shape of the stonewalls reminded her of Xhosa and Zulu people’s traditional huts, suggesting that there was a potential relationship there.

One of the participants delved into the etymology of Mashishing where she expressed that the name is derived from the sePedi name for the dominant kind of grass in the area called ‘le sheshe’. This highlighted the role played by language not only in preserving identity but also of history. This narrative also demonstrated the perseverance of Indigenous knowledge. This contributed to the emergent theme of the fluidity of identities associated with Bakoni heritage.

This fluidity introduced a complex layer to this study because not only does it apply to the historical identity of Bakoni people, but it also applies to the contemporary identities of the participants, in that cultural identities and meaning making can change as people engage with other groups. When identifying the participants, it was rather challenging to distinguish who could be regarded as Indigenously related to the Bakoni and who would not. This is because there are many narratives regarding which tribe the Bakoni people actually were and therefore there could not be one single contemporary tribe that can lay exclusive claim to the identity of Bakoni. This proves Hall’s (1990) conception of identity that it is continuously shifting and does not adhere to fixed categories because of historical, cultural and personal influences.

The name Koni is Sotho for “Nguni” which is a tribal group consisting of tribes that speak isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele. This would suggest that these tribes emanated from the Bakoni tribe.

Two of the participants who are Pedi, expressed their explicit belief that the Bakoni heritage was the heritage of modern Pedi.

Stonewalls for Agriculture

Another theme that emerged from the participants is that the Bakoni stonewalls were used for agriculture. This was triggered by one of the participants observing a lower grinding stone in the surrounding area. The participant claimed that this was a clear indication that Bakoni ate ground food, and therefore must have practiced agriculture. This is a claim that is also recognised in published literature. Whitlock (2022) claims that the Bakoni stonewalls stand as proof of a sophisticated agricultural system that was based on the terracing of the landscape.

Stonewalls for security

A few participants also agreed on their reading that the Bakoni stonewalls must have been built for security purposes. One of the participants claimed that this must have been protection from hunting animals and the other said that it must have been protection from enemies. This is a claim supported by de Klerk (2019) who asserts that the stonewalls must have served as a defense mechanism.

Photovoice for heritage recording

Photovoice was conducted in two related but different stages. The first stage, based on action, was characterised by Photovoice workshops and the photographing of the identified subject of study. The second stage involved reflection and dialogue focusing on the subject, based on the photographs. To mobilise participatory development communication (as discussed in Chapter Three) to engender the voices of the Mashishing local and Indigenous community members', this study employed and explored the Photovoice methodology as a tool for their inclusion in knowledge production. Guided by the participatory principles of dialogue, voice, and action, Photovoice proved to be a useful methodology for heritage recording and knowledge production.

The data collection based on the Photovoice methodology addressed the third research objective because it investigated both the challenges and benefits of the Photovoice methodology itself. The Photovoice methodology proved to be effective in promoting democratic inclusion in the process of knowledge production. Concepts associated with participatory communication, as well as representation theory were central in pursuing this objective. Photovoice is considered as both a theory and methodology (Manyozo, 2016). This meant that Photovoice values and practice had to infiltrate all stages, conduct and aspects of this study, from the way I think, to the way I acted.

The literature review chapter tracks the history of Photovoice and explored other academic Photovoice studies that have been conducted before. This partly answered the research question regarding the capability of Photovoice in heritage recording, data collection and knowledge production.

The literature revealed that the Photovoice methodology requires a variety of resources. The Methodology chapter detailed what these resources are and how they were secured, and which ones were lacking in this study. The methodology chapter reflected on how some of the standard Photovoice practices were altered to accommodate some of the circumstances encountered during this research. I detailed how this had an impact on not only the conduct of the study but also on the quality of the data collected and the level of participation pursued in the research. The methodology chapter explained Participatory Action Research (PAR) and how participation was mobilised in the conduct of this study.

Photovoice as an opportunity to contribute to knowledge production

Participants expressed feelings of gratitude for the opportunity to participate in Photovoice as a knowledge production activity. The data collected in the form of photos can be stored and shared for use beyond just the study. One of the participants requested that the Photovoice photographs be shared with her so that she could store them and share with other family members and upcoming generations. She said that others who are not able to reach the Bakoni stonewalls should also witness them through these photographs. Photographs emanating from the Photovoice process can be used beyond the photo taking activity itself and can travel through time and space. Veliswa Mlimi explained: “I think this [method] was the best because we were able to take the pictures and now here, we are reviewing them some more” (Focus group discussion, 03 July 2022). This study’s significance was affirmed in this participant’s expression because the study seeks not only to produce knowledge on Bakoni heritage, but to also store and distribute it in digital formats to ensure relevance and longevity.

One of the most well captured narratives through photography was that of a lower grinding stone to express the narrative that Bakoni community must have been an agricultural society. This narrative was a highlight for me because of its simplicity and directness between the photograph and expression. This demonstrated the effective simplicity of Photovoice as a methodology to produce knowledge.

Resources

One of the most apparent challenges of the Photovoice methodology that emerged from this study is that it is a relatively expensive and sophisticated method of collecting data as it requires various resources in order for it to be effective. In this study, the Photovoice methodology was based on the use of technology in order to enable the expression of participants' opinions, ideas and realities. Some of the required resources include securing multiple cameras, traveling expenses to the research location, accommodation fees, catering expenses and time to build rapport with participants and familiarise self with location and area. In addition to all the required resources, Photovoice researchers should allocate sufficient time when planning to conduct their Photovoice studies.

Another dominant issue which could be associated to the challenges of Photovoice is that—since its second stage is based on dialogue—there were complexities introduced because there was a language barrier between myself and one of the research participants. This led to additional unexpected costs as I had to contract a translator and transcription service. The language barrier also meant that there were nuances that I could not capture during the interview and I missed opportunities for follow up questions with this one participant, because I could not understand the answers during the conduct of the interview. Therefore, ideally in a multi-linguist situation one would need to hire an interpreter in the field.

There are also prerequisite social skills that I had to possess in order to ensure the success of my Photovoice study. This is because it is a methodology that benefits from the collaboration and cooperation of people. Being able to socialise and relate with participants were some of the most important attributes I had to use in order to ensure that the participants commit and participate willingly in to the research process. I also had to communicate effectively because "the world's Indigenous communities are apprehensive and cautious toward research" (Rigney, 1999: 109).

Collaboration

This study not only benefitted from collaboration with the research participants, but it also *encouraged* collaboration amongst a group that were diverse in age, gender and experience [*my emphasis]*. I aided the process of knowledge production as participants were able to bounce ideas off each other, and others yet Photovoice also allowed for versatility in how the participants elected to engage. Although it was able to encourage collaboration, one of the participants expressed her

gratitude that in the first stage of Photovoice, she was able to work independently. She stayed away from the majority of the group and proceeded to photograph the area in relative isolation. This participant's perspective revealed a complexity to the conduct of Photovoice as a participatory methodology suggesting the need for a balance between collaborative and individual expression to achieve a more inclusive and accommodating process.

Some of the advantages of the collaboration element of Photovoice was its accommodation and promotion of polysemic narratives and readings of the Bakoni heritage, that were facilitated through dialogue.

Dialogue

The second stage of Photovoice—which involves reflection interviews and focus groups—proved to be a crucial element of Photovoice because it assisted participants' memories and helped them to express their narratives effectively. This stage also promoted learning and reflection among the participants. Dialogue within Photovoice was central to one of the objectives of this study as it unearthed the intangible heritage of Bakoni which this study intends to document and prioritise. Dyll (2018: 339) also observed that "dialogue was instrumental in dismantling the assumptions of the archaeologists and academics as the only experts".

Technology has the power to improve people's lives (Tufte and Mefalopulos, 2009). As a participatory development effort, Photovoice was relevant in this study as it is based on a technological device, the camera. Some participants of the study felt empowered to express their opinions, ideas and realities using photography. However, those who have had less exposure to camera operation prior to the research study—are potentially disadvantaged in expressing themselves due to limited functionality. Despite this, the second stage of Photovoice has the potential to remedy this as it mobilises dialogue and participants are provided a second chance at expressing their ideas.

Adaptability

The literature consulted in this study highlighted that there are circumstances that might force Photovoice researchers to adjust their study when the need arises. This means that Photovoice researchers should be adjustable in their planning and conduct. I tried to be as organised as possible in the planning and conduct of this study but there were factors that I could not control and some of them did force me to adjust my study. The initial participants who had agreed to participate in the

study did not arrive on the day of the data collection. This meant that I had to find and recruit new participants within a short time period. Photovoice thus proved to be a highly adaptable method of conducting research and this was beneficial in a participatory process.

Participation

The principles of participation enabled inclusion within the participants, and in the overarching realm of knowledge produced on the Bakoni stonewalls. The concepts of multivocality, fluidity and representation ensured that participation from various participants of different genders, ages and ethnicities was achieved.

Inclusion

Some of the participants felt enabled to express themselves despite traditional social inequalities that tend to otherwise marginalise youth, women, and underprivileged communities. The younger demographic in this study especially expressed satisfaction at the manner in which Photovoice prompted and accommodated their participation in knowledge production. Falconer's (2013) assertion that young individuals are ideal participants for Photovoice projects align with the findings of this study as most of them were not only readily skilled with the use of the camera but were also particularly eager to participate in the study.

The alignment of the Photovoice methodology with participatory development communication theory assisted me in creating a convenient space within which voices of the marginalised would not only be heard but recorded and valued. Flor Lopez, Fern Wickson and Vera Hausner (2018: 2) admit that "Photovoice's main goals are to give voice to marginalised people by exploring their perceptions and emotions on a topic, to empower participants by recognising their knowledge and expertise, and to stimulate reflections that highlight participants' own responsibilities, strengths and resources in a non-hierarchical way".

Another recognised strength of Photovoice lies in the fact that it uses visuals to articulate what might otherwise be difficult for participating individuals to communicate (Grant, 2019: 2). This means that even illiterate community members can express themselves; young and old.

However, keeping to the topic of the visual component of Photovoice, one of the challenges that I identified was regarding participants who are visually impaired. Some of the participants shared that they struggled in certain stages of Photovoice. As much as the second stage of Photovoice is

based on dialogue, it still requires participants to view and analyse the photographs, which might challenge and exclude the visually impaired. More research still needs to be done on how to make Photovoice a more inclusive process for participants with visual impairments. As Photovoice is conducted with already marginalised people, in its current form, Photovoice has the potential to further disadvantage those with visual disabilities.

Accessibility and Mobility

This study also highlighted the importance of the accessibility of Photovoice subjects and locations. This was underscored by the participants' expressed difficulty with taking pictures of the Bakoni stonewalls whose vision was partially blocked by the overgrown grass and shrubs. It also exposed the important consideration of mobility challenges that were experienced by one of the older participants who participated in the study. She found the walk to the Bakoni stonewalls challenging.

Skills

As per Linje Manyozo's (2018) finding: Photovoice can potentially contribute to local skills development while establishing and fostering a sense of heritage ownership for the participants. The skills in camera use that were imparted to the participants in this study can be considered skills development, and the sense of ownership has been discussed above. However, not all participants viewed the camera use automatically positively.

The older participants took a bit longer to understand how the camera works, and even after the workshop one of the older participants revealed that they still found it hard to use the camera.

Agency

Photovoice enabled agency in the participants as they chose what they wanted to photograph and what aspects of the Bakoni heritage they wanted to focus on. One of the most notable demonstrations of this agency was a participant's action of photographing giraffes just so that she could explore the zoom function of the camera. The use of Photovoice allowed the participants to not only define but also to identify the aspects of the Bakoni heritage that they deemed worthy of the process of heritage recording and knowledge production. The creative element of the Photovoice method carried a host of advantages for the study, including "the ability to capture the complex texture of lived experience, explore interconnections between nature and culture, support

non-hierarchical relations and communicate insights in engaging and empowering ways" (Lopez, Wickson and Hausner, 2018:1).

Areas for further research

In conclusion, this study contributed to the existing body of knowledge regarding Photovoice within the field of participatory development communication. From developing the skills of participants, promoting collaboration while simultaneously allowing for individual participation, to empowering the expression of the marginalised, Photovoice proved to be a method that has the potential to allow agency in local people expressing their views and stories.

However, there still needs to be research on how participants who are visually impaired can be included in this visual process of knowledge production. I also observed that there were a few participants who had never heard of the Bakoni stonewalls present in their area. More research needs to be conducted into how and why local and Indigenous community members are not aware of such important heritage. This could be coupled with a recommendation of an agreement with local and Indigenous community leaders and members to regularly visit and learn more about the Bakoni stonewalls in Klingbiel Nature Reserve and other areas.

"The lack of a local participatory approach has led to the failure of South African heritage management to effectively protect rock art from human threats" (Barnabas, 2014: 56). Photovoice may be a useful method to extend this study's line of investigation into documenting the Mashishing community's thoughts and opinions on the subject.

Gant *et al*. (2009) elaborate the delicate process of Photovoice, from orientation to public display to continuous engagements with participants beyond data collection, all of which require an investment of time in training and keeping continuous communication. This can lead to major and multiple adjustments to the Photovoice methodology. Other research attempts need to go into identifying the impact Photovoice methodologies may have on the quality of research. Such research could possibly be associated with a photo exhibition. For a complete Photovoice engagement, it is recommended that an exhibition of these Photovoice pictures is held going forward: "A final stage is to mount a photo exhibition in the community (in a school hall, for example) using a selection of the photos chosen by the participants" (de Lange and Mitchell, 2017: 181). An exhibition was beyond the scope of this master's study and its Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC)—approved methodology but should further

research occur, an exhibition could be organised, and preferably in Mashishing where the participants could be present.

The younger participants did not focus on the spirituality of the activity. This could be because spiritual knowledge may be more valued by senior members of a community. It would be beneficial to explore the possible reasons for this. As we conclude this research journey, the echoes of voices captured through Photovoice reverberate, highlighting the transformative power of participatory development communication methodologies.

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Interview participants

Area	Participant name	Age	Occupation	Participation Date
Mashishing Town	Batsepahoele Ncongwane	74	Pensioner	02 July 2022
Mashishing Town	Eva Mhlehle Dinkwanyana	78	Pensioner	02 July 2022
Mashishing Township	Bongani Khumalo	19	Unemployed	03 July 2022
Mashishing Township	Stanley Khoza	18	Unemployed	03 July 2022
Mashishing Township	Palesa Mahlala	18	Learner	03 July 2022
Mashishing Township	Veliswa Mlimi	20	Shop assistant	03 July 2022

Appendices

Appendix 1: Informed Consent Form (English)

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Qiniso Mbili from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College from the Centre for Communication, Media and Society.

You are invited to participate in a study that involves local knowledge production within the Benefits and challenges in documenting local oral perceptions of Bakoni tangible heritage through photovoice project. The aim and purpose of this research is to explore the benefits and challenges of using photovoice as a tool for heritage recording. The study will be conducted during the fieldwork in Lydenburg Museum, Mashishing, Mpumalanga. This study aims to adopt a participatory approach in order to incorporate local knowledge in the process of knowledge production.

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at qinisombl@gmail.com or 081 3240 868 or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

You are not forced to be in this research project, the decision to participate lies wholly with you. Participation is voluntary and you can drop out of the study at any point should you have a change of mind. If you decide not to be in this research study there will be no negative consequences. Should you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, you are welcome to discuss them with me. Participation in this study will not yield any direct and immediate benefit to you, however it will contribute towards the production of knowledge concerning one of South Africa's most remarkable heritage sites.

The photographs will be digitally stored while the interviews will be electronically recorded and used as research data. After the study has been reviewed, you will be emailed a digital copy of the dissertation.

CONSENT

I have been informed about the study entitled Benefits and challenges in documenting local oral perceptions of Bakoni tangible heritage through photovoice by Qiniso Mbili.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I am aware that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without facing any consequences.

I have been informed about the non-availability of compensation for participating in this study.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at qinisombl@gmail.com or 081 3240 868.

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview YES / NO
Video-record my interview YES / NO
Use of my photographs for research purposes YES / NO

_____ _____

Signature of Participant **Date**

_____ _____

Signature of Witness (Where applicable) **Date**

_____ _____

Signature of Translator (Where applicable) **Date**

Appendix 1a: Informed Consent Form (IsiZulu)

IKOMIDI LEZENQUBONHLE KWEZOCWANINGO LEKOLISHI LEZESINTU ESIKOLENI SEZIFUNDO NGENHLALO YOMPHAKATHI (HSSREC)

ISICELO SOKUGUNYAZWA NGOKWEZENQUBONHLE
Okocwaningo olusebenza ngabantu

OKUKULEKELELA EKWAKHIWENI KWEFOMU LOKUVUMA

Okumele kuqashelwe abacwaningi: Noma kubalulekile ukutholakala kwemiphumela enembayo ngokwesayensi futhi esemthethweni, kumele kwenziwe konke okusemandleni ukuze kukhiqizwe umbhalo wokuvuma oqondakalayo ngokolimi futhi ocacile kakhulu ngaphandle kokushiya imininingwane ebalulekile njengoba kubaliwe ngezansi. Izihumusho ezigunyaziwe zizodingeka uma sekugunyazwe umbhalo wesiNgisi.

Kunezimo ngqo lapho imvume ngomlomo efakazelwe yamukelekile, nalapho imvume yomuntu ingeke idingwe yi-HSSREC.

<u>Umbhalo Wemininingwane Nokuvuma Ukubamba Iqhaza Ocwaningweni</u>

Usuku:

Ngiyabingelela ngokuzithoba

Igama lami ngingu Qiniso Mbili oqhamuka eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natal ophikweni lwezifundo zezokuxhumana.

Uyamenywa ukuba ubambe iqhaza ocwaningweni olumayelana namagugu esizwe saBakoni Kanye nokusetshenziswa kwendlela yocwaningo eyaziwa ngePhotovoice. Inhloso nempokophelo yalolu cwaningo ukuthi sibheke imihlomulo kanye nezingqinamba ezingavela uma kusetshenziswa indlela yePhotovoice ekutheni kuqoshwe lokho okuyigugu kuphinde kuphehlwe ulwazi. Ucwaningo lulindeleke ukuthi lube nabantu abayisishiyagalombili abazobamba iqhaza. Lolucwaningo luzobandakanya ukushuthwa kwezithombe kanye nenhlolovo lapho khona obambe iqhaza ezochaza kabanzi ngezithombe azithathile. Ukubamba kwakho iqhaza uma uvuma futhi uhlala ocwaningweni kulindeleke ukuthi luthathe izinsuku ezintathu. Ucwaningo luxhaswe yiNational Heritage Council.

Ucwaningo alunangcuphe kanti futhi akulindelekile ukuthi lube nokuzongakuphathi kahle. Sithemba ukuthi ucwaningo luzosiza kukhiqizwe ulwazi olusha mayelana namagugu aBakoni kanye nokusetshenziswa kwendlela yokucwaninga iPhotovoice. Lolucwaningo alunanzuzo kobambe iqhaza.

Lolu cwaningo luhloliwe ngokwenqubonhle lwagunyazwa i-UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (inombolo yokugunyazwa_____).

Uma kunezinkinga noma imibuzo/ukukhathazeka ungaxhumana nomcwaningi lapha (qinisombl@gmail.com/ 081 3240 868) noma i- UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, kulemininingwane elandelayo:

Ihhovisi LezoCwaningo, iKhempasi i-Westville
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Ucingo: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
I-imeyili: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo akuphoqelekile kanti futhi ababambe iqhaza bangayeka noma yinini uma befuna. Uma bengathandi noma beyeka ukubamba iqhaza ngeke bahlawuliswe ngalokho noma baphelelwe ukwelashwa noma balahlakelwe yinoma yikuphi okunye abebekuzuza okufanele bakuthole. Abafuna ukuyeka bangaxhumana nami nanoma ngabe inini kulemininingwane engaphezulu.

Imininingwane eqoqwe kulolucwaningo izosetshenziselwa ukuthi ibandakanyeke ocwaningweni lwami lweMasters.

UKUVUMA …….

Mina (Igama)…….. ngazisiwe ngocwaningo olunesihloko esithi "The challenges and benefits of documenting Bakoni tangible heritage and oral perceptions of Bakoni tangible heritage by a diverse group of South Africans." luka Qiniso Mbili.

Ngiyakuqonda okuphokophelwe nokuyimigomo zalolu cwaningo.

Nginikeziwe ithuba lokuphendula imibuzo mayelana nocwaningo futhi ngithole izimpendulo ezingigculisayo.

Ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi ukubamba kwami iqhaza kulolu cwaningo akuphoqelekile futhi ngingayeka noma yinini nokuthi lokho ngeke kube nomthelela kwengikuzuzayo engijwayele ukukuthola.

Ngazisiwe ngazo zonke izinxephezelo noma ukwelashwa okutholakalayo uma ngilimala ngenxa yokuphathelene nocwaningo.

Uma ngineminye imibuzo/ukukhathazeka noma kukhona engidinga kucaciswe mayelana nocwaningo ngiyakuqonda ukuthi ngingathintana nomcwaningi ku qinisombl@gmail.com/ 081 3240 868.

Uma nginemibuzo noma ukukhathazeka ngamalungelo ami njengobambe iqhaza, noma ngikhathazekile nganoma yiluphi uhlangothi locwaningo noma abacwaningi ngingathintana nabe:

EZOKUPHATHWA KWEZENQUBONHLE KWEZOCWANINGO EKOLISHI LEZESINTU ESIKOLENI SEZIFUNDO NGENHLALO YOMPHAKATHI

Ihhovisi LezoCwaningo, iKhempasi i-Westville
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Ucingo: 27 31 2604557 - iFeksi: 27 31 2604609
I-imeyili: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Ukuvuma okwengeziwe, lapho kudingeka khona

Ngiyavuma ukuthi kwenziwe lokhu:

Kuqoshwe ingxoxo yami/yeqembu	YEBO/CHA
Kuqoshwe ngevidiyo ingxoxo yami/yeqembu	YEBO/CHA
Kusetshenziswe izithombe zami ngezinhloso zocwaningo	YEBO/CHA

_____ _____

Ukusayina kobambe iqhaza Usuku

_____ _____

Ukusayina Kowufakazi Usuku (Uma kunesidingo)

_____ _____

Ukusayina Kohumushayo Usuku (Uma kunesidingo)

Appendix 1b: Informed Consent Form (Afrikaans)

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

[Navorsing deelnemers toestemmingsvorm]

Dear Sir/Madam

Ek, Qiniso Mbili van die Universiteit van KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College van die Centre for Communication, Media and Society, nooi jou uit om deel te neem aan my navorsing wat handel oor deelname in die 'Benefits and challenges in documenting local oral perceptions of Bakoni tangible heritage through photovoice' projek, van die navorsingspan. Die doel van die navorsing is om te ondersoek of 'n deelnemende kommunikasie metodologie gebruik is in die projek, en indien so, hoe dit geimplimenteer word. Die navorsing sal gedurende die Mashishing veldwerk plaasvind. Die navorsing sal jou deelname in die veldwerk, en jou interaksie met die res van die span, bestudeer. 'n Tolk sal beskikbaar wees om die onderhoude te vertaal indien nodig.

Die navorsing beoog om 'n bydrae te maak oor kennis van erfenisstudies van 'n sosiale kommunikasie vir verandering oogpunt. Die fokus van die studie sal gaan oor die noodsaaklikheid van deelname aan, en verskillende stemme in die Suid-Afrikaanse kultuurerfenis studies.

Die UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number…) het hierdie navorsing deurgegaan en eties goedgekeur. As jy dalk enige vrae of probleme oor die navorsing ervaar kontak asseblief die navorser by qinisombl@gmail.com/ 081 3240 868 of die UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee by:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Jy word nie gedwing om aan hierdie navorsing deel te neem nie en deelname is vrywillig. Indien jy op enige stadium jouself van die studie will onttrek, sal daar geen negatiewe gevolge wees nie. Al stem jy nou saam om deel te neem mag jy op enige stadium onttrek van die projek. Jy mag soveel vrae vra oor die projek as jy wil en ek sal die tyd neem om te antwoord. Daar sal geen betaling vir jou deelname in die navorsing wees nie of enige ander onmidelikke of direkte voordele nie maar

jou deelname sal my toelaat om ‘n bydrae te maak aan navorsing in die Suid-Afrikaanse erfenissektor.

Onderhoude sal elektronies opgeneem word en vetroulik gehou word. UKZN sal die opname veilig hou vir vyf jaar. Jou informasie sal net met die navorsingspan gedeel word. Daar sal ‘n nommer gebruik word in plaas van jou naam om jou informasie te identifiseer. Ek sal ‘n hardekopie van die navorsing vir jou gee aan die einde van die projek.

Ek……bevestig hiermee dat die navorser……my ingelig het oor die navorsingsprojek ……

Ek bevestig dat ek die inhoud van die dokument en die doeleindes en prosedure van die navorsing verstaan.

Ek het die geleentheid gekry om vrae te vra oor die navorsing en is gelukkig met die antwoorde.

Ek bevestig dat my deelname aan die projek vrywillig is. Ek verstaan ook dat ek op enige stadium myself aan die studie mag onttrek en dat daar geen negatiewe gevolge vir myself sal wees nie.

Ek was ingelig oor enige toepaslike vergoeding of mediese behandeling wat ek mag kry indien ek beseer work as gevolg van enige navorsingsprosedure.

Ek verstaan dat as ek nog enige vrae of probleme oor die navorsing ervaar ek die navorser mag kontak by qinisombl@gmail.com/ 081 3240 868 of die UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
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Govan Mbeki Building

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Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

As ek as navorsingsdeelnemer verdere vrae of probleme het oor die regte van my deelname of enige ander aspekte van die navorsingsprojek mag ek ook die UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee kontak.

Ek bevestig hiermee dat die onderstaande gebruik mag word:

Klankopname van my onderhoud JA/NEE]

Videoopname van my onderhoud JA/NEE]

Fotos van my vir navorsing JA/NEE]

_____ _____

[Handtekening van Deelnemer] **[Datum]**

_____ _____

[Datum]

[Handtekening van Getuie (as benodig)]

_____ _____

[Handtekening van Tolk (as benodig)] **[Datum]**

Appendix 1c: Informed Consent Form (SiSwati)

LIKOMIDI LETENCHUBOLENHLE KWETELUCWANINGO LELIKOLISHI LESINTFU ESIKOLWENI SEMFUNDVO NGENHLALO YEMPHAKATSI (HSSREC)

SICELO SEKUGUNYATA NGEKWETENCHUBOLENHLE
Kwelucwaningo lolusebenta ngebantfu

KWEKUSITA EKWAKHIWENI KWELIFOMU LOKUVUMA

Umbhalo Wemininingwane Nekuvuma kubamba lichaza elucwaningweni

Ngiyabingelela

Ligama lami ngingu- Qiniso Mbili longumfundzi eNyuvesi YaKwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), likolishi iHoward.

Uyamenywa kutsi uhlanganyele ekubuketeni kusebenta ngekubambisana kwelibandla lelibuke umsebenti we Benefits and challenges in documenting local oral perceptions of Bakoni tangible heritage through photovoice. Inhloso nemphokophelo yalolucwaningo kuhlola kutsi ngabe kulomsebenti we Mashishing Marking Memories isetjentisiwe yini indlela lenhle yeku khulumisana nekuhlanganyela noma cha, nangabe isetjentisiwe, isetjentiswe kanjani. Lolucwalingo litowentiwa ngesikhatsi sekusebenta kule projekthi eMashishing.

Lolucwaningo luhlose kwati kabanti ngekubamba indzima kwakho kulomsebenti bese luhlola kutsi uchumana kanjani nalamanye emalunga elitsimba lebacwaningi. Utoba khona umhumushi lotohumusha inkhulumo yetfu ibe lulwimi lotolijabulela.

Lolucwaningo luhlose kuphosa litje esivivaneni ngekufaka sandla ekutfutfukisweni kwemisebenti yetemagugu, tekuchumana kanye nekutfutfukisa tenhlalakahle. Lolucwaningo libonakalisa kubaluleka kwekutsi kube nemavi lahlukene ekuphawuleni emkhakheni welifa nemasiko aseNingizimu Afrika.

Lolucwaningo luhloliwe futsi lwagunyatwa yi-UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (inombolo yokugunyatwa_____).

Uma kwenteka ubhekana na noma nguyiphi inkinga, noma kukhatsateka, kumbe unemibuto mayelana nalolucwaningo ungatsintsa umcwaningi ku noncyngcobo@gmail.com / 074 720 5932 noma likomiti lekugunyata lucwaningo i UKZN Human Sciences & Social Sciences, imininingwane yekuchumana kanje:

TEKUPHATFWA KWETENCHUBOLENHLE KWETELUCWANINGO EKOLISHI LETESINTFU ESIKOLWENI SETEMFUNDVO NGENHLALO YEMPHAKATSI
Lihhovisi LeteluCwaningo, iKhempasi i-Westville
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Lucingo: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
I-imeyili: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Asikho sidzingo sekuba kulolucwaningo uma ungatsandzi kuba khona. Uba yincenye yalolucwaningo uma utsandza ngako ukhululekile kuyekela noma kunini nangasiphi sizatfu. Noma ngabe uvuma nyalo ungaphindze ushintje umcondvo wakho noma kunini. Uma ngabe sewungafuni kubayincenye yalolucwaningo angeke kube nemiphumela lemibi. Ungakhululeka ubute imibuto lelinani lolitsandzako ngitoyiphendvula yonkhe. Kute inzuzo leta kuwe ngekuhlanganyela kwakho kulelicwaningo ngaphandle kwekutsi kuhlanganyela kwakho kutowufaka sandla ekutfutfukisweni kwetemasiko eNingizimu Afrika. Angeke futsi uholelwe noma ubhadalwe ngekuhlanganyela khwakho kulolucwaningo.

Tonkhe tinkhulumo tetfu titotsenshwula besetigcinwa kukhompuyutha (kungcondvomshini) tibe yimfihlo. Lemitsebulo itogcinwa iphephile iminyaka lesihlanu esikolweni semfundvo lephakeme e UKZN. Ngiyetsembisa kutsi angeke ngikhulume ngawe kulabanye bantfu ngaphandle kwalaba lengisebenta nabo ecwaningweni. Noma nguluphi lwati mayelana nawe lutobitwa ngenombolo esikhundleni seligama lakho. Umaseluphelile lolucwaningo utoniketwa lwati ngalo ngembhalo loshicelelwe lobitwa ngekutsi yi dissertation.

KUVUMA (Hlela ngendlela lobona ifanele)

Mine (ligama) ngatisiwe ngelucwaningo lelunesihloko lesitsi (bhala imininingwane) la (bhala ligama lemcwaningi/lobutsa lwati).

Ngiyayicondza inhloso nemigomo yalolucwaningo (kubhale loku futsi uma kunesidzingo).

Nginiketiwe litfuba lekuphendvula imibuto mayelana nelucwaningo futsi ngitfole timphendvulo letingijabulisako.

Ngiyacinisekisa kutsi kubamba kwami lichaza kulolu cwaningo akuphocelekile futsi ngingayekela noma nini nekutsi loko angeke kube nemtselela kulengikutfolako lengijwayele kukutfola.

Ngatisiwe ngato tonkhe tincephetelo noma kwelashwa lokutfolakalako uma ngilimala ngenca ya noma yini lephatselene nelucwaningo.

Uma ngina leminye imibuto/kukhatsateka noma kukhona lengidzinga kucaciswe mayelana nelucwaningo ngiyakucondza kutsi ngingatsintsana nomcwaningi (bhala imininingwane).

Uma nginemibuto noma kukhatsateka ngemalungelo ami njengobambe lichaza, noma ngikhatsatekile nganoma nguluphi luhlangotsi lelucwaningo noma bacwaningi ngingatsintsana nabe:

TEKUPHATFWA KWETENCHUBOLENHLE KWETELUCWANINGO EKOLISHI LETESINTFU ESIKOLWENI SETEMFUNDVO NGENHLALO YEMPHAKATSI
Lihhovisi LeteluCwaningo, iKhempasi i-Westville
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Lucingo: 27 31 2604557 - iFeksi: 27 31 2604609
I-imeyili: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Kuvuma lokwengetiwe, lapho kudzingeka khona

Ngiyavuma kutsi kwentiwe loku:

Kutsebulwe inkhulumo yami	YEBO/CHA
Kutsebulwe ngevidiyo inkhulumo yami	YEBO/CHA
Kusetjentiswe titfombe tami ngenhloso yelucwaningo	YEBO/CHA

_____ _____

Kusayina lobambe lichaza Lilanga

_____ _____

Kusayina Longufakazi Lilanga (Uma kunesidzingo)

_____ _____

Kusayina Lohumushayo Lilanga
(Uma kunesidzingo)

Appendix 1d: Informed Consent Form (SeSotho)

KOMITI EA LIPATLISISO TSA MAOLO EA SEBELISA BATHO LE SAENSE TSA LECHABA UKZN

KOPO YA TUMELLO YA MATSHWANEO
Bakeng sa lipatlisiso le barupeluoa ba batho

TSEBISANG TUMELO MOHLOLI

Leqephe la Boitsebiso le Tumello ea ho Kenela Lipatlisiso

Mohlomphehi/Mofumahali ea ratehang

Lebitso la ka ke Qiniso Mbili oa Univesithi ea KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College ho tsoa Setsing sa Lipuisano, Mecha ea litaba le Sechaba.

U memeloa ho nka karolo phuputsong e amang tlhahiso ea tsebo ea lehae ka har'a Melemo le liqholotso mabapi le ho ngola maikutlo a lehae a molomo mabapi le lefa le tšoarehang la Bakoni ka morero oa photovoice. Sepheo le sepheo sa lipatlisiso tsena ke ho hlahloba melemo le liphephetso tsa ho sebelisa photovoice e le sesebelisoa sa ho rekota lefa. Boithuto bona bo tla etsoa nakong ea ts'ebetso ea ts'ebetso ea Musiamo oa Lydenburg, Mashishing, Mpumalanga. Boithuto bona bo ikemiselitse ho amohela mokhoa oa ho kenya letsoho molemong oa ho kenyelletsa tsebo ea lehae ts'ebetsong ea tlhahiso ea tsebo.

Ha ho e-na le mathata kapa lipelaelo/lipotso u ka ikopanya le mofuputsi ho qinisombl@gmail.com kapa 081 3240 868 kapa Komiti ea UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, lintlha tsa boikopanyo ka tsela e latelang:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Ha o qobelloe ho ba morerong ona oa lipatlisiso, qeto ea ho nka karolo e matsohong a hao ka botlalo. Ho nka karolo ke ka boithaopo mme o ka tlohela boithuto nakong efe kapa efe ha o ka fetola maikutlo. Haeba u etsa qeto ea ho se be boithutong bona ba lipatlisiso ho ke ke ha ba le litlamorao tse mpe. Ha o ka ba le dipotso kapa dingongoreho mabapi le boithuto bona, o amohelehile ho buisana le nna ka tsona. Ho kenya letsoho phuputsong ena ho ke ke ha hlahisa molemo ofe kapa ofe o tobileng le oa hang-hang ho uena, leha ho le joalo ho tla kenya letsoho tlhahisong ea tsebo mabapi le se seng sa libaka tse hlollang ka ho fetisisa tsa lefa tsa Afrika Boroa.

Lifoto li tla bolokoa ka mokhoa oa digital ha lipuisano li tla rekotoa ka mokhoa oa elektroniki le ho sebelisoa e le lintlha tsa lipatlisiso. Kamora hore boithuto bo hlahlojoe, o tla romelloa lengolo-tsoibila la khopi ea dissertation.

TUMELO

Ke tsebisitsoe ka phuputso e nang le sehlooho se reng Melemo le mathata mabapi le ho ngola maikutlo a lehae a molomo mabapi le lefa le tšoarehang la Bakoni ka photovoice ea Qiniso Mbili.

Ke utloisisa sepheo le mekhoa ea thuto.

Ke filoe monyetla oa ho botsa lipotso mabapi le thuto ena 'me ke bile le likarabo tse nkhotsofatsang.

Kea tseba hore ho nka karolo ha ka phuputsong ena ke ha boithaopo le hore nka ikhula neng kapa neng ntle le ho tobana le litlamorao.

Ke tsebisitsoe ka ho se be teng ha matšeliso bakeng sa ho kenya letsoho phuputsong ena.

Haeba ke na le lipotso/matsoalo kapa lipotso tse ling tse amanang le boithuto kea utloisisa hore nka ikopanya le mofuputsi ho qinisombl@gmail.com kapa 081 3240 868.

Ha ke na le dipotso kapa dingongoreho mabapi le ditokelo tsa ka jwaloka monkakarolo thutopatlisisong, kapa haeba ke ngongorehile ka karolo e itseng ya phuputso ena kapa bafuputsi nka iteanya le:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Tumello e eketsehileng, moo ho hlokahalang

Ke fana ka tumello ho:

Rekota lipuisano tsa ka ka molumo HO JOALO / CHE

Rekota puisano ea ka ka video HO JOALO / CHE

Tšebeliso ea linepe tsa ka molemong oa lipatlisiso HO JOALO / CHE

_____	_____
Tshaeno ea Morupeluoa	**Letsatsi**
_____	_____
Tshaeno ea Paki **(Moo ho hlokahalang)**	**Letsatsi**
_____	_____
Tshaeno ea Mofetoleli. **(Moo ho hlokahalang)**	**Letsatsi**

Appendix 2: Gatekeeper Letter (Lydenburg Museum)

Lydenburg Museum

PO Box 61

Lydenburg

1120

Tel: 013-235-7343

29 March 2022

To whom it may concern

RE: Lydenburg Museum Gate Keeper Letter

Student Number: 219096075

Student Name: Qiniso Mbili

Project Title: Focus on Abakoni heritage: The challenges and benefits of documenting intangible heritage using photovoice.

I write in my role as the curator of the Lydenburg Museum and participant of the research project "Marking Memories: north of the! Garib River and west of the Lebombo Mountains". I hereby confirm that the above student has permission from the Lydenburg Museum to conduct qualitative research between 2022 and 2023 on the above project in accordance with the relevant articles of the MOU between ARROWSA and CCMS, UKZN (see attached). I note that the research will include the use of the Photovoice method with photographs produced for use in the research with informed consent during any field trips taken and if necessary, thereafter and that interpretation of Afrikaans speakers will be needed in the field where necessary.

Sincerely

JP Celliers

[redacted]

Lydenburg Museum Curator

Appendix 2a: Gatekeeper Letter (ARROWSA)

Art, Culture & Heritage for Peace
Reg 088-058 NPO
15 Cotswold Drive Dawncliffe 3629
arrowsa.artpeace@gmail.com

22/09/2020

To whom it may concern

ARROWSA (Reg 088-058 NPO) Gatekeeper letter – permission to conduct research:

Student Number: 219096075

Student Name: Qiniso Mbili

Project Title: The challenges and benefits of documenting Bakoni tangible heritage and perceptions thereof using photovoice.

I write in my role as chairperson of ARROWSA and co-ordinator of the research project "Marking Memories: north of the !Garib River and west of the Lebombo Mountains". I hereby confirm that the above student has permission from ARROWSA (Reg 088-058 NPO) to conduct qualitative research between 2020 and 2021 on the above project. I note that the research will include the use of the Photovoice method with photographs produced for use in the research with informed consent during any field trips taken and if necessary, thereafter.

Sincerely

[redacted]

Dr Mary Elizabeth Lange
ARROWSA Chair (Reg 088-058 NPO)
www.arrowsa.blogspot.co.za

Appendix 3: Focus Group Discussion Questions

Q1. What is portrayed in the photo, or series of photos?

Q2. What does it represent to you?

Q3. Why was it of significance to you?

Q4. What does it tell you about the heritage of Bakoni?

Q5. What is it about Bakoni heritage that you associate to your image?

Q6. What were the benefits you encountered in trying to express your ideas using pictures?

Q 7. What were the challenges you encountered in trying to express your ideas using pictures?

Q8. Do you believe that the photovoice method allowed you to participate in the process of knowledge production as much as the other participants within the wider MMM research project?

Q9. Do you believe your level of inclusion in knowledge production would have been any different had you used any other method besides photovoice to express your ideas?

Q10. How different or similar do you think the issues you highlighted are in comparison to that of other participants?

Q11. How has the use of photovoice affected these similarities and/or differences?