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**Culture, Heritage and the Politics of Identity in National and Tribal
Spaces: the city and the traditional village in Botswana**

By

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Abstract

Studies into architecture in Botswana posit that architecture in the capital city- Gaborone is a result of the imposition of British culture received through the historical conditions of colonisation and independence. This study seeks to go beyond this generalisation by examining architecture in Botswana, grounded in the construction of national and ethnic cultural identities, a sense of history, the idea of culture and its implication on space. It explores the relationship between identity politics and architecture. It traces various postcolonial identity-making practices in the city and traditional villages, which I argue, reveal a scenario whereby identities are re-interpreted and re-inscribed as part of the process of postcolonial manifestations of identities in space. Gaborone was planned as a capital city during the transition to self-rule and was envisioned as a mirror image of a nation, this process involved a search for postcolonial national identity and nation-building imperative. By analysing the archival documents and case study material on the city's planning legacy in relation to the socio-political context, I argue that these material facts provide a lens through which the representative spaces of the nation and state can be critically examined. I suggest that the process of envisioning the city is far more complex and nuanced than it is usually portrayed in literature, and it entails the negotiation between design professionals, the extant Tswana political elite, and colonial administrative officers. The study traces the persistence of national identity construction within the post-colonial period in the urban spaces. It illustrates that the spaces provide a platform where the national

culture and identity is being formed, promoted, legitimised and consumed through national institutions and cultural activities such as markets and performances. In contrast, the recent ethnic cultural consciousness amongst ethnic communities presents a contrasting case of the construction of culturally derived identities. The analysis of the historic core of the village traces how the ethnic group of Bakgatla is constructing their own cultural spaces by examining historical and cultural landscapes of the Phuthadikobo cultural precinct and the Moruleng cultural precinct. The study argues that the built environment in postcolonial Botswana should be examined in connection with the wider socio-political changes; in this regard, the study draws theoretical insights from cultural studies, colonial, nationalism and postcolonial studies. It makes a contribution to the recent literature on architecture in postcolonial countries, which seeks to go beyond the perspective of colonial power representation as domination, but the constant negotiation between actors and practices. Additionally, it contributes to the conceptualisation of architecture and urbanism in relation to the construction of identities and meaning.

Contents

Abstract	i
Contents	iii
List of Figures	iv
Abbreviations	xiii
Glossary	xiv
Acknowledgements	xvi
Chapter 1 Introduction and concepts	I
Chapter 2 History and context of Botswana: the making of a nation during the colonial period and post-independence	37
Chapter 3 The Imagined Capital City and the cultural legacy of planning a post-colonial capital	73
Chapter 4 The heart of the city and the pursuit for national monuments	137
Chapter 5 Heritage, culture and a sense of continuity with the past in Mochudi tribal space	195
Chapter 6 Recreating pre-colonial monuments and the desire for cultural monuments	244
Chapter 7: Identity politics and the consequence	285
Bibliography	309
Appendices	347

List of figures

Figure 1.0: This map shows the location of the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela villages and districts in Botswana and South Africa, as well as the location of Gaborone (source: edited from Google maps and <http://d-maps.com>)

Figure 1.1: The image shows Moruleng Heritage Precinct with different spaces and buildings that are re-interpreted as part of the Bakgatla community's construction of identity. (Source: taken by author in 2015).

Figure 1.2: The first image shows a panorama of the *kgotla* in Mochudi. It shows the existing vernacular and colonial heritage. These buildings are smaller and have a sensitive relation to the existing context. The second image shows a proposed *kgotla* arena structure which is not sensitive to place and can be read as part of identity politics. (Source: with permission of CPM Architects)

Figure 1.3: The courtyard in the centre of the museum in Gaborone consists of vernacular huts as part of the 'tribal cultural symbols' and vernacular architecture representation. (Source: taken by author in 2015).

Figure 2.1: This map indication of Cape to Cairo railway proposals (Source: <http://www.digitalhistoryproject.com/2012/06/africa-building-cape-to-cairo-railroad.html>)

Figure 2.2: The map of southern Africa showing the countries under the British control in grey and others as indicated. Some countries like South Africa fell into the hand of different colonial powers (Source: <http://d-maps.com/c> and edited by author)

Figure 2.3: This map shows the approximate areas of how different tribal groups occupied land in Africa (Source: George Peter Murdock, *Africa: It's People and Their Culture History*, New York and London: 1897)

Figure 2.4: The map of Botswana illustrates the delineation of the territory into Crownland, Freehold and Tribal Reserves (Source: collected from Survey and Mapping office in Gaborone Botswana)

Figure 2.5: Gaborone Reserve was surrounded by farm land and the Batlokwa Territory (Source: collected from Botswana National Archives, file: Town Planning Gaborones Village, 1962, file reference no: S73 .2 .2)

Figure 2.6: Old prison fort is one on the remnant buildings of Gaborone Township (Source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 2.7: Old Resident Commissioner House now converted into artist centre. (Source:<http://www.transartists.org/air/thapong-visual-art-centre>)

Figure 2.8: Old Gaborone store during the 1940s (Source: Botswana National Archives.)

Figure 2.9: A plan of Gaborone Township in 1946 (Source: Botswana National Archives, file: *Town Planning Gaberones Village*, file reference no: S73 .2 .2)

Figure 2.10: Mochudi *kgotla* in 1907 showing the cluster of huts (Source: Grant Sandy, *The Transition from village to town*, p. 6)

Figure 2.11: A typical Tswana Village showing the different spatial relations. Basimane ward in Serowe village Botswana in 1969 (Source: Kathryn Fewster, *The potential of analogy in post-processual archaeologies: a case study from Basimane ward, Serowe Botswana*, pp. 72)

Figure 2.12: The older traditional pattern is still evident in Mochudi today as illustrated in the image above. (Source: Ariel photograph take from Surveys and Mapping, 2015, Gaborone, Botswana, edited by author)

Figure 3.1: The first plan was drawn in 1961 and focused on designing the capital along the most "classic examples" (source Botswana National Archives, collected from file Town Planning Gaberones New Township, file no: S. 74.1)

Figure 3.2: The PWD Second Draft plan of 1962 proposed the capital city based on the dominance of the government complex approach along a tree-lined processional avenue. (Source: the National archives in London, file collected, Development of a Capital Township, file reference no: CO 1048.253).

Figure 3.3: The AA master plan proposed a linear town arranged along west-east axis (source: collected from The transfer of Government headquarters from Mafeking, file reference no: MSS. Afr. s. 1256, from University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Commonwealth and African Collections)

Figure 3.4: The residential unit model as proposed by the AA plan. (Obtained from the BNA archives in Gaborone, file reference no: S74-1)

Figure 3.5: The plan of the residential areas as prepared by the AA student project indicate the in-ward looking houses with courtyards in the centre (obtained from Interbuild Magazine, May 1962, page 22)

Figure 3.6: The AA plan proposed an egalitarian civic precinct in its linear form - the precinct and plaza is a powerful form of representative space of the nation through its inclusion of other civic activities (source: drawn by author based on a drawing collected from, AA archives: Otto Koeingsberger Collections, box no: 10)

Figure 3.7: The final plan of Gaborone combined the linear Mall, Government Enclave and the Radburn residential areas (source: Botswana National archives, collected from Town Planning: Gaberones New Township, file reference no: S 74.1)

Figure 3.8: The pedestrian enclave and (source: Gerald Bennet Dix, 'Gaberones', Journal of Town and Planning Institute, page 291)

Figure 3.9: Buildings in the Main showing the character of the open squares (source, Best Alan C. G., Gaberones: the problems and prospects of a new capital, The Geographical Review page 7)

Figure 3.10: This house was typical of houses in high-income residential zones (source: Best Alan C. G., Gaberones: the problems and prospects of a new capital, The Geographical Review page 7)

Figure 3.11: Low cost Housing in the Southern part of the city (Source: Dix, G. B., Gaberones, Journal of the Town Planning Institute, page no 292)

Figure 3.12: Housing in Old Naledi, which developed because of the labour camps, which developed in the northern part of the city (source: Building in hot climates: a selection of overseas building notes, 1980, page 9)

Figure 3.13: Residential areas showing the road layout and pedestrian ways (source: Development of Capital 2, file reference no: CO 1048.253, collected from the National Archives in London)

Figure 3.14: A satellite view of Gaborone in 1975 showing the location of Old Naledi towards the industrial area. (Source: adapted by author and take from the Department of Survey and Mapping in Gaborone, Botswana)

Figure 4.1 The Ariel view of Gaborone in 1966 showing the Government Enclave in the foreground and the Main shopping mall in the centre while shopping mall is in the middle (Source: Kutlwano Magazine online)

Figure 4.2: This picture shows the Main Mall in the centre in the 1970s with building heights ranging between one to four storeys (Source: Collected from the Botswana National Archives Gaborone)

Figure 4.3: An elevation of Government offices showing the character of 1970s architecture and it was designed by PWD architects (Source; Kutlwano magazine, 1966 p. 18)

Figure 4.4: A 3d impression of one of the shops and office space in the pedestrian mall (Source: Kutlwano magazine, 1966, p.18)

Figure 4.5: This picture shows one of the squares used for a public performance in the Main Mall in 1997. (Source: with permission from Zoran Markovich)

Figure 4.6: This picture shows one of the squares used by activists in 1997 (Source: with permission from Zoran Markovich)

Figure 4.6: This map shows listed buildings in the capital core where figures (4.7 and 4.8.) were taken (source: Google maps and redrawn by author)

Figure 4.7 and 4.8: These two Monuments commemorate World War and the soldiers who died in Lesoma village (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

Figure 4.9: The plaza in front of the National Assembly was used for independence celebrations in 1966 (Source: The Botswana Daily News)

Figure 4.10: The Independence Arch is one of the monuments in the capital core (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

Figure 4.11: The statue of Sir Seretse Khama in front of the National assembly (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

Figure 4.12: This map shows listed buildings and the newly renovated buildings. The distribution of vendors is also indicated. (Source: Edited by author from google maps.)

Figure 4.13 and 4.14: The mid-1960s architecture as shown in the post office building and the pedestrian ways in front elevations of the shopping mall. Places where these pictures were taken are demonstrated in the plan (1 and 2). (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

Figure 4.15: Newly refurbished buildings are dressed in aluminium cladding (source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

Figure 4.16: The central squares in the Main Mall are used as cultural markets. (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

Figure 4.17: The plan shows the appropriation of space by vendors. Figure 4.18: is taken at position 1, figure 4.18 is taken at number 2 and figure 4.19 is taken at number 3. (Source: google maps edited by author)

Figure 4.19: The central square appropriated by vendors with temporary structures. (Source: taken by author in 2016)

Figure 4.20: Pedestrian walkways are also appropriated by vendors. (Source: taken by author in 2016)

Figure 4.21: The National Assembly in 1966. The building was a much smaller version as compared to the current building (Source: Kutlwano Magazine online)

Figure 4.22: The National Assembly in 1966 (Source: Kutlwano Magazine online)

Figure 4.23: The recent extension added a bell tower and simply replicated the earlier building (source: Arup Journal, New General Chamber, National Assembly, p. 43)

Figure 4.24: The national Assembly building on approach (source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

Figure 4.25: The Design emphasised improving the vista between the two seats of power, the National Assembly and the City Hall as the sketch indicates (Source: Jo Noero Architects)

Figure 4.26: The proposal added a new block at the rear and maintained the National Assembly building (Source: Jo Noero Architects)

Figure 4.27 and 4.28: Proposals for the National Assembly (Source: Jo Noero Architects)

Figure 4.29: The new bank notes show the National Assembly building. (Source: taken by author in 2017)

Figure 4.30: The National Assembly forms an important part of public memory as shown in the older coins. (Source: <https://en.numista.com/catalogue/pieces23188.html>)

Figure 4.31: Older postal stamps with the National Assembly building (Source: http://www.bechuanalandphilately.com/Botswana_Commemoratives_1966_1992.html)

Figure 4.32: The traditional hut in the National Museum showing the vernacular architecture from the Bakgatla tribe (Source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 4.33: Bambukushu traditional vernacular was built to represent the diversity of ethnic cultural identities in Botswana (Source: <http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/9549670@N05/tags/traditionalarchitecture/>)

Figure 4.34: An illustration of a vernacular traditional hut in the publication by the National Museum (Source: Visit the Traditional Hut at the National Museum, p5)

Figure 5.1: Photograph of Mochudi in the 1930s, viewed towards Phuthadikobo hill (source: Isaac Schapera, *Picturing the Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, p.67)

Figure 5.2: Cape Dutch Colonial architecture in Mochudi (source: Isaac Schapera, *Picturing the Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, p.67)

Figure 5.3: The transitional life pattern of moving between the three settlements is still practised in Botswana today with the main residence as the town or village (Source: *Handbook for Botswana*, Swedeplan, p15)

Figure 5.4: This example shows a new road layout laid in a similar village in Kanye (Source: *Handbook for Botswana*, Swedeplan p14)

Figure 5.5: The approximate location of different buildings in the kgotla in the 1930s is shown in a lighter grey colour. From this original layout only two preserved hut structures still exist. (Source: Drawn by author following Schapera's sketch)

Figure 5.6: A sketch showing the kgotla in the 1900s with royal houses surrounding the main open space in the centre (source: redrawn by author based on the sketch by Schapera c. 1900 collected from Sandy Grant).

Figure 5.7: Historic core of Mochudi, (source: Nabeel Essa)

Figure 5.8: Phuthadikobo museum on top of Phuthadikobo Hill (Source: Phuthadikobo Museum)

Figure 5.9: Bakgatla National School in the 1930s showing the gable-end form and veranda in the front. (Source: obtained from the private archives of Sandy Grant)

Figure 5.10: Bakgatla National School in the 1930's showing the gable-end form and veranda in the front (source: obtain from the private archives of historian, Sandy Grant) and figure 5.10 shows the restored museum (source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 5.11: in a survey of architecture in Botswana during the colonial period, Herold redrew the Phuthadikobo museum building shown in this drawing (source: Harmut Herold, *Historical Buildings in Botswana: Along the Museum Route*, p12)

Figure 5.12 The Kgotla now consists of the structures indicated in the figure above; from this, we can see the significant transformation of the kgotla. The open space is still used for tribal gathering (Source: Nabeel Essa)

Figure 5.13: Dilapidated kgosi Kgamanyane's house (Source: Bakgatla Heritage Scoping Report)

Figure 5.14: Tribal Police office building is opposite Kgamanyane's house (source: taken by author in 2015). These buildings are part of colonial heritage.

Figure 5.15: tribal authority building (tribal authority office building is considered by the community as part of the built heritage but it is not listed), (source: Kutlwano Magazine online).

Figure 5.16: Two traditional hut structures owned and preserved by the Phuthadikobo Museum are located next to the foundation slab of an unfinished kgotla arena, and are presented as examples of traditional Bakgatla vernacular architecture, (source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 5.17: DRC church building (source: taken by author 2015)

Figure 5.18: Mochudi kgotla in 1907 showing people gathered in kgotla defined by houses and other structures (Source: www.visualphotoes.com)

Figure 5.19: Kgotla structure in 1976 was a small thatched pavilion and the open gathering space was still maintained (Source: Grant 1973, p6)

Figure 5.20: Kgotla in Mochudi with a temporary structure on top of the foundation (picture taken by author in 2015)

Figure 5.21: The kgotla thatched pavilion during one of the community meetings (Source: CPM architects)

Figures 5.22: These pictures show the kgotla open thatched pavilion and the pavilion at the time it was demolished. (Source: Mmegi online).

Figure 5.23: The open space is used for cultural and political gatherings. This picture shows the kgotla gathering during the graduation ceremony of the initiates in 2008 (Source; The Kings Journal blog found at <https://kgosikgafelaiijournalbooks.wordpress.com/the-kings-moments/>.)

Figure 5.24: South and North Elevations of the proposed modern offices in the kgotla (Source: Sectaf Architects Gaborone)

Figure 5.25: A rendered 3D model showing the new kgotla amphitheatre in relation to the setting (Source: CPM architects, Gaborone)

Figure 5.26: South and North elevations showing the thatched amphitheatre (Source: CPM Architects, Gaborone)

Figure 5.27: The plan of the *kgotla* amphitheatre showing the seating layout that was designed to emulate how the tribal gatherings (Source: CPM Architects, Gaborone)

Figure 5.28: The site plan shows the new amphitheatre foundation that is not completed, the demolished listed original cattle kraal, and the demolished residence. (Source: redrawn by author)

Figure 6.1: Late 1930s picture showing the DRC church and first school in Moruleng (Source: <http://www.totem-media.net>)

Figure 6.2: In 1998, the tribal school building was converted into a cultural museum-Mphebatho museum. The walls were painted in cultural pattern (Source: Mphebatho Museum)

Figure 6.3 and 6.4: The traditional motifs are similar to the ones found in the traditional huts in Mochudi (Source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 6.5: Traditional decorations are usually done by women (Source: Isaac Schapera, *Picturing the Colonial Past*, page 78)

Figure 6.6: A Panoramic view of the Precinct showing the combination of the reconstructed Iron Age settlement and colonial heritage buildings (Source: Nabeel Essa)

Figure 6.7: Site Plan of the Moruleng Heritage Precinct (Source: Nabeel Essa)

Figure 6.8: Dilapidated DRC church before restoration (Source: Lee Burger, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela: Design Proposal' (University of Pretoria, November 2006, p 18)

Figure 6.9: Interior on the newly restored DRC church, described as: "The Dutch Reform Church restoration into an exhibition and event space plays with textures of the original brick left unplastered against new insertions. Source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 6.10: The DRC church has been restored, repainted white with a red roof (Source: Nabeel Essa)

Figure 6.11 and 6.12: The external walls are decorated in lekgapho patterns and the interior corridor of the museum uses a wall paper with lekgapho references (Source: Nabeel Essa)

Figure 6.13 and 6.14: The first exhibition room uses lekgapho on the exhibition wall installation and the external walls (Source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 6.15: This exhibition wall is meant to symbolise the culture of farming. It is said to symbolise 'ploughing and the role of women in growing food and sustaining life. (Source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 6.16: This second room focuses on the history of the Bakgatla in South African History (Source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 6.17: The sketch of the kgotla and the precinct showing the idea of the tree as a symbol of the kgotla (Source: Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I, p 42)

Figure 6.18: The amphitheatre roof uses patterns derived from the lekgapho pattern (Source: taken by author in 2015)

Figure 6.19: The recreated layout of the pre-colonial settlement selectively creates certain aspects of the archaeological regarded as symbolic. (Source: Nabeel Essa)

Figure 6.20: The walls are built to portray an impression of a dry stone traditional wall construction (Source: Nabeel Essa)

Figure 6.21: The hut was built as a metaphor and a representation of a traditional hut. It does not any traditional techniques (Source: taken by author in 2015)

Abbreviations

AA – Architectural Association

BBKTA - Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela Tribal Authority

ICH-Intangible Cultural Heritage

NMAG -National Museum Art and Gallery

PWD - Public Works Department

UNESCO-United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Glossary

Kgotla – refers to the open space in the centre of the royal ward used for cultural gatherings.

Kgosi – refers to the tribal ‘chief.’ The word *kgosi* is normally used as a title before the name of the tribal chief.

Lekgapho – refers to a decoration patterns used on traditional vernacular architecture.

Motswana – refers to people from Botswana or who identify with Tswana ethnic cultural groups.

Tswana- is used for example to refer to the ‘Tswana identity’. In Botswana the prefix ‘an’ is sometimes used (for example Botswanan) but it is not used in Setswana lexicon.

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I Introduction and concepts

Introduction

History suggests that architecture represents a sense of identity, particularly during significant historical moments such as the national independence and the transition from a colonial to a postcolonial state. Within any power transition, whether from colonial to independence, or monarchy to democracy, the built environment is subject to 'radical or gradual'¹ change where identity construction reflects the new political order. Indeed, countries emerging from colonisation become preoccupied with self-representation to the world and to the nation, to promote nation-building and national identity. In this context, the capital city is often considered as a site for national identity

¹ Yi-Wen Wang and Tim Heath, 'Construction of National Identity: A Tale of Twin Capital Building in Early Post-War Taiwan', *Taiwan in Comparative Perspective*, 2 (2008), 21. pp21-46

representation.² A growing body of literature has explored the role of identity through the architecture of former colonial cities. These studies have focused mainly on seminal and cosmopolitan cities such as Delhi, Chandigarh, Islamabad, Abuja, Dodoma and have generally ignored smaller, less well-known cities. This research gap is evident in Botswana since no critical architectural literature exists on either the creation of the new capital city, Gaborone, or indigenous architecture in general.³ I realised this when I was involved in preparing for the Shenzhen Biennale *Six Planned Cities under 60 Years Old* in 2011, of which Gaborone featured alongside Almere (Netherlands), Brasilia (Brazil), Chandigarh (India) and Shenzhen (China). At this time, no extensive secondary critical literature existed to consult on the nation's architecture and planning. Instead, studies addressing architecture and planning in Botswana have focused on urban management policies, urban sprawl and urbanisation,⁴ and little attention has been given to linking socio-cultural and political dimensions to the physical qualities of urban planning and architecture.

The pursuit for self-representation in Botswana can be traced to the political transition to independence in 1966, particularly through the creation of Gaborone as a capital city. Six years prior to independence, plans got under way to build a new capital from scratch. Little has been written about the actual planning for the city or the people who were involved, apart from the suggestion that the city was planned by a group of unknown British civil servants for the new nation. Gaborone is a unique case study in the history of capital cities, because for those who were involved in its planning it was to be a 'non-racial city', and this suggested notion of nation building and the need to define and construct a new identity for the new nation. The concept of a 'non-racial' city as part of the identity of the new nation is repeatedly, referenced in

² L. A. Gordon Ed. David, *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, (New York: Routledge, 2006).

³ The study of vernacular architecture was initially recorded by Anita Larsson in the 1980s, see A. Larsson, 'Traditional Tswana Housing', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 17 (1985). However, since then there are no critical studies into architecture.

⁴ Recent studies on Gaborone include Mogopodi Lekorwe, 'The Politics of Urban Governance and Management in Gaborone', *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 12 (1998). pp 69-84, Branko Cavric and Marco Keiner, 'Managing Development of a Rapidly Growing African City: A Case of Gaborone, Botswana', (2006). pp 1-21, Robson M. K. Silitshena, 'Urbanization in Botswana', *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 38 (1984). pp 111-128, Faustin Kalabamu and Benjamin Bolaane, 'Rapid Urbanisation and Housing Transformations in Tlokweng Botswana', in *World SB 4*, (Barcelona, 28th and 30th October 2014), pp. 1-14.

literature on the history of the city, and this raises questions on what this means the precise definition of the term and how these ideas were to manifest themselves in the city and whether these would translate into a successful representation of the nation? Newspapers at the time portrayed the creation of this new capital city as an exemplary model for racial harmony, to be addressed through urban planning and architecture.⁵ Amongst other things, national identity was framed on the idea that the city should be modern to mark a literal break from existing and organic traditional village forms. In the same vein, the postcolonial period in Botswana is characterised by the desire to represent national identity and the identity politics draw on heritage and memory to inform a new sense of identity derived from pre-colonial history, ethnic cultural identities national narratives and myths. In this regard Gaborone is currently charged with the task of representing a unified national identity, while the tribal villages are meant to represent tribal identities and differences.

This study explores the relationship between the politics of identity in relation to architecture and planning, and the transformation of heritage in national and tribal spaces. It focuses on the divergent ways in which different aspects of identity are politicised to define what Stuart Hall calls a new sense of 'becoming' than being. Hall's theory suggests that identities are not essentialist but dynamic,⁶ and are often informed by the discourses constructed in relation to the desire to articulate a sense of cultural difference, meanings associated with different histories, traditions and architectures and the process of constructing collective identities that is always in flux.

A study of national and tribal spaces in Botswana brings to light a set of pertinent issues to be addressed. Botswana presents itself as a mono-ethnic

⁵ A Special Correspondent, 'A Supplement on the Republic of Botswana: A New Capital Rises in the Desert', *The Times London*, (Friday September 30th 1966); 'Gaborone Developed as Capital City of the New State, Botswana', *Nashua Telegraph*, (Wednesday 9th November 1966); D. A. Greig, 'British 'Capitalize' Bechuanaland', *The Christian Science Monitor*, (December 29th 1962); Unknown, 'Gaborone Will Be a Modern Town', *African Echo*, (1962).

⁶ Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), pp. 1-17.

nation.⁷ However, postcolonial societies are multi-ethnic and have multiple identities, and in this case, identities are tied to both homeland and cultural background.⁸ Similarly, postcolonial scholarship asserts that the nation is not homogenous and this notion is particularly relevant in Botswana where the urban landscape is organised in a two-tier urban system of the capital city (as an image of nation) and the urban village (which is central to the cultural identity of individual tribal groups).¹¹

The capital city, Gaborone, was created as a mirror image of the 'imagined community'⁹ of the emerging nation in preparation for self-governance. It could therefore be argued that an 'imagined community' of Botswana was 'socially and historically constructed informed by political and cultural discourses'¹⁰, in the preparation for independence. Following the creation of Gaborone, there have been attempts to tackle the representation of national identity in the city. It will be argued that the process of planning the city and the capital core provides a lens through which to examine identity debates. The planning proposals for Gaborone were made by the government Public Works Department (PWD in Mafikeng) and the Architectural Association (the AA) school in London. These proposals illustrate the divergent ways in which national identity was envisioned and how these were interpreted in the context of the socio-political condition of the transition to independence including the desire to represent the new nation and the design considerations addressing the requirements of a capital city. The capital core is examined as an example of a place where the need to define the architecture and heritage of the city as part of narrating national histories and identity have been contested and negotiated by the public. Likewise, tribal village historic cores are examined to analyse how tribal communities attempt to construct an alternative sense of identity.

⁷ Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'Minority Tribes in Botswana: The Politics of Recognition', in *Minority Rights International*, (December 2008), pp. 2-16; Neil Parsons, 'The Evolution of the Modern Tswana: Historical Revisions', in *Evolution of Modern*

Botswana :Politics and Rural Development in Southern Africa, ed. by L. A Picard (Lincoln, Nebraska & London: Nebraska University Press & Rex Collins, 1985), pp. 26-29.

⁸ In Botswana people often identify with their tribal identities

⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 1991).

¹⁰ See for example the modern definition of the nation from Ibid.

Research Context

Botswana was formerly known as the Bechuanaland Protectorate under British colonial rule from 1885 to 1966. Given its strategic location in relation to colonial expansion by the Germans in Namibia and the Boers in South Africa, the British (who also occupied the northern part of South Africa - then British Bechuanaland - and Zimbabwe - then Southern Rhodesia), declared Botswana a British Protectorate. This decision centred on the importance of maintaining a corridor linking the southern and northern British interests in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. Under colonial rule, Botswana was a sub-colony to South Africa and it was therefore administered from Mafikeng.¹¹

Unlike its colonial counterparts, Botswana remained underdeveloped during the colonial period, and was ranked as one of the poorest countries in 1966 with a gross domestic product (GDP) of US\$70 per capita.¹² In terms of economic and infrastructure development¹³ very little was carried out by the colonial government. Instead the country was ruled through a bipartite system, where the tribal chiefs remained as the central political power with as resident commissioner representing the colonial government.

Following independence, significant economic growth occurred with the development of diamond mining, and the country experienced rapid physical development. The new capital city of Gaborone grew from being the modest village of 1887 that housed the headquarters of the colonial government to a modern capital. Between 1966 and 1996 Botswana was classified as the fastest growing country in the world, reaching a growth rate of 8.2%¹⁴. Independence in Botswana signified a pivotal time in its nation-building by bringing together different tribal groups into a single state through the construction of a nation. Gaborone city was therefore conceived as a mirror image of the nation.

¹¹ James Denbow and Phenyio Thebe, C., *Culture and Customs of Botswana*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), p. 1.

¹² United States Department of Commerce, 'Botswana', *Botswana*, (1990).

¹³ Monageng Mogalakwe, 'How Britain Underdeveloped Bechuanaland Protectorate: A brief Critique of the Political Economy of Colonial Botswana', *African Development*, XXXXI (2000).p 67

¹⁴ Aloysius C. Mosha, 'The City of Gaborone, Botswana: Planning and Management', *Ambio*, 25 (1996).

The "traditional village" is, nevertheless, the oldest form of settlement in Botswana and it plays a central role in the culture, heritage and identity of various tribal groups in the country. Before independence, Botswana did not have a city, and its villages were described individually as "large densely populated capitals."¹⁵ Mochudi village, for example, is a capital for one of the major tribal groups in the country - the Bakgatla.¹⁶ Established in 1871, the village was organised around the chiefly court – *kgotla* – *the gathering place for cultural activities and rituals*. Today, Mochudi retains traces of its past and culture, in its physical structure, with for example the retention of the *kgotla*, and the retention of its chieftainship. One of the major aims of the current national government is to urbanise tribal villages, since 44% of the population live in rural areas¹⁷, while preserving the diverse cultural heritage of each. As a result, traditional villages are under pressure to catch up to their modern counterparts - towns and cities - in providing both facilities and new infrastructure. The dichotomy posed by the transformation of such villages is that of reconciling forces of modern developments to the traditional fabric and character to maintain historic continuity and cultural identity. Moruleng village is located in South Africa and it was the first capital of the Bakgatla before they migrated to Mochudi. Unlike Mochudi, in Moruleng the traces of vernacular architecture and traditional village layout have disappeared, apart from the archaeological remains in a site not far from the village. The case studies of Mochudi and Moruleng focus on the architectural transformation of the traditional spaces known as the historic cores and these represent a contrasting case of the negotiation of identity to that of Gaborone.

¹⁵ I. Schapera, *Picturing a Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 61.

¹⁷ (Unpublished paper)Essy Baniassad, 'Urbanization in Rural Botswana: Modernity and Tradition, Complementarity or Contradiction?', in *Urbanization of Rural Settlements in Botswana*, (University of Botswana, 2012), p. 9.

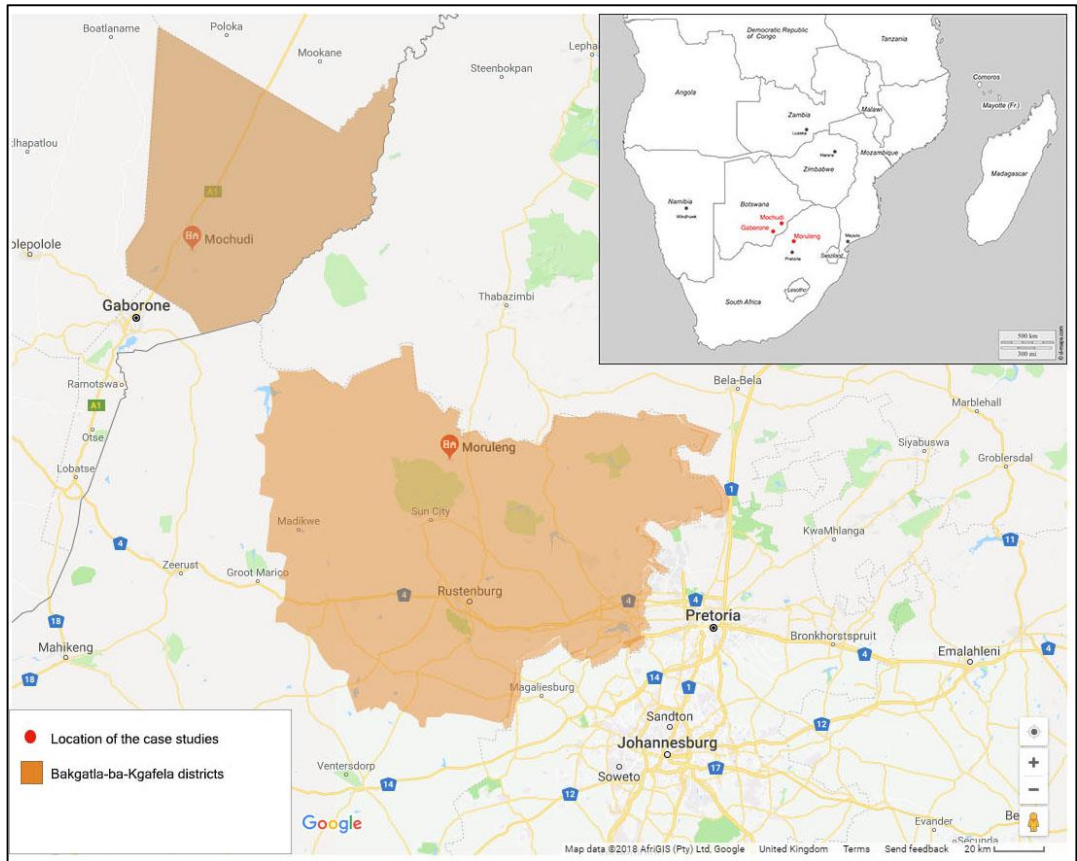


Figure 2:0: This map shows the location of the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela villages and districts in Botswana and South Africa, as well as the location of Gaborone (source: edited from Google maps and <http://d-maps.com>)

Research Aims

The aim of the study is to develop better insights into the relationship between the politics of identity and architecture by examining the national and tribal spaces in Botswana. As such, it aims to:

1. Trace the different identity politics through the case studies of selected national and tribal spaces.
2. Sketch a trajectory on the politics of identities. Thus, it seeks to contribute to the wider knowledge on the relationship of architecture and heritage to identity. It also sheds new light into recent architecture in Botswana, which has so far received less attention.

Research Questions

The study will address the politics of identity through of the following questions:

1. How have notions of identity continued to inform the postcolonial negotiation of place in national and tribal spaces? What role do these ideas on identities (cultural, colonial, and precolonial) play in the built environment beyond the construction of identities and identity politics?
2. How dual identities (national and tribal) made and practised negotiated in the city and in tribal spaces?
3. What is the impact of these identity-making practices on architecture?

Theoretical framework

A study of the politics of *identity, culture, heritage and architecture* in relation to the recent history brings several issues to the forefront. The first issue is to address how recent history on the architecture of postcolonial countries has been framed in literature. This chapter begins with a literature review on the approach to the architecture of postcolonial cities. It argues that the recent literature which explores the relationship of architecture and planning in postcolonial cities in relation to the negotiation of identity, social space, and culture have illuminated new lines of inquiry to explore architecture in them. It argues that histories on such cities should move beyond the emphasis of power over the colonised as well as the imposition of foreign cultural materials such as the modernism. Instead, literature emerging as part of the exploration of modernism, colonial and urbanism has argued that we need to explore the built environment in postcolonial cities in relation to the negotiation of space, exploring the actual process of how for example the conditions under which modernism was adopted, transformed, and

contested.¹⁸ While recent literature has explored modernism in relation to colonialism and post-colonialism there is a gap on how this architecture forms part of the heritage and identity politics in the contemporary context. Next, an exploration into the politics of identity requires the need to articulate how identity is viewed in the study. It discusses the question of identity in relation to the theoretical framework proposed by cultural theorists Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha. Dealing with heritage this study examined recent literature on heritage with a focus on values, histories, and authenticity.

Writing Recent Architectural Histories in Postcolonial Spaces and Cities

Scholars such as Spiro Kostof, Lewis Mumford and Hans Blumenfeld have dealt with questions of writing histories of architecture.¹⁹ These three historians have argued that urban form should be viewed as an "urban process", thus looking at the physical transformation of place through time.²⁰ To explain the physical structure of cities and the evolution of urban form scholars propose that change should be observed through the 'agents of change', as Kostof puts it. These agents of change are the forces and institutions which impact on urban forms.²¹ Kostof reminds us that urban fabric should not be viewed as fixed, since the initial shape and form continually undergo change as, for example, fortified city walls are pulled down and streets are altered or even erased. He proposes that urban form is a "cultural intent" and that therefore each city plan is specific to its context and the 'social

¹⁸ Jane Jacobs, *Edge of Empire [Electronic Resource] : Postcolonialism and the City*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 1996,); Kathleen James-Chakraborty, 'Beyond Postcolonialism: New Directions for the History of Nonwestern Architecture', *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, 3 (2014); Duanfang Lu, *Third World Modernism : Architecture, Development and Identity*, (New York : Routledge, 2010); Nihal Perera, 'Contesting Visions: Hybridity, Liminality and Authorship of the Chandigarh Plan', *Planning Perspectives*, 19 (2004).

¹⁹ Hans Blumenfeld, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Form', in *Internal Structure of the City: Readings on Urban Form, Growth and Policy*, ed. by Larry S. Bourne (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 47-56; S. Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

²⁰ Blumenfeld, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Form'; Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*, pp. 11-13; Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, (Great Britain: Pelican Books, 1961).

²¹ Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*.

premise of the designer.' For Kostof, urban form and the urban process can be understood through people and the institutions that they create. To understand the urban process, he argues we must consider:

*“Who designs the city? What procedures do they go through? What are the empowering agencies and laws?”*²²

In this way, he formulates a methodology, which uses social history and urban geography in combination to explain the internal structure of the city. The social historian's approach is criticised for not focusing precisely on the physical condition of things when writing about the city. Simultaneously, Kostof stresses that the focus for urban geographers is on the formulation of theories, using quantitative approaches and reductive diagrams as a representation of the city. While levelling criticism at the urban geography approach, he of reminds us that urban geographers enrich our understanding of urban form and structure of the city and he goes on to advocate an approach embracing a cultural perspective with the focus on ‘politics, social structure and the rituals of the city.’²³

Although this position opens up ideas about culture, politics and identity, Kostof has been criticised for his limitation to the periodisation of cities and the assertion that some cities are planned while others are unplanned or organic. Furthermore, his classical historical approach to architectural history has been criticised for emphasising architectural aesthetics, and omitting of vernacular architectures. Later architectural history has been criticised for making assumptions that modernism is a binary construct of centre/periphery conducted from the lens of the so-called “Eurocentric” approach.²⁴

Architectural studies emerging from in the 1980s on ward have opened new lines of inquiry on the history of former colonial cities. This group of studies can be divided into two categories. The first category examined the

²² Ibid. p. 11.

²³ Ibid. p. 10.

²⁴ Amongst the wealth of studies exploring architecture in the global South or former colonial countries, see for example Lu, *Third World Modernism : Architecture, Development and Identity*; Peter Scriver, Vikramaditya Prakash, and Prakash Vikramaditya, *Colonial Modernities : Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, (London: Routledge, 2007, 2007).

built environment in former colonial cities as a representation of colonial identity. A study that exemplifies this model, is that of King's early nineteenth-century-to-1947 study of Delhi. King looks at "social, political and cultural processes governing a type of urban development,"²⁵ and explains phases of colonial development resulting in the modification of the built environment to encompass military cantonment, residential areas for the colonial elite and the indigenous city (hill station). According to King's theory, the urban forms can be explained by examining what he calls the 'third culture' which arises as a result of indigenous and European cultural encounters.¹⁰ This study is however limited to colonial urban development and is viewed from the vantage point of the dominant colonial power as the main actors who 'perceived and modified 'the built environment 'according to the specific social, cultural and temporal categories' of the coloniser.²⁶ King's analysis of Delhi is framed by his own understanding and access to metropolitan cultural history, which as a result limits his interpretation to colonial development. Similar studies taking on other former colonial contexts²⁷ include Gwendolyn Wright and Paul Rainbow's examinations of French architecture and urbanism in African countries (Madagascar, Morocco and Algiers).²⁸ The two studies emphasise the colonial cities as laboratories of a colonial power's representation. Other studies exploring a similar line of inquiry come from the discipline of urban planning.²⁹ Robert Home has explored the role of colonial urban planning in various former British colonies.³⁰ This work offers a broad picture of urban planning from different political geographical locations. The role of racial

²⁵ P12 A.D. King, 'Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment', (Milton Park: Routledge, 1976), p. 12).

²⁶ Ibid. p. xiii.

²⁷ Other studies exploring the former Italian colonies include Mia Fuller, *Moderns Abroad : Architecture, Cities, and Italian Imperialism*, (London; New York : Routledge, 2007).

²⁸ L. Arizpe, 'Cultural Heritage and Globalisation', in *Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report*, ed. by E. Avrami, R. Manson, and Marta De la Torre (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2000), pp. 32-43; Paul Rabinow, *French Modern : Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

²⁹ Several studies have explored the role of colonial urban planning and racial policies in Africa in a book compilation edited by Fasil Demissie, Fasil Demissie, *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa : Intertwined and Contested Histories*, (Surrey, England: Burlington, VT : Ashgate, 2011)., Fasil Demissie, *Postcolonial African Cities : Imperial Legacies and Postcolonial Predicament*, (London: Routledge, 2009, 2009); Garth Andrew Myers, *Verandahs of Power: colonialism and Space in Urban Africa*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

³⁰ R. K. Home, *Of Planting and Planning : The Making of British Colonial Cities*, (London; E &F. N. Spon, 1997).

policies in colonial urban planning is also well known in literature.³¹ Scholarship extending this line of inquiry has examined and traced ways in which urban planning concepts were translated to different parts of the world under the themes of 'transnational diffusion of planning concepts' and the 'influence of garden cities planning models.'³²

With the increase of literature in the early 1990s calling for the need for studies to move beyond the emphasis of colonial power representation, new studies inspired by theoretical frameworks such as postcolonial framework, post-modern theory and feminism have emerged. Current studies on colonial and postcolonial architecture and urbanism have called for the analysis of the built environment with reference to the dimension of social space, politics, identity and culture. In consideration of the developing scholarship, there is an increasing move to consider not only how colonial power shaped the built environment, but also how it is shaped as a part of the negotiation between multiple actors. Studies from geography that have taken on theoretical insights from postcolonial studies include Brenda Yeoh's on the colonial built environment of Singapore. Brenda Yeoh has pointed out that, generally, approaches to writing on colonial cities have tended to privilege the cultural, social, political and economic aspects of the 'other' being the dominant group (colonisers). The colonial city for Yeoh should not be viewed as a product of dominant colonial forces, but rather a lived space where the built environment is shaped by conflict, negotiation and dialogue between the coloniser and the colonised.³³

Several architectural studies have illustrated the complex ways in which modernist architecture and urbanism were integral in the construction of

³¹ Ambe J. Njoh, 'Urban Planning as a Tool of Power and Social Control in Colonial Africa', *Planning Perspectives*, 24 (2009). p 301-317

³² *Garden Cities and Colonial Planning, Transnationality and Urban Ideas in Africa and Palestine*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2014); Myers, *Verandahs of Power: colonialism and Space in Urban Africa*.

³³ Brenda S. A Yeoh, *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore*, (Singapore: Singapore Press University, 2003).

national identity by the newly independent nation states.³⁴ Lawrence Vale who drew theoretical insights from studies in nationalism demonstrated this in the study of capital cities. As Vale has argued the expectations of a modern capital, in particular those capitals of postcolonial countries, is to be reflective of its new administration and national identity.³⁵ In the same spirit, Mark Crinson's examination of a range of case studies has traced connections of modernist architecture as part of the construction of national identity in both former colonies and the metropole.³⁶ Taking on the complex formations of culture and politics of postcolonial cities is Abidin Kusno, who explores architecture and urban form in postcolonial Indonesia under changing political regimes. Kusno's study looks at ways in which political cultures have been imagined and conceived through architecture and urban form in Jakarta, the capital. In a similar spirit to postcolonial spatial studies, Kusno's analysis of architecture and urban space reworks the Western binary constructs of writing history, by reframing postcolonial identity construction to reveal the agency of indigenous community in the inherited colonial landscape.³⁷ In this regard, modern architecture adopted during the regime of Sukarno's post-independence nation-building is not seen as a transplantation of Western style or International style, but rather a quest by political leaders to place Jakarta amidst world cities such as Cairo and Paris.³⁸ This is done by inscribing symbolic architectural forms that are representative of the society of which it is located, which involves the construction of monuments and the renaming of squares within the inherited colonial landscape.

Moreover, the modernism of the 1960s and the pursuit of development in postcolonial societies in Kusno's study are interpreted as 'an advanced architectural discourse' used to deviate from colonial underdevelopment. He draws the conclusion that architecture and urban design play a role in shaping

³⁴ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building [Electronic Resource] : Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, (Seattle: Seattle : University of Washington Press, c2001, 2001).

³⁵ Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, (United States: Yale University Press and London, 1992).

³⁶ Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

³⁷ Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial : Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia*, (London: Routledge, 2000).

³⁸ Ibid.

the political cultures, norms and forms of the society. At the same time he illuminates the way in which architecture and urban design contribute to the formation of collective identities by dealing with the real physical and spatial aspects of representation of colonial and postcolonial encounters, an account he argues is evidently missing from history and social science.³⁹ Representing architecture and urban design not as an exclusive subject dealing with aesthetics and the reordering of the physical built environment by professionals, this study brings forward the dimension of social space, politics, identity and culture, which Hayden has also echoed as missing from the architectural discipline.⁴⁰

Postcolonial framework

Postcolonial cultural critic, Homi K. Bhabha, contends that the process of postcolonial perspective occurs: "...when the colonized and the colonizer come together [and] there is an element of negotiation of cultural meaning."⁴¹ For postcolonial critics, the aim is to interpret the transformation of the urban built environment within the wider frame of contestation and negotiation over meaning and use between the colonised and the coloniser and by so doing not privileging the 'Other'⁴², or seeking to revalidate or the revive culture of the colonised.⁴³

The use of the term postcolonial in simple terms carries connotations of colonialism or imperialism.⁴⁴ It can also suggest negative memories of the colonial past; nonetheless, postcolonial theorists, writers and cultural critics view this as an indication of a different future by engaging an alternative

³⁹ Ibid. p. 67.

⁴⁰ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place - Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (United States: MIT Press, 1997), p. 8.

⁴¹ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture [Electronic Resource]*, [New ed.] / with a new preface by the author. edn (London: Routledge, 2004, 2004), p. 2.

⁴² Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu and Chong Thai Wong, *Postcolonial Space(S)*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997, 1997), p. 8.

⁴³ A. D. King, 'Postcolonial Cities', *Elsevier Inc*, (2009), 1-6.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 1.

discourse to investigate the urban history of cities.⁴⁵ The prefix 'post-' to colonial in reference to cities and history is not to be taken literally. Instead Yeoh emphasises that what is labelled as postcolonial must be "teased out on the basis of specific historical and social circumstances for each is a product of a different postcolonial moment."⁴⁶ The use of postcolonial to refer to previous political status of formerly decolonised countries is emphasised by Jane Jacobs for being less useful.⁴⁷ Postcolonial refers to particular critical perspectives and subject positions. The postcolonial subject position is employed as an alternative framework and discourse, which analyses spatial development resulting from colonisation and the impact of colonisation on the society, economy and culture of the colony. This discourse developed in the 1970s within humanities and literary studies, rejecting and challenging Eurocentric ways of writing history from the Enlightenment period onward that privileges the history of the 'Other' while subaltern voices of the indigenous populations are silenced.⁴⁸ For both the architecture and urban planning disciplines, a postcolonial discourse framework was slow to gain traction. This development has been attributed to the nature of spatial studies as being Western cultural products, thus inscribed with the so-called 'Western interpretations.'⁴⁹

Proponents of a postcolonial framework in architectural studies argue that the central aim of the discourse is to redress the prevalent imbalance between 'Self' and 'Other' portrayed in ways history has been written and interpreted. However, this is not to be seen as an opportunity for cultural revivalism and the propagation of architectural pluralism. A postcolonial framework has been used in architectural studies from different vantage points.

⁴⁵ Anthony D. King, 'Postcolonialism, Representation and the City', in *A Companion to the City*, ed. by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 658; Nalbantoglu and Wong, *Postcolonial Space(S)*.

⁴⁶ Brenda S. A. Yeoh, 'Postcolonial Cities', *Progress in Human Geography*, 25 (2001); Yeoh, *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore*, p. 464.

⁴⁷ Jacobs, *Edge of Empire [Electronic Resource] : Postcolonialism and the City*.

⁴⁸ Jyoti Hosangrahar, 'Interrogating Difference: Postcolonial Perspectives in Architecture and Urbanism', in *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory*, (London: SAGE, 2013), pp. 70-83; Nalbantoglu and Wong, *Postcolonial Space(S)*.

⁴⁹ Anthony D. King, 'Postcolonialism, Representation and the City', in *A Companion to the City*, ed. by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 658 .

It inspired scholars to write architectural histories, which include the inscription of 'other' and subjugated histories and identities. Indian scholars took up this challenge to write inclusive histories from below under the subaltern studies influenced by the works of Gayatri Charavorty Spivak⁵⁰ and Ranajit Guha in the 1980s. This work calls for urban studies to bring to the forefront histories of people who were not included, particularly non-Euro-American histories as well as the nuanced ways in which the marginalised people negotiate their own spaces.⁵¹ Following this line of inquiry Yat Mong Loo has explored ways in which the Malayan Chinese negotiate their own identity through the preservation of their own heritage in the landscape of Kuala Lumpur with its predominantly Malay representation.⁵² In this study, the emphasis on race and racial differences in the construction or representational spaces in the city is addressed.

A postcolonial framework has also influenced architectural scholarship, which examines the development of modern architecture in non-Western contexts. By drawing on the concept of hybridity from Homi Bhabha⁹ these studies are concerned with the unsettling idea of modernity as a cultural imposition on the colonised population. In the book, *Bhabha for Architects*, Filipe Hernández warns that the word hybridity does not mean the mixing of different architectural styles, materials and techniques, but rather we need to examine the complex entanglements of the political and cultural conditions under which these are constructed.⁵³ In this sense, Hernández argues that we can start to go beyond hierarchical representations of the colonial power. The concept of hybridity has been criticised for placing more emphasis on the critique of colonialism and hence for some scholars this runs the risk of repeating the same logic of the coloniser where the voices of the colonised are

⁵⁰ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak'. Chapter 4, in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory* ed by Laura Chrisman and Patrick Williams, (New York and Sydney: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993)

⁵¹ Jyoti Hosagrahar, 'Interrogating Difference: Postcolonial Perspectives and Urbanism', in *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory*, ed. by C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns, and Hilde Heynen (London: Sage Publications, 2012), pp. 70-84 (p. 72).

⁵² Yat Ming Loo, *Architecture and Urban Form in Kuala Lumpur: Race and Chinese Spaces in a Postcolonial City*, (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2013). Several studies have taken up this line of inquiry particularly in South Asian countries, see for example

⁵³ Felipe Hernández, *Bhabha for Architects*, (New York : Routledge, 2010).

poised somewhere in the grey areas of the colonial discourse.⁵⁴ In Bhabha's own words, hybridity denotes "the process [which] gives rise to something different, something new and recognisable, a new arena of negotiation of meaning and representation."⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the use of a postcolonial framework is useful for the study for several reasons. It responds to the strand of postcolonial studies which views the built environment as part of the negotiation of space by different groups of actors, and as part of defining a collective identity, but it does not emphasise the themes of cultural subjugation, domination or resistance. This is because (as it will be shown in Chapter 2) colonialism in Botswana was much different and scholarship on the history of Botswana has not responded to these themes. As Jyoti Hosagrahar reminds us "postcolonial theory has informed thinking about buildings and urban spaces as symbolic cultural landscapes that are historically constituted, culturally constructed, political artefacts whose forms are dynamic and meanings are constantly negotiated."⁵⁶ In this regard, this study locates itself in the recent scholarship that has demonstrated that a postcolonial framework can be employed as a lens to examine architecture in less theorised non-western contexts.

As previously noted, existing scholarship in Botswana suggests that the new city was a cultural imposition by the departing colonial powers, but the study will contextualise the debates on the design and envisioning of the city as part of negotiations around identity for the new nation between the indigenous political elite and the colonial administrators. Several studies have shown that, for newly independent nations, architecture and urban design is used to define a new identity,⁵⁷ which has also been traced to the creation of new capital cities such as Chandigarh, Dodoma, Brasilia and other cities. These studies have contributed to our understanding of how modernism was employed to serve

⁵⁴ See Jacobs, *Edge of Empire [Electronic Resource] : Postcolonialism and the City*. Critique of hybridity

⁵⁵ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture [Electronic Resource]*. p 211

⁵⁶ Hosagrahar, 'Interrogating Difference: Postcolonial Perspectives and Urbanism', (p. 73).

⁵⁷ Emily Callaci, 'Chief Village in a Nation of Villages': History, Race and Authority in Tanzania Dodoma Plan', 43 (2016); Hosagrahar, 'Interrogating Difference: Postcolonial Perspectives and Urbanism', (p. 76); Lawrence J. Vale, 'The Urban Design of Twentieth Century Capitals', in *Planning Twentieth Century Capitals*, ed. by David L. A. Gordon (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 15-37.

nationalistic goals and reimagined the idea of a nation. For example, the creation of Chandigarh as a capital city of the Indian state of Punjab has been demonstrated as part of constructing a new modern identity of the new nation by the Indian elites.⁵⁸

In Africa, the interest in the postcolonial framework has been taken up by scholars such as Achile Mbembe, who argues in the book *On the Postcolony that* the history of African social spaces and cities should account for both 'history and everyday life.' In this way, Mbembe warns against reducing what he calls a 'complex phenomena' of social life to issues of 'discourses' and 'representations' and overlooking the material manifestations of these practices.⁵⁹ A call to reconceptualise modernity in African cities has been extended by scholars such as Jennifer Robinson, Susan Parnell, and Edgar Pieterse.⁶⁰ These studies call for the decolonisation of key concepts in urban theory, an understanding that cities are dynamic and diverse. Jennifer Robison has advocated for the starting point of considering cities as 'ordinary' rather than developed versus undeveloped cities.⁶¹ This scholarship argues that we need to contextualise our studies cities by taking into consideration: the localised interpretation of place, the appropriation of spaces by different actors, the everyday life practices and the imaginaries (futures) of place.

Beyond the contributions, these recent studies have made on post colonialism it has been identified that further research is needed to examine how these spaces and building are preserved as part of ongoing identity-making practices.⁶² Such studies would address the extant built environment with regards to identity construction, representations of nationhood and collective

⁵⁸ Nihal Perera, 'Chandigarh: India's Modernist Experiment', in *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, ed. by David L. A. Gordon (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 226-36; Vikramaditya Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2002).

⁵⁹ Achile Mbembe, *On the postcolony [electronic resource]*, *Studies in history of society and culture*, (Berkeley: University of California, 2001), p.5.

⁶⁰ Susan Parnell, 'South African Cities: Perspectives from the Ivory Tower of Urban Studies' (*Urban Studies*, 1997, 34), (5-6). pp 891-906; Edgar Pieterse, *City Futures: Confronting the Crisis of Urban Development* (London, Zed Book, 2008)

⁶¹ Jennifer Robinson, *Ordinary Cities: Between modernity and development*, (London and New York; Routledge Francis and Taylor Group, 2006)

⁶² James-Chakraborty, 'Beyond Postcolonialism: New Directions for the History of Nonwestern Architecture'.

cultural memory. The search for identity by new nation states, as Clifford Geertz puts it, is driven by the aim of self-assertion to the outside world, by looking into the past as a reminder of shared history and culture, while striving for progress and modernisation.⁶³ Heritage and memory are key to cultural and historical continuity. However, heritage in postcolonial societies is highly selective, entangled in several discourses related to the cultural politics of identity, to the negotiation of meaning of place and to heritage values. The politics of identity is prevalent in postcolonial societies during the period following independence. This quest for self-representation has been observed by Sabine Marshall who argues that it is an 'ideologically and emotionally driven'⁶⁴, conducted through the 'wholesale rejection of colonial discourses'⁶⁵, in so doing replacing heritage with new symbols that are reflective of the new order. With is in mind, it bring us to the next concept of identity and heritage.

The concept of Identity and identity

As previously suggested, a postcolonial framework considers the need to rethink the concept of identity, beyond the essentialist notions of identity as 'unity', which denotes notions of sameness. While it is customary in nationalist thinking to draw on notions of origin to articulate a sense of common identity, Stuart Hall has argued, "identities are never unified and, in late modern times increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions."⁶⁶ What Hall and others suggest here is that identities are not only socio-culturally constructed but are also multiple and dynamic, constituted in

⁶³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures [Electronic Resource] : Selected Essays*, (New York : Basic Books, c1973, 1973), p. 258.

⁶⁴ Sabine Marshall, 'The Heritage of Post-Colonial Societies', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2008), p. 348 & p. 350).

⁶⁵ Z. Aygen, *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation: Saving the World's Past*, (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2013), p. 48.

⁶⁶ Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', p. 4; Jonathan A. Noble, 'Architecture, Hybridities and post-Apartheid Design', *South African Journal of Art History*, 23 (2008).

relation to other identities.⁶⁷ The concept of identity has evolved as part of the response to the politics of identity and representation, particularly from the perspective of cultural theorists with emphasis on the idea that identities are dynamic and articulate a sense of difference that underlines what is excluded and included. Although this perspective is criticised for placing more emphasis on the celebration of differences,⁶⁸ what this study finds useful here is the multiplicity of identities and how they are socially constructed. Hall contends that the discussions about identity should be positioned within the wider historical developments and practices that have destabilised the 'character of many populations,'⁶⁹ which has resulted in the pursuit of identifications as well as the politics of identity. In other words, we need to consider how debates on the politics of identity are constructed in relation to historical conditions such as colonialism and post-colonialism, of which the past is and pre-colonial histories are evoked to inform the present. In this sense, for example, the transformation of heritage should also consider the micro politics of identity, which occur in place in subtle, nuanced, as well as quite deliberate, ways.

Heritage and the Mobilisation of the past

Heritage as a resource of the past plays a key role in the articulation of identity. In defining heritage, recent literature has posited that heritage is not only about the past, but rather it is about how we selectively use the past to inform our contemporary condition.⁷⁰ As Laurajane Smith and David Lowenthal have argued, heritage has expanded to include different aspects related to how we use the past, for example, the ways in which multiple meanings are ascribed in relation to places, how certain versions of the past are represented over others.⁷¹ For Lowenthal heritage has 'outpaced' other forms of the past such as

⁶⁷ Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?'; Jonathan Alfred Noble, *African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture: White Skin, Black Masks*, (Ashgate, 2011).

⁶⁸ Jacobs, *Edge of Empire [Electronic Resource] : Postcolonialism and the City*.

⁶⁹ Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', p. 4.

⁷⁰ Brian Graham, 'Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?', *Urban Studies*, 39 (2002); L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, (2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006).

⁷¹ David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Smith, *Uses of Heritage*.

tradition, memory and myth: 'what was once termed history or tradition is now heritage.'⁷² He also argues that the ways in which people mobilise the past varies from place to place. This may be related to a sense of nostalgia associated with the need to venerate particular buildings, places associated with a certain period, of which in Britain it is suggested that it 'is said to reflect nostalgia for imperial self-esteem and other bygone benisons...'⁷³

The selective nature of heritage can be traced in the ways in which heritage listing legislation is framed, which prioritises certain heritages and values over others, as well as ways in which particular heritage interpretations are formed. Zeynep Aygen and Ndoro Webner have investigated ways in which heritage legislation in postcolonial societies, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, has been tailored to reflect the interest in national heritage while excluding other forms of heritage and as well as being shaped by legislation enacted during the colonial period.⁷⁴ Much of this legislation as Aygen has shown exhibits an interest in antiquities,⁷⁵ which mirrored prevalent interest in the heritage in Europe at the time.

Apart from the policy framework, heritage studies have also begun to explore the role of identity in the interpretation of heritage and the ways in which certain meanings are ascribed to it. In the book *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* Ashworth et al have traced ways in which certain heritage interpretations in plural societies are formed and prioritised. The words 'plural society' are used to highlight the nature of multiplicity of identities and the politics of heritage in any given society.⁷⁶ Similarly recent literature on heritage has highlighted that its production is a highly politicised process with roots in its historical development, which also tells us more about the changes in the values and meanings ascribed to heritage

⁷² Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 3.

⁷³ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country - Revisited*, (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, , 2013), p. 6.

⁷⁴ Ndoro. W and G. Pwitti, 'Heritage Management in Southern Africa: Local, National and International Discourse', *Public Archeology*, 2 (2001).

⁷⁵ Zeynep Aygen, *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 50.

⁷⁶ G. J. Ashworth, B. Graham, and J. E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*, (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

places.⁷⁷ The recent book titled *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity* compiles essays exploring the relationship of heritage to identity through an inter-disciplinary approach which ranges from museum studies to geography. The book illustrates the varied ways in which identity practices are linked to heritage, and conversely the ways in which identity markers are appropriated as heritage.⁷⁸ Of similar interest is the work of David C. Harvey who has taken up the task of tracing the historical process of heritage he recently termed 'heritagisation' that it suggests that for example:

*'the evolution of a medieval sense of heritage is related to changes in technology and transitions in the experience of place and space, while some of the recent developments in the heritage concept are related to the more recent societal changes connected to colonial (and postcolonial) experience.'*⁷⁹

In this sense, it is emphasised that heritage is closely tied to societal processes and it is appropriated, contested and rearticulated according to changes in values and tastes, which in part are ultimately informed by the politics of the time, (such as postcolonial subjectivities). Within this historical development of heritage suggested by Harvey, we can also add the evolution of heritage charters and conventions which are largely concerned with informing best heritage practice and an ethos for architectural conservation.

The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments 1931 and The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites now known as the Venice Charter of 1964 became the benchmarks for heritage conservation practices internationally. In addition, these Charters influenced subsequent heritage charters and conventions, such as the development of guidelines for the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the World Heritage List and international institutions including the United Nations

⁷⁷ David C. Harvey, 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7 (2001).

⁷⁸ B. J. Graham and others, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity [Electronic Resource]*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁷⁹ Harvey, 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', 320.

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931) and the Venice Charter (1964) were concerned with the practical preservation historic built fabric. The Venice Charter (1964) emphasised a preservation approach to historic fabric which would be sympathetic to the existing. As article II states, 'The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of a style is not the aim of a restoration.'⁸⁰ This charter also expanded the definition of monuments from individual buildings and to include 'urban and rural setting'⁸¹ however, it did not define the 'characteristics of the rural or urban settings.'⁸² It has been heavily criticised by cultural anthropologists who argued that it placed more emphasis on material culture and authenticity and excluded other forms of heritage such as intangible heritage.⁸³ According to the Venice Charter;

*'The historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity.'*⁸⁴

Concerns were raised on how conservations guidelines would be adopted by different national governments in the late 1970s and the late 1980s.⁸⁵ These concerns focused on a range of issues from the appropriate heritage definitions to the requirements for the protection of the authenticity of heritage. The 1972 World Heritage Convention (The Convention concerning

⁸⁰ 'International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter 1964)', (1964).

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Yahaya Ahmad, 'The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12 (2006).

⁸³ Cornelius Holtorf and Toshiyuki Kono, 'Forum on Nara + 20: An Introduction', *Heritage & Society*, 8 (2)(2015).

⁸⁴ 'International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter 1964)'.

⁸⁵ Tim Winter, 'Beyond Eurocentrism? Heritage Conservation and the Politics of Difference', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20 (2014).

the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage) was adopted by UNESCO to define universal values for the nomination of the World Heritage Sites. Amongst others, this convention expanded historic monuments to include cultural sites, natural sites and buildings. However since its inception the World Heritage Convention has been criticised for the emphasis on tangible heritage and the narrow definition of culture, 'as artistic work and culture as a way of life,'⁸⁶ and universal heritage values, an influence credited to a Eurocentric approach to heritage.⁸⁷ These debates resulted in the formulation of new regional heritage charters and declarations to address the regional differences with regards to heritage and authenticity. The Burra Charter of 1981 was developed for the Australian context⁸⁸ and it expanded the notion of cultural significance to include natural sites, cultural sites and the use, meanings and values associated with these places. Here the notion of heritage shifted from monuments and sites to focus on a 'place', meanings and values⁸⁹ to provide a more inclusive approach to heritage. This charter has been instrumental in heritage management and conservation and has since been adopted internationally.

The notion of authenticity in relation to the conservation of the material fabric of historic monuments sites and buildings also became a point of contention, particularly in communities where heritage is considered less monumental from Asia and Africa. At the centre of the debate on authenticity is that authenticity extends beyond the concerns of preserving material fabric, and it is argued extensively that authenticity is culturally relative, and it could mean the intangible act of rebuilding and reassembling a traditional wooden Japanese temple using traditional methods even if the timber used is not necessarily original. The Nara Declaration of 1994 introduced the concept of

⁸⁶ Thomas Hylland Eriksen, 'Between Universalism and Relativism: A Critique of Unesco Concept Ofculture', in *Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. by Jane K. Cowan, Marie-Bénédicte Dembour, and Richard A. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2009), pp. 127-48 (p. 131).

⁸⁷ Denis Byrne, 'Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management', *History and Anthropology*, 5 (1991); Henry Cleere, 'The Concept of 'Outstanding Universal Value' in the World Heritage Convention', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 1 (1996).

⁸⁸ This charter was initially drafted in 1979 and revised in 1981, then in 1988. The most substantial revision is the 1999 revision.

⁸⁹ Emma Waterton, Laurajane Smith, and Gary Campbell, 'The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies: The Burra Charter and Social Inclusion', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12 (2006).

relative authenticity which emphasises that cultural authenticity should be judged within its socio-cultural context.⁹⁰ It also contributed to 'knowledge transmission' as one of the ways of ensuring that authentic traditional construction techniques are passed down through generations as part of the social process and practices associated with heritage.⁹¹ In this regard the document argues that tangible and intangible heritage are closely intertwined. In 2003 the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted as a move towards the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and the recognition of non-monumental cultural heritage. The convention defines intangible heritage as '...practices, representations and expression, and knowledge and skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage.'⁹² Here intangible cultural heritage has been extended to include social and cultural practices that are considered important constituents to the communities' cultural identities.

Despite the ongoing debates on the multiplicity of cultural heritage and the notion of authenticity, in more recent literature it has been widely accepted that although heritage may constitute both intangible and tangible aspects, in an actual sense it is difficult to separate the two.⁹³ For example some scholars have argued that 'intangible heritage produces tangible heritage', of which the skills of constructing a building as a human activity are cited as one example of how the two aspects are intertwined.⁹⁴ The same line of argument can be extended to the relationship between cultural practices and rituals and spaces where these occur, which may not be, necessarily, monumental architectural heritage. Dealing with tribal communities compels this study to consider the

⁹⁰ 'The Nara Document on Authenticity', (Japan, 1994).

⁹¹ Ahmad, 'The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible'; Cornelius Holtorf and Toshiyuki Kono, 'Forum on Nara + 20: An Introduction', *Heritage & Society*, 8 (2015).

⁹² As described in the Article 2.1 UNESCO, 'Promoting the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage', (Paris, France: UNESCO, 2003b);.

⁹³ Convention France-UNESCO, 'Cultural Heritage and Local Development: A Guide for African Local Governments', (France, 2006), pp. 1-103; Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton, "the Envy of the World?", in *Intangible heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagakwa (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 289-301 (p. 289).

⁹⁴ Nobuo Ito, 'Intangible Cultural Heritage Involved in Tangible Cultural Heritage', (p. 1).

relationship between tangible and intangible heritage, by exploring the meaning of the architectural spaces or stages where these cultural practices and rituals occur.⁹⁵ Furthermore, the role of heritage charters and conventions is to guard against the fabrication of heritage commonly associated with consumerism and heritage tourism. In this sense the role of the charters is to also provide the best practice and ethos for heritage conservation and thus to guard against identity-making programs often disguised as heritage conservation projects.

In summary, the heritage plays a central role in the representation of identities in the ways in which it is conserved, interpreted and mobilised as a representation of the past. For Lowenthal the past is mobilised because in a world threatened by developments '...we keep our bearings only by clinging to remnants of stability' and this is also linked to the nostalgia associated with past identities and histories.⁹⁶

The politics of identity, heritage and planning in postcolonial national and tribal spaces

As the literature review suggests, this study is located within the discussion of the politics of identity in relation to architecture, planning and heritage as traced in national and tribal spaces. It considers a cross-disciplinary approach by drawing theoretical insights from a postcolonial framework, cultural theory, recent heritage studies, and studies in nationalism.⁹⁷

The study is motivated by the lack of critical studies into architecture and planning in Botswana. Current literature in Botswana considers the built environment through the lens of urban management policies and as a result, it overlooks the nuanced ways in which identities are inscribed and negotiated in the planning of the city, the conservation and interpretation of heritage in both the city and traditional villages. For example, a local urban planner, Aloysius C.

⁹⁵ In the France-UNESCO, 'Cultural Heritage and Local Development: A Guide for African Local Governments'.

⁹⁶ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 6.

⁹⁷ Nationalism and the construction of the nation is dealt with in chapter 2

Mosha, has argued that 'in order to understand how the City of Gaborone has been planned ...we must examine the overall national urban development policies...' ⁹⁸ In this regard Mosha argues that development policies can account for the form of the city. Earlier scholarly work which examined the planning of Gaborone as a capital city in the late 1960s and early 1970s have focused on the documentation of the newly-planned city and have as a result provided invaluable starting points and sources. ⁹⁹ In a more recent discussion on Gaborone city Horatius Ikgopoleng and Anthony Kent suggest that Gaborone's urban form and architecture is 'bland' and lacks in a sense of identity, of which in this regard the lack of identity is blamed on the lack of 'African motifs' which would distinguish it from other modern cities. ¹⁰⁰ These studies have so far, remained devoid of any discussion on critical history or the interpretation of architecture and place.

Although this study contributes to a growing body of work on postcolonial contexts, it accepts that colonialism differed from place to place. For example, Botswana was a sub-colony therefore; it was neither a site of colonial power representation nor a laboratory of architectural and planning experiments. Therefore, the analysis of planning and architecture is intended to go beyond the limitation of power representation by the colonial power. The study interprets and contextualises the process of planning the city within the transition of power to independence, the construction of national identity and nation building. Located within the debates on identity and heritage, the study also pursues this debate further to examine meaning and values ascribed to these spaces as part of defining heritage and collective identity, seen through the present lens. It must also be emphasised that this study does not examine the social perceptions of identity held by the tribal community, but presumes that we can trace the notions of identity by examining the architecture and the context in which the different architectural projects were conceived and hence

⁹⁸ Mosha, 'The City of Gaborone, Botswana: Planning and Management'.

⁹⁹ Three academic papers were published at this time these include the following, Alan C. G. Best, 'Gaborones: Problems and Prospects of a New Capital', *Geographical Review*, 60 (1970); Gerald Bennet Dix, 'Gaborones', *Journal of Town and Planning Institute*, 51 (1965); Eileen M. Steel, 'Gaborones', *Geography*, 54 (1969).

¹⁰⁰ Anthony Kent and Horatius Ikgopoleng, 'Gaborone', *Cities*, 28 (2011).

it takes the approach of architectural historians than a sociologist approach (figure I.1, I.2 and I.3).



Figure I.1: The image shows Moruleng Heritage Precinct with different spaces and buildings that are re-interpreted as part of the Bakgatla community's construction of identity. (Source: taken by author in 2015).

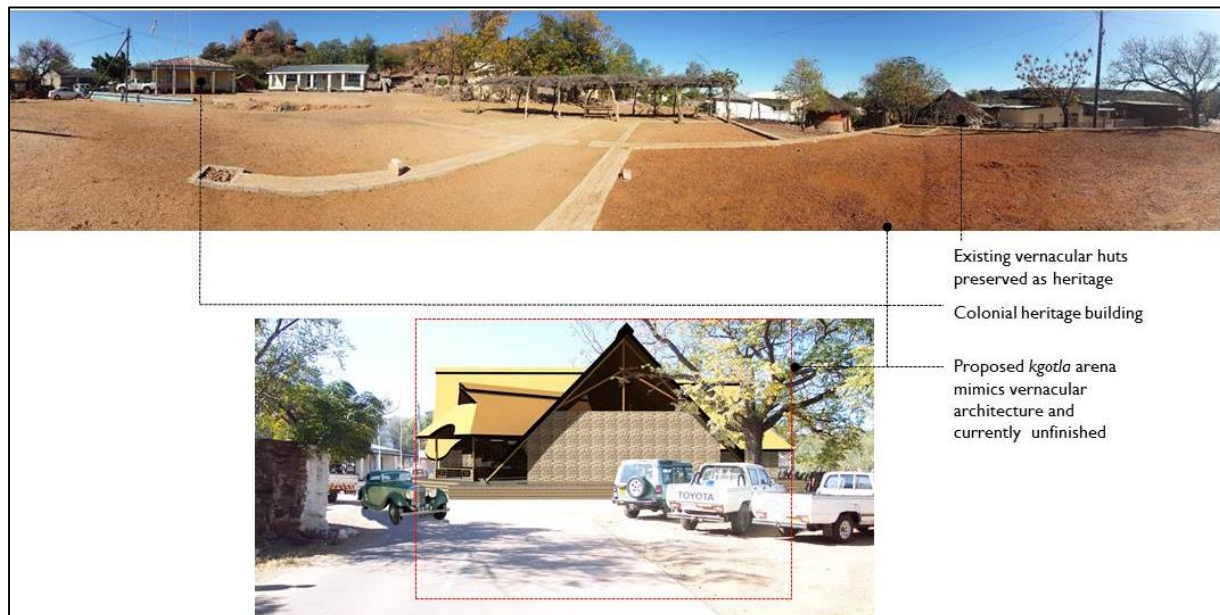


Figure I.2: The first image shows a panorama of the *kgotla* in Mochudi. It shows the existing vernacular and colonial heritage. These buildings are smaller and have a sensitive relation to the existing context. The second image shows a proposed *kgotla* arena structure which is not sensitive to place and can be read as part of identity politics. (Source: with permission of CPM architects)



Figure 1.3: The courtyard in the centre of the museum in Gaborone consists of vernacular huts as part of the 'tribal cultural symbols' and vernacular architecture representation. (Source: taken by author in 2015).

Research Methodology, sources of data and data analysis

Given that this study deals with history and the recent past, it adopts an interpretive-historical approach, which is defined by David Wang as an "investigation into social-physical phenomena within complex contexts, with a view toward explaining those phenomena in a narrative and holistic fashion."¹⁰¹ In this regard, Wang suggest that data is gathered organised, evaluated and interpreted to construct a narrative that is intelligible to explain a particular phenomenon and it should address how history and recent history is narrated and written. According to Elizabeth Danto, when interpreting historical sources, we need to examine the socio-cultural context under which such sources were produced, who produced them and for what purpose.¹⁰² What

¹⁰¹ David Wang, 'Interpretive-Historical Research', in *Architectural Research Methods*, ed. by David Wang and Linda Groat (United States: John Wiley and Sons, 2002), pp. 135-71 (p. 36).

¹⁰² Elizabeth Ann Danto, *Historical Research*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). See also Yin Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*, 3rd ed. edn (Thousand Oaks, Calif. ; London: London : Sage, c2003, 2003).

Danto and others are cautioning against is an uncritical approach to the objectivity of the archival documents.¹⁰³

This study employed qualitative research approach and it therefore combined various methods of data collection using historical archives, case study research, observations, printed documentary research and interviews to probe questions into identity construction. For this kind of inquiry the study relied on "primary documents, secondary documents, and cultural and physical artefacts as the main sources of evidence."¹⁰⁴ The archival sources were accessed through archives in the United Kingdom and Botswana and these sources are comprised rarely used before materials including planning reports and drawn proposals. The archives in the National Archives in London (colonial records) hold a breadth of sources from the colonial government institutions, which were involved in planning Gaborone such as the Building Research Station (the Planning Division) and the Colonial Office. These were mainly in the form of planning minutes, planning correspondences and planning reports. Although government employees wrote these documents mostly, they highlighted the conflicting versions of the imagined capital city and how different actors considering the varied socio-cultural contexts (London, Mafikeng and Gaborone) were shaping these imaginations. The National Archives in Botswana yielded parliamentary debates and reports on the relocation of the capital city from Mafikeng to Gaborone. These debates and master plans were set within the context of nation building and the transition to independence, of which it will be illustrated that it highlighted the efforts of locating, envisioning and shaping the urban design and architecture of the city to project national symbolism and national identity. These archives also afforded the study to build in the narrative of ways in which the extant political elite envisioned Gaborone, a perspective that has not yet been explored. Furthermore, the National Archives in Botswana comprised of sources that cover the late development of Gaborone as an administrative township. These sources were analysed to build an account on Gaborone as a township. Town

¹⁰³ For example, Robert Yin has also argued that we need to consider the political conditions under which historical documents are written. Yin, *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 7.

planning minutes and records from these archives provide insights on the establishment of an administrative township, highlighting land tenure policies and the extension of the township.

These archival materials were complemented by the archives of Sir Arthur Douglas (former colonial Secretary in the Cape Colony) held under Commonwealth and African Studies Collection in the Bodleian Library in the University of Oxford, where complete master plan proposals were obtained. The Architectural Association (the AA) School archives hold private papers of Dr Otto Königsberger, which have rarely been accessed for any research on urban planning and architecture in Gaborone. These archives contain the academic papers and publications on the design practices of the School at the time and bring to light the discussions on the wider context of architecture and identity in the AA. The archival materials are insightful to understand thought process and ideas underpinning the design of the capital. Altogether these sources were analysed and interpreted to construct a picture of how discourses on identity in relation to envisioning Gaborone were framed, and negotiated, and were attempted to be translated into reality.

Apart from the records mainly produced during the colonial period, the study also relied on secondary sources, particularly the records of British born anthropologist, Isaac Schapera, who wrote extensively about the cultures and customs of the Bakgatla in Mochudi. These accounts elucidated the relationship between the cultural customs and traditions to the architecture of the village. Schapera's account also helped to build an account of the spatial layout and traditional practices such as the previous use of the *kgotla* and different spatial elements. These sources were used in conjunction with the wealth of academic papers produced by historian (and the former Phuthadikobo Museum Director), Sandy Grant. These academic papers were published in the late 1970s to the late 1990s and they cover the history, culture and descriptive information on the evolution of the tribal space and architecture throughout the years. Some of these materials include the different campaigns to save architectural heritage and historic buildings. Although these campaign materials

may be written in a tone, which suggests resistance to any changes in the tribal spaces, they offer insights into values of place and the significance of different buildings. The Botswana Society under the Botswana Notes and Records publishes most of these journal papers, and some of the physical copies of these are held in the National Museum in Gaborone. The Botswana National Archives also hold a wealth of newspapers published in the early 1960s.

The case study approach was used because most of the recent architectural buildings and proposals are not kept in the archives. According to Yin, case studies are important to "understand the complex social phenomenon. It allows investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events - such as individual life cycles, organisational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change"¹⁰⁵ and based on the research questions developed, case studies can be explanatory or descriptive. As such "where" and "what" questions are descriptive while "who" and "why" questions are exploratory. One of the major strength of the case study approach is the use of varied sources of data and methods.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, it was important to contact people directly involved in their commission and design. These included urban planners, heritage conservation managers and architects who oversee the selected case studies, to reflect on how the ongoing architectural projects (both proposed and unbuilt) are framed.

Interviews and observations

Generally, semi-structured interviews were conducted to investigate and analyse the interpretation of these recent architectural projects and heritage developments. Urban planners, architects and heritage managers were identified through official planning reports, websites and government planning boards. Fifteen interviews were conducted over the course of the study in 2015 and 2016. During the interviews with architects and heritage managers, I managed to obtain substantial documentary material in the form of drawings,

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 8.

design statements, design reports and design drawings. These materials were important to elucidate some of the design intentions and considerations that may not be necessarily covered during interviews.

Interviews with the professionals and academics were arranged according to each case study and covered questions relating to the context of the project. For example, in the case of Moruleng, interviews were conducted with the project architect, archaeologist, historians and heritage manager. These interviews were held one on one, to explore a broad range of issues, which revealed the complexity of how identity debates unfolded, how meanings of place were constructed and how design decisions about these spaces were made. Prior to these interviews, I had also visited the tribal space as a tourist and went on a tour where tour guides presented the official narrative of the place to me. In the case of Mochudi, five interviews were conducted with the museum managers, architects and local residents.¹⁰⁷ Several site visits were also made to record the use and the spatial arrangements and architecture of these spaces. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the village locals and representatives to explore questions relating to the heritage, the spatial significance, symbolism, values and the meanings associated with different spaces. Reading and interpreting tribal spaces compels the study to consider the different traditional practices, heritage values and the architecture, which contribute to a sense of place.

Thesis structure

This study is arranged into seven chapters that trace how notions of identity have informed and continue to inform the current context in both national and tribal spaces. It is structured around three main case studies, which are organised thematically and how the built environment is imagined and produced according to different representations. Each case study forms a

¹⁰⁷ It must be noted that some of the interviewees concerned with the Moruleng case studies were also involved in both cases and hence the questions on both Moruleng and Mochudi were asked.

separate chapter (except the case study of Gaborone which has two chapters) so that an account of each socio-spatial context could be discussed in greater detail.

The politics of identity examined in Chapter 2 has two aims. First, it sets out the historical context of colonial administration in Botswana. It maps out the impact of colonial power relations on urban development, and territorial delineation, which it is argued were the first traces to the formation of modern nation in Botswana. Second, it discusses the physical and spatial planning of Gaborone as a township and this is followed by the introduction of the Bakgatla traditional villages' spatial layout, as a contrast to the townships. The chapter then examines the discourses around national identity in Botswana. Chapter 3 "The Imagined Capital City and the cultural legacy and politics of planning a postcolonial city and civic space" explores the period leading up to independence and it examines the process of planning Gaborone as a nation building and national identity project by revisiting different perspectives presented in the planning proposals for the city. It considers how the architects, urban planners, political elite and colonial administrators envisioned the city. It explores the political debates on locating the capital and the principles on which the city was built, based on the notion of creating a non-racial capital. Additionally, the discussion considers how the representative spaces of the state and nation were envisioned. These are explored by examining the planning proposals and their cultural legacy, which I argue important to the process of national identity construction and nation building in Botswana. It concludes by examining the resultant plan, highlighting continuities with the national narrative that will form the main themes in the chapter.

Chapter 4 "The heart of the city and the pursuit for national monuments" explores the idea of national narrative and national identity. It focuses on the analysis of the capital core in Gaborone - currently declared as symbolic to

the "heart of Botswana and its people"¹⁰⁸, suggesting it is representative of the national history and culture. It discusses the design and historical context of the space. It also explores how the spatial sequence structures and frames both cultural and political power spaces - thus providing a platform where the national culture and identity is being formed, promoted, and legitimised. The national museum and monuments are studied as spaces which tells us a lot about the interplay between architecture, urban space, cultural expression and identity. An in-depth analysis and reading of the national assembly as a democratic institution, an image of democracy and national heritage is discussed. The chapter argues that the different representations in the city are framed around representing national identity and national heritage at the expense of the existing significance of place and cultural heritage.

Chapter 5 and 6 examine the politics of identity in relation to the heritage in tribal spaces of the Bakgatla community. The two cases are intentionally arranged starting with the Mochudi case, which is based around a living cultural heritage space, rich with architectural heritage, and living traditions. It considers how the tribal community in Mochudi negotiate their sense of identity by interpreting the architectural value and significance of the *kgotla* as a heritage space. Proposals to turn the *kgotla* into modern government offices 'disguised' as cultural monuments and the recent proposal to develop the space into an open-air museum are discussed. In contrast, the case of Moruleng Heritage Precinct in chapter 6, "Recreating pre-colonial monuments and the desire for cultural monuments", discusses how a new material culture related to the Bakgatla pre-colonial identities and cultural traditions has been re-created as an attempt to develop an inclusive representation of the Bakgatla heritage and identity. In this heritage site, which originally consisted of colonial heritage buildings, a material culture similar to the one in Mochudi instated. These new cultural re-creations raise questions on the role of identity in heritage preservation and whether new "heritages" are being invented. The final chapter reflects on the main themes in the politics of identity throughout the case studies. It outlines a trajectory of the impact of

¹⁰⁸ Department of Urban and Rural Planning Botswana Ministry of Lands and Housing 'Gaborone City Development Plan 1997-2021', (Gaborone, Botswana: Gaborone City Council, 2009, Revised Plan).

identity politics on architecture and heritage. It concludes by opening other lines of inquiry for further research and suggests that we need to rethink the ways in which identities are politicised in relation to architecture and heritage.

2 History and context of Botswana: the making of a nation during the colonial and post-independence

Since the period of the British colonisation of Botswana from (1885 until 1965), literature sources have highlighted that Botswana was administered from South Africa and therefore, it did not have a capital city.¹ It was not uncommon for colonies to establish modern capitals; however, Botswana was an exception, because it was a sub-colony of South Africa and thus endured a colonial period of underdevelopment. A recurring source in urban literature concerning Botswana's development is that of Alan Best, who writes in the article: *Gaborones² Problems and Prospects of a New Capital* in 1970 that:

For forty years (1885-1965), Botswana had the dubious distinction of being the only territory whose administration capital lay beyond its borders. Such an arrangement presented numerous difficulties during the protectorate

¹ Robert Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp, 'Introduction', in *Colonial Cities*, ed. by Robert Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp (Dordrecht: Leiden University Press, 1985).

² The spelling of "Gaborone" was "Gaborones" during the colonial period and it was later changed to Gaborone. Most of the quotes taken from the material written before independence use the older spelling and this has not been quoted as used in the original source.

*era and would have presented insurmountable problems following independence. Thus, to better meet the new demands the administration was shifted to Gaborone.... Gaborone was built to satisfy two essential needs: the effective administration of Botswana and the promotion of a modern economy.*³

In Botswana, older settlements were mainly tribal capitals located within Tribal Reserves, while townships were built on crown land, owned by the colonial government or freehold land. This type of land tenure resulted in a two-tier urban system: first, the cities and satellite towns-characterised by modern metropolitan functions and second, villages with traditional characteristics and functions, established by Botswana indigenous cultures.⁴ Botswana was administered through indirect rule, which meant that traditional political forms of administration were integrated into the colonial administration and some sense therefore of tribal identities was maintained, although other minority tribes were subsumed within the main Tswana speaking tribes. The majority of the population during the colonial period lived in traditional villages that are now referred to as “urban villages” and have since undergone significant transformation after independence. The traditional villages have now become a source of ethnic cultural identity tied to the identification with the ethnic cultural ties, homeland and ancestral origin.

This chapter provides a historical overview of the settlement of Botswana with a focus on political and spatial history in general. It begins with a review of political history and the birth of Botswana as a nation. Next, it reviews the relevant literature on the concept of a nation and argues that the attempts to define Botswana as a nation can be traced to the colonial period. It then examines the architecture and planning of Gaborone as a semi-administrative township to illustrate the modesty and pragmatic nature of the colonial township as compared to other colonial cities in history, which were designed as power and identity-representative forms of empire. The architectural

³ Alan C. G. Best, 'Gaborone: Problems and Prospects of a New Capital', *Geographical Review*, 60 (1970).

⁴ Bookchin. M, 'From Urbanisation to Cities-Towards a New Politics of Citizenship', (United States: Cassel Publishers, 1995), p. 51.

context of traditional villages is examined to highlight contrasts between a traditional village layout and a township. It is argued that whatever was built in the township during this period did not represent only the identity of the coloniser. The architecture of villages was rooted in the social practices and knowledge of the tribal communities and embedded in their cultural customs and their sense of identity.

The chapter also explores the general post-independence identity politics in Botswana which so far have been explored in literature in relation to minority debates.⁵ It is argued that identity politics should be traced through an examination of the built environment in national and tribal spaces in Botswana. The chapter concludes by introducing the post-independence identity politics which became more prominent during the transition to independence as there was a need for a symbol of unity, which constructing a new capital was to represent for the new “imagined nation.” The aim of this chapter is to set the context for how the case studies will be examined and to an overview of the history of Botswana.

A brief Background of Botswana

According to several history sources, colonial expansion in Africa was associated with the development of European capitalism and the search for raw materials for manufacturing activities and trading markets in the Western world.⁶ Cities were important for economic purposes such as trading and administration and, thus attracted more urban development and enlarged populations.⁷ Robert Ross and Gerard Telkamp have previously pointed out that 'the colonialists could not do without cities,' but quickly acknowledges

⁵ Minority debates refer to the debates on the struggle for recognition by the tribal communities that are not of the non-Tswana descent. See for example Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'Minority Tribes in Botswana: The Politics of Recognition', in *Minority Rights International*, (December 2008), pp. 2-16; Richard Webner, 'Challenging Minority and Tribal Citizenship in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (2002).

⁶ David Simon, 'Third World Cities in Context': Conceptual and Theoretical Approaches with Particular Reference to Africa', *Progress in Human Geography*, 8 (1984).

⁷ A. D. King, 'Colonial Cities: Global Pivots of Change', in *Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context*, ed. by R. J. Ross and G. J. Telkamp (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1985), pp. 7-28.

that the case of colonialism in Botswana was different.⁸ Botswana⁹ (formerly known as Bechuanaland during the colonial period) was an exception because no cities were built until the period leading to independence. However, colonial urban expansion and economic activities went hand-in-hand. For example, the construction of the modern railway in southern Africa was viewed as "a major force reshaping orientation and the direction, volume and composition of commodity flows within each colonial territory."¹⁰ This was the case for Botswana since it was previously viewed as an unappealing territory until it was seen as an opportunity to preserve the trade network route to the north of Africa, as part of Cecil John Rhodes' Cape to Cairo railway ambition (figure 2.1).¹¹ In addition to the strategic trading route interests that were expressed by Rhodes, Botswana was also an important military position in the interior of southern Africa (figure 2.2).

In 1881 Britain suffered a defeat during the Anglo-Boer war that was a result of the revolt by the Boer in Transvaal against British rule¹² and the competition for territory.¹³ During this period several arguments favouring the establishment of a protectorate in Botswana were being continuously expressed to the British government in London by the politicians in the Cape Colony.¹⁴ In 1885 the British government decided to send Sir Charles Warren to declare protection over the British Bechuanaland territory (currently the North-West Province of South Africa). In the same year, indirect rule came into effect following the passing of the Order of Council declaring the extension of the British power to Botswana.¹⁵ Under the new protectorate rule, Botswana was administered through indirect rule, where the traditional political systems of chieftainship were integrated into the colonial

⁸ Ross and Telkamp, 'Introduction'.

⁹ For this study, the name of Botswana is used instead of Bechuanaland as the country was formerly known.

¹⁰ Akin L. Mabogunje, 'Urban Planning and the Post-Colonial State in Africa: A Research Overview', *African Studies Review*, 33 (1990). Pp 130

¹¹ Paul Maylam, *Rhodes, the Tswana and the British: Colonialism, Collaboration and the Conflict in the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1885-1899*, (United States: Greenwood press, 1980).

¹² A. Sillery, *Founding a Protectorate: History of Bechuanaland, 1885-1895*, (London: Mouton, