

In Search of Identity and Ownership of the MmaMotshwane Gorge: Heritage Tourism and Management of Mogonye Cultural Landscape

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Abstract

The paper discusses challenges associated with managing cultural landscapes at Mogonye, Southern District, Botswana. In this area, different stakeholders attach diverse values to the same locale. This has become challenging in the face of heritage tourism since some stakeholders are perceived as detrimental to the resources that are otherwise valuable to other stakeholders. These so-called ‘destroyers’ are therefore considered as ‘outsiders’ –the ‘other’. However, the perceived ‘other’ do not see themselves as being environmentally unfriendly but recognise themselves as having the right to the resources too. In discussing heritage tourism and values attached to the cultural landscape, the scientific, tourism, and spiritual values among others of the MmaMotshwane waterfalls are underscored. This paper further discusses gorges within theoretical frameworks developed by heritage practitioners and geographers in the field of recreation and tourism. To the local community of Mogonye, MmaMotshwane Gorge is a sacred site; a spiritual haven to traditional doctors and churches while to tourists and other stakeholders, the gorge remains a scientific, recreational and economic resource. Examples are drawn from various parts of the world including Jamaica, South Africa and Botswana.

Introduction

‘Waterfalls may be regarded as curiosities of nature along with caves, geysers and glaciers. Thus they have scarcity value...While very few waterfalls may be regarded as tourist destinations, many are attractions’ (Shepard 1967:254). Mogonye is located in the Southern District of Botswana. The village is about 35 kilometres south of Gaborone. The landscape of Mogonye comprises of Mogonye wa Kgophu, Mogonye Boseja, Old Settlement near the MmaMotshwane Gorge, Marete Spring and many other small gorges in the three hills surrounding the village. MmaMotshwane Gorge near Mogonye village is among known gorges with significantly enhanced waterfalls (Figure 1).

Geologically, the area is varied; a fact that is reflected in the local topography (Aldiss 1989; Lane 1996). For the most part, the area is undulating with many rocky hills, outcrops and waterfalls. Soils found in the area are generally sandy loam to sandy. Acacia thorn-scrub is the most common vegetation type in the area. A wide range of trees grow well in this common habitat. Trees found in the study area include *Ziziphus mucronata* (mokgalo), *Acacia tortilis* (mosunyana), *Euclea undulata* (motlhakolana), *Garcinia livingstonei* (moralana) and cactus (motoroko). Savanna grass land covers most of the area plot. The vegetation may be described as semi-sweet mixed bushveld (Setshogo and Venter 2003).

Some of the wild animals found in the area include leopard, kudu, rock rabbit, baboon and many species of birds. There is evidence of Middle Stone Age occupation in the area (Figure 2). Most areas around the gorges were settled by Iron Age communities. These people were farming communities. The Bahurutshe (a Sotho-Tswana group) settled in the area in the 1850s. They have continuously

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used a number of gorges as permanent water supply for their animals. Traditional doctors also harvest medicinal plants from a number of gorges around Mogonye village.

Figure 1: Location Map of Mogonye Village, MmaMontshwane Gorge and Marete Spring (Google Earth 2015)



Figure 2. Typical Middle Stone Age tools found in the area (photograph by Phenyio Thebe 2012)



There is often a misunderstanding with reference to heritage and cultural tourism (Ashworth and Vood 1990; Hudson 1992). Heritage tourism narrows heritage to things of value which have been passed from one generation to the next and can be used for the promotion of tourist products. These include historical heritage, natural heritage and man-made heritage. Thus heritage tourism is the more globally accepted definition than the commonly used cultural tourism. This is only associated with arts and crafts. Clearly then, heritage tourism is multifaceted because it incorporates many components. It is stronger in some areas than others because human interaction with the environment over a period of time is often determined by physical features including forests, caves, mountains, wild animals, rivers,

lakes and waterfalls. Often the natural resources of an area determine the predominant culture of that region (Jackson 1984; Ashworth and Voog 1990).

In recent years the Botswana Government has embarked on a drive to diversify the country's economy away from over-dependence on the non-renewable resources especially from the mining industry. Heritage tourism is increasingly becoming a key feature in the diversification of Botswana's economy. Heritage tourism mainly emanates from the Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) model, which was adopted by the Department of National Museum and Monuments (DNMM) from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) (Dichaba 2006b and 2009). The CBNRM was a result of a growing concern about government's inability to manage and conserve wildlife outside game reserves and national parks (Arntzen et al 2003; Motshubi and Rozemeijer 1999; Thakadu 2001). Therefore, the CBNRM model was meant to shift the management of natural resources to the community level. It was noted that 'The management of the environment and the control of natural resources must be shifted to the level of the community, so that local people are able to benefit directly from the resources of the area where they live. This principle must be applied to the preservation and exploitation of wildlife.

According to Arntzen et al (2003) the main aim of the CBNRM is to alleviate rural poverty, bring development to the rural areas and conserve the natural resources. The DNMM adapted the approach and rationale behind CBNRM and argued that the conservation of the monuments lay with the local communities (Dichaba 2006b and 2009). The underlying assumption being that local communities have historical, spiritual and socio-economic values attached to these sites and that they too, are concerned about their deterioration. Thus the DNMM sees communities as the best custodians of these heritage sites. The DNMM manages over 2500 monuments and sites throughout the country. This management strategy has become a challenge financially and administratively hence partnership with local communities in the management and conservation of the monuments has become inevitable. The link between museums and local communities can strengthen the project significantly.

The DNMM launched the first heritage tourism pilot project in 1996 when it engaged Mmatshumu community in the use of the Lekhubu Island in the Makgadikgadi landscape. Although this was the first official heritage tourism project in the country, the 1998 CBNRM draft policy, did not recognise monuments as part of CBNRM projects. Despite that, other communities near monuments such as the XaiXai (Gwihaba Caves), Moremi (Manonnye Gorge), Serule (Majojo), Tsodilo (Tsodilo Hills) and Mogonye communities (MmaMotshwane Gorge) began to organise heritage tourism projects. In 2011, a gate house was constructed at MmaMotshwane conservation area entrance (Figure 3).

Figure 3: MmaMotshwane Gate House (photograph by Phenyio Thebe 2012)



The main challenge that the DNMM faces in managing the monuments is how to deal with site values. The DNMM sees monuments as places of scientific research and aesthetic value as per the Monuments and Relics Act of 2001, while communities and other stakeholders see the sites as water points for their cattle, sources of food and spiritual enrichment. The review of Monuments and Relics Act of 2001 is long overdue; for example, the Act should incorporate intangible aspects of heritage (Ndobochani 2009). Monuments are thus technically redefined by the local communities and other stakeholders as cultural landscapes depending on how they use these sites, making management of such heritage places too complex.

The complexity in management of cultural landscapes has also been recognised by the new field of Heritage Studies which is now advocating the involvement of local communities in heritage management (Ndoro 2005; Smith 2006; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). Various scholars in this field have raised difficult but legitimate questions such as: Whose heritage? Which heritage? Whose voice should be listened to and why? Who controls heritage? How should it be presented, by whom and to whom? (Hodder 1998; Lowenthal 1998; Caftanzoglou 2001; Alpin 2002; Harvey 2001; Smith 2004, 2006; Ndoro 2005; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). The answers to these questions are complex and varied and reflect the complexity of managing heritage sites.

Waterfalls are extremely significant to different communities and societies the world over for various reasons. In order to contextualise this paper, we discuss and borrow from case studies across the world on waterfalls as resources for recreation, tourism and spirituality. Some people visit waterfalls because they enjoy them as open air recreation and take delight in landscape beauty. They can be described variously as ‘waterfall lovers’, ‘water buffs’ or ‘waterfall fans’ (Plumb 1989). In general, waterfalls are enjoyed by many people across generations globally. As a result of enjoyment of waterfalls, there has been an increased number of visitors to waterfalls and deliberate exploitation of these popular landscapes features for recreation and tourism (Roberts 1978). For example, the Caribbean island of Jamaica is known for its waterfalls. These play an important role in the country’s tourism industry. However, there are few waterfalls that fall into tourist destinations including Niagara in the US and Canada, Victoria Falls and Igussau water falls in Brazil and Argentina. The Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe is famous and naturally attractive in its own right to generate long distance travel and development of substantial tourism at or near the site. It was made famous when David Livingstone ‘discovered’ the area for Europeans as a tourism destination and not just attraction.

A tourism destination ‘is a place having characteristics which are known to be sufficient number of potential visitors to justify its consideration as an entity, attracting travel, independent of other attractions of other locations (Goodall 1990:259). Conversely, a tourist attraction is defined by Goodall (1990:262) as ‘a place of characteristics, often unique, e.g. natural environment or historic artifacts, or events such as festivals and sporting occasions’.

While there is considerable literature on waterfalls, most of it is descriptive and impressionistic. But their spiritual and economic benefits to local communities have been largely neglected in literature. In an attempt to address this gap, this paper seeks to demonstrate how gorges can be categorised and discussed by heritage practitioners within theoretical frameworks discussed by archaeologists and others to study landscapes resources, tourism, recreation and spirituality.

Methodology

Prior to undertaking field work, desktop research was undertaken on gorges and waterfalls in various parts of the world. Field work involved site visits, field observations and oral interviews. Part of the information presented in this paper is derived from Dichaba’s work with the Mogonye community between 2002 and 2007. During this period, intensive field work was conducted in the Mogonye

landscape with the aim of understanding not only how the local community envisions and attaches values to their landscape, but also whether ecotourism was viable.

Field work included documentation of biophysical inventory, cultural heritage, interaction with the community members and conducting formal and informal interviews, public consultations (kgotla meetings), personal and participatory observations (Dichaba 2002 and 2007).

Historical Background

Mogonye village has a tier settlement system, Mogonye wa Kgophu ya ga Marete and Mogonye Boseja ga Noka, (denoted here as Mogonye wa Kgophu and Mogonye Boseja as popularly referred to by the community members). The two settlements are divided by Metsimaswaane River hence Mogonye Boseja ga noka, south of the river, whereas that for Marete is associated with the Marete's spring. These settlements are surrounded by the Mmabofula, Manyelanong and MmaMotshwane hills.

According to oral traditions, the community of Mogonye, which is made up of Bahurutshe Bafurutshe who settled in Mogonye in the 1800's from Lehurutshe and Motswedi in South Africa after fleeing wars from the Ndebele and the Boers. They first joined the Bakwena and Bangwaketse at Dimawe. The three ethnic groups (merafe) disintegrated after the Battle of Dimawe between Bakwena and the Boers of the Transvaal: Bangwaketse went to Kanye, Bakwena to Dithubaruba while the Bakhurutshe went to Manyana and Mmankgodi.

Oral traditions further indicate that there was a man called Mookaa. He moved from Manyana and settled at Mogonye wa Kgophu with his family after his brothers refused him to settle at their family ward in Manyana. He was later joined by Pelesi and Radikgokong together with their families. The Bakhurutshe of Bapoane from Otse joined those who were already at Mogonye wa Kgophu, increasing the population to the extent that land became a problem especially for agricultural purposes. The shortage of land resulted in some community members moving to MmaMotshwane Gorge, which has a perennial spring (Fig. 4). This is the largest of the seven gorges in area and size. It has several water pools and waterfalls. Interestingly, the gorge is home to rare species of ferns.

Figure 4: Nkwe Gorge (photograph by Phenyio Thebe 2012)



Meanwhile, a man called Bose moved from Kuruman (also called Kudumane) and settled at Mogonye wa Kgophu. Bose was a nephew to Bapoane group. They refused to let him settle among them. Bose then moved to Mogonye Boseja and joined a man called Ramothonyana. The Mogonye village, though

at that time technically had three settlements, grew and Kgosi Bathoen II of Bangwaketse appointed Bose as his representative in the area. Kgosi Bathoen II instructed Bose to watch the boundary between the Balete and Bangwaketse as incidences of theft were previously reported in 1930. In the 1970s the Botswana government asked the Mogonye community at MmaMotshwane to consolidate with the rest so as to have access to services provided by government. Similar merges of settlement occurred in various parts of the country in the 1970s including Moremi, Lesenepole, Matoposane and Raphiri in Tswapong Hills (White 2001; Kiyaga-Mulindwa 1980a, 1980b and Dichaba 2009).

The community at MmaMotshwane area relocated and joined those at Mogonye Boseja resulting in the landscape remaining with only two settlements. Though the community relocated from MmaMotshwane area, they remained attached to the MmaMotshwane Gorge, having subscribed different values to it, especially economic and spiritual significance.

Heritage Tourism at Mogonye Cultural Landscape

What follows, therefore, is an analysis of Mogonye Cultural Landscape as a heritage tourism attraction. No attempt is made to analyse in detail the aesthetics that we derive from waterfalls, this particular experience of the landscape being the subject of another paper in preparation by the same authors. The beginning of heritage tourism at Mogonye came after it was reported to the DNMM that there was a certain tree that was being over-harvested by the traditional doctors in the village. Botanists from the DNMM went to Mogonye to conduct an ecological and impact assessment of the activity. They identified the tree as a fern in the MmaMotshwane Gorge. This marked the beginning of an intensive liaison with the community on how to best conserve the fern together with the rest of the gorge. This is defined in the Monuments Relics Act of 2001 as a monument. Therefore, this piece of legislation accorded protection to the place because it was identified as having scientific research and aesthetic value.

Dichaba (2002) conducted a preliminary survey of the resources (natural and cultural) in Mogonye Cultural Landscape. The study recommended that the community should be introduced to the concept of CBNRM in order for them to effectively utilise the MmaMotshwane Gorge for heritage tourism. The concept was introduced to the community in 2003 and 2004. The community elected an interim committee which worked with the DNMM in the registration of a Community Based Organisation (CBO). In Botswana, these are commonly referred to as trusts. The CBO and/or trust was meant to give the community full responsibility in the management and conservation of the resources of Mogonye in partnership with the National Museum, with whom the community signed a memorandum of understanding. To effectively manage the site, a management plan was completed in 2007 (Dichaba 2007) and the community registered the Mogonye MmaMotshwane Conservation Trust in 2008 with the financial assistance from Community Conservation Fund (CCF).

The main aim of the CBNRM projects is to alleviate rural poverty and bring developments to the village. The management of values in heritage sites has always been a big debate to an extent that even though heritage managers try to integrate all the values of the site, other values will always be curtailed to a certain extent. This has been observed in other landscapes such as the Acropolis in Athens (Caftanzoglou 2001), Grosse Ile and the Irish Memorial National Historic Site (MacLean and Myers 2005), Chaco Culture National Historical Park in United States of America (De la Torre et al 2005), Port Arthur Historic Site in Australia (Mason et al. 2005), Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site in north of England (Mason et al 2005), Tsodilo Hills (Keitumetse et al 2007) and Great Zimbabwe (Ndoro 2005).

As to whether it is worth curtailing the other values for the price of ecotourism, much depends on the economic turnout of the heritage sites and who benefits from the project. Also, communities remain fluid on the perceptions of ecotourism benefits as evidenced at the Moremi cultural landscape

(Dichaba 2006a and 2009) and Tsodilo Hills (Keitumetse et al 2007). As for the gorge being a negative heritage to the community of Mogonye wa Kgophu, the DNMM cannot do anything about it; it remains an inherent problem of the landscape (Dichaba 2009).

Potential Heritage Resources of Mogonye Landscape

The landscape has several valleys and springs that are named depending on how the community views their own landscape. These features are an important aspect of the tourism package. The valleys are mostly seasonal runoffs into Metsimaswaane River, which feeds the Gaborone Dam. The valleys include *Kgophu ya Nkwe* (Leopard's Spring); *Kgophu ya MmaMasiloanoka* (Hamerkop's Spring); *Kgophu ya Dinonyane* (Bird's Spring); *Kgophu ya ga Thukwi* (Aardwolves Valley); and *Kgophu ya Lerukuru* (*Spirostachys africana* Valley). *Kgophu ya Nkwe* derives its name from the fact that the community believes there was a leopard in the valley that killed their livestock, whereas that for *MmaMasiloanoka* comes from the fact that there is a hamerkop nest at the valley. *Kgophu ya dinonyane* is a metaphoric name as the community believes the spring is too small and its waters are enough for birds only. *Mesimaswaane* Spring is named after the Metsimaswaane River and it marks the beginning of the river whereas *Kgophu ya lerukuru* is named after the *Spirostachys africana* (*lerukuru*) that is found in that area. The community use(d) the plant for roofing their traditional houses. In addition, the community highlighted other springs such as *Kgophu ya Diphiri* (Hyenas Valleys), *Kgophu ya Ditau* (Lions spring), *Kgophu e Tshibidu* (The Red Spring) and *Kgophu ya ga Nnokwe* (Nnokwe's Spring). The landscape has other cultural sites that include Leitlho (The Eye), Matsieng's Footprints (regrettably these were destroyed during the construction of the tarred road to the village), *Dikgaga tse ditshweu* (White Cliffs) and *Dinkgwana* (derives its name from pottery found in the area).

According to oral traditions from local community members, Leitlho area, is a borehole kind of feature in the Manyelanong Hills. The water is said to sink if one tries to drink it and none of the community members admitted to have drunk it. *Dikgaga tse ditshweu* are a result of the vultures that resided in the Manyelanong hills. Campbell (1978) reported these vultures, but community members pointed out that the vultures had moved, presumably to Manyelanong Hills in Otse. The *Dinkgwana* area is commonly known to the community members who associate it with ancestors. Though the community knows about this area, only two elderly men indicated that they have been to this site and that there are artifacts including stone tools, pottery, and beads. The local community believes that traditional doctors, Sangomas, spiritual healers and people who have smeared themselves with charms are not welcome in this area.

The landscape also boasts wildlife (flora and fauna) with community members selling *Vangueria infausta* (wild medlar) and *Mimusops zeyheri* (Transvaal red milkwood) in towns and semi-urban areas during the summer. While preliminary reports indicated all these resources, the main focus, however, has been on the *MmaMotshwane Gorge*. This has a management plan as a guide in the conservation of the area. Interestingly, *MmaMotshwane Gorge* has several pools and cliffs that enhance the visual appearance of the landscape. The gorge belongs to the Mogonye community. There are several values attached to the gorge by both the community of Mogonye, Balete as well as other stakeholders including traditional doctors such as herbalists, Sangomas, spiritual churches and the DNMM.

Values of MmaMotshwane Gorge

The gorge has several important values among which are historical, scientific, educational, spiritual and economic values as we describe below:

Historical value

The community of Mogonye has long ties to the *MmaMotshwane Gorge*. The community lived next

to it until the 1970's when they were asked to relocate and consolidate at Mogonye Boseja for access to government facilities and service delivery. Naturally, they do not necessarily see themselves as separate from the gorge. They perceive themselves as part of this heritage landscape.

Economic value

The local community uses the gorge as a water point for their livestock and for domestic purposes. To date, the local community, together with communities from Ramotswa (Baletse), primarily uses the gorge as a water point for their livestock. The gorge is also habitat and water point for wild animals. It has numerous wild fruits such as *Mimusops zeyheri* (mmupudu) and indigenous teas such as *moritelatshwene*, which is also a medicinal plant.

Other than these, the MmaMotshwane Gorge is now a tourist destination. It was launched on 18 May 2009 during celebrations to mark the International Museum Day with the theme 'Museums and Heritage Tourism'. Since 2011, MmaMotshwane Gorge has received 2957 tourists (Table 1). Prior to 2011, tourists were still visiting the area but no systematic records were kept. It is necessary to improve categories in the visitor information book at MmaMontshwane. For example, school groups are recorded as visitors for education value. However, a number of school groups visit the site. There was a minor decline in number of visitors in 2012. However, the numbers picked up in 2013. In general visitor statistics do not show a significant growth in number of tourists. A number of reasons can account for this static growth including management and marketing. However, visitor statistics are too scanty and limited to indicate a significant pattern of visitors. Mogonye landscape forms part of the greater Gaborone heritage trail, and it is expected to attract many tourists and weekenders as it is the only known gorge so far in the southern region of Botswana to offer such a unique experience.

Table 1: Visitor Statistics at MmaMotshwane, 2011-2014

Year	Number of visitors
2011	863
2012	666
2013	681
2014	747
Total	2957

Source: Department of National Museum and Monuments (2014)

Educational value

Although visitor statistics are not comprehensive, oral interviews with Site Custodians indicate that the gorge has attracted many school groups that learn more about the cultural and natural heritage of Botswana. From the launching of MmaMotshwane Gorge in May 2009 and systematic record keeping in 2011, several school groups and researchers have since visited the heritage site. The touring of the monuments has become part of the tourism packages of different primary, secondary and tertiary schools in the country for learners to concretize what they have learnt in class about natural and cultural heritage of Botswana.

Scientific value

The gorge has five species of a fern found at a place called KoPuleng. These are *Pteris dentata*, *Pelea calomelanos*, *Pella boivinil*, *Cheilanthes vidiris* and *Adiantum capillus-veneries*. According to Bruce Hargreeves (personal communication 2006), *Pteris dentata* is endemic to MmaMotshwane Gorge only and is the first species to be recorded in the country. This value is important to the National Museum in its overall mandate of preservation of the natural and cultural resources. Other than plants, the

vicinity of the gorge has cultural material dating back to the Iron Age and the period after. The gorge was important to different communities over time ranging from the Stone Age to the present (Mabuse 2009).

Social/Spiritual value

The community of Mogonye sees the gorge as a sacred place, primarily because of the fern at Ko-Puleng. The community believes that the fern is the breath of the gorge and removing it will end the life of the gorge. According to the community members, this fern has been confined to a single locale for as long as they could remember, and that it was never harvested. Other than that of not harvesting the fern, the community of Mogonye has several taboos also attached to the gorge, and these include:

- Water from the gorge should not be rechanneled as this angers badimo (ancestors). Rather, nature should be allowed to take its course. According to community members, in the 1980's, when there was terrible drought in the country, a certain man rechanneled the water for his cattle. This, according to the informants, angered the badimo and caused a huge stone to fall and seal the dug area. Though some hold this view, others that believe the falling of the huge stone was due to contraction and expansion of the stones as a result of intense heat during that time;
- Wood should not be collected from the gorge;
- The gorge should not be visited late in the afternoon;
- Fire is not allowed in the gorge;
- Staying overnight in the gorge is prohibited; and
- Since the gorge has many nettle trees, when one happens to get in contact with it, should say 'tshwatshwa' instead of 'tshutshu'! Literally meaning, they should not express irritation with usual Setswana expressions because that they may offend the gods.

While the Mogonye community largely attaches spiritual value in this manner, other stakeholders, especially the spiritual churches, traditional doctors and herbalists also attach spiritual value to this site in their own ways.

Other stakeholder values

Other than values attached to the gorge mainly by the local community of Mogonye and the DNMM, other stakeholders have also attached different values to the site. During the management planning process in 2006-2007, one of the authors, Dichaba, observed many fire places in the gorge and also on several occasions came across spiritual church people performing rituals in the gorge. These people come from as far as Gaborone to perform the rituals. According to one of these people, he preferred to collect water that is still and again preferred to have his own locale where he performs his rituals. He felt that he could not use a fireplace that had already been used by someone else, since that area might defile his rituals. This probably attests to the reason why there are many fireplaces along the gorge. Sometimes people stay overnight to perform their rituals. This violates the taboo of the community of Mogonye, where no one is allowed to stay overnight in the gorge, let alone to make fire in the gorge.

Another spiritual leader we met said that the 'spirit' guides him to some areas in the gorge, where he either uses the mud, water and the shale (depending on how the spirit guides him) to help his clients. Another practice we observed was the throwing of coins at particular areas. The throwing of coins at some specific areas in heritage sites is a form of ritual (Ndoro 2005). Its occurrence in some areas at MmaMotshwane Gorge may signify the sacredness of the gorge to some stakeholders who may not necessarily be from Mogonye community.

After the launch of the ecotourism project at MmaMotshwane Gorge, church people still visit the gorge in large numbers. According to Kgosi Bose Bose of Mogonye and his assistants (personal communication 2009), they encourage church people to go through the local bogosi leadership when visiting the gorge. They made the plea clear during the launch, and extended the request to Balete dikgosana who attended the launch. Despite this, some people still go to the gorge without the knowledge of the village elders and leadership. As one person said to Tsholofelo Dichaba, one of the authors, what he does in the gorge is between him and his God and does not need the next person to know since it is a secret and sacred (personal communication July 2009).

Other than church people, the community of *Mogonye* indicated that *sangomas* are continually visiting the gorge and accuse them of harvesting the fern at Ko-Puleng and causing it to spread throughout the gorge. Though others point an accusing finger at *sangomas* for the spread of the fern in the gorge, others believe it was dispersed by heavy rainfalls. The spread of the fern can be attributed to various agencies which include water and humans. There is general agreement within the community members, however, that the *sangomas* harvest the fern for its sacredness. We have never seen or come across any *sangoma* during our site visits. However, we have observed uprooted aloes thrown in a pool next to *Ko-Puleng*. This could be the work of *sangomas*, or herbalists and/or traditional doctors since MmaMotshwane Gorge is an ecological habitat to many of the medicinal plants for the herbalists and the traditional doctors from the village and surrounding areas. Interestingly, we noticed that *sangomas* buy pots from the area to use for ritual purposes. The other worrying factor is the splashing of the pools with some material that looks ashy, probably as part of the rituals performed in the gorge by those stakeholders who attach spiritual value to the site. All these are now becoming an eyesore to the tourists who are looking for pristine authentic places.

Other than the spiritual practitioners, another group that is said to affect the value of the site is the firewood collectors from Ramotswa. This activity angers the community of Mogonye as it further degrades the environmental status of the gorge and goes against the taboo of not collecting firewood from the gorge. It may be pointed out that to the people of Ramotswa, the gorge is of economic value as it provides them with much needed fuel.

In order to integrate these values and have a proper management of the site, Dichaba (2007:31) suggested that, 'the board of trustees [for Mogonye MmaMotshwane Conservation Trust] should have comprehensive conservation guidelines for all users of the site'. To achieve this, the conservation area should be demarcated to allow the users to know the boundaries of the site; there should be written guidelines on the use of the site and an information board be erected on the site spelling out how the site should be used. This process should be participatory so that the concerned stakeholders may voice their concerns. Though this is a plausible suggestion, it should be noted that dealing with sacred landscapes is much more challenging as traditional doctors, herbalists and church people are not willing to expose their intellectual property rights and secrets to anyone.

The DNMM should therefore explore some possibilities on how best to deal with the spiritual value of the site, for example, engaging in a nationwide campaign through the media for all the users of the site to come forth to the DNMM without fear and in confidence. This will assist in determining the type of stakeholders to engage. This will include indicating how they use the site, how to improve management and sustainable methods to collect plants for livelihood, The common practice of trying to discourage local communities from cutting trees for firewood and medicinal purposes among others is not sustainable. Local communities have used the area over many years using ritual exclusions to maintain the environment. This is so as these stakeholders sneak into the gorge and do whatever they want without the community knowing. Some of these stakeholders, as one pastor we met indicated, are fearful of community members and will not want to come out into the open.

As for the rituals where fires are lit and stakeholders spending nights in the gorge, not only do

they go against the taboos of the local community, but their fires pose a threat to the authenticity of the site as any outbreak will change the presentation and interpretation of the site. However, during the visit to the gorge, we met some stakeholders who had lit fires and were performing their rituals. These stakeholders did not have any problems collecting only water from the gorge and performing the rituals elsewhere. However, the pastor who took his clients there could only say he was guided by the 'spirit' and that he has no control over that spirit. This becomes a challenge on how to deal with such issues, as one cannot merely dismiss the pastor. However, it should be noted that the gorge is his 'heritage' too. It is his 'heritage'!

Other than these values being problematic to manage, the Mogonye landscape also remains contested between the two settlements. During the management planning process, only one or two people from Mogonye wa Kgophu attended Kgotla meetings. One man indicated that they had their own spring (*Kgophu ya ga Marete*) and that it was the spring they identified with, and not MmaMotshwane Gorge. We therefore argue, that MmaMotshwane Gorge remains a negative heritage to the community of Mogonye wa Kgophu. We attribute this to the history of conflict regarding chieftainship (*bogosi*) which resulted in the village being divided into two settlements.

The tourists may also be problematic to the community even though for now there are not many problems. At Manonnye Gorge (popularly known as Moremi Gorge) in Tswapong tourists attach a leisure value to the pools and tend to swim in them and this offends the community (Dichaba 2006a, 2009). If this happens at MmaMotshwane Gorge, the tourists would be threatening the aquatic life in the pools and they would need to be effectively managed too by the custodians who are already hired by the DNMM.

Conclusion

From this discussion on integrating the values attached to the MmaMotshwane Gorge, it can be concluded that the management of the values is not an easy task for the DNMM and that the economic value (in terms of ecotourism) will always supersede others. However, it is the role of the DNMM to manage all these values and ensure that MmaMotshwane Gorge is a heritage for all. The DNMM and the community of Mogonye do not speak with one voice regarding heritage values. A Balance of values is key to integrating the management of the site for future generations to study, enjoy unblemished heritage sites.

Heritage practitioners owe it to collective stakeholders to ensure that heritage tourism incorporates positive values of all to ensure conservation and not destruction and disappearance of the site. We have much to learn from local communities in Botswana by looking beyond our theoretical and scientific approaches to cultural heritage management.

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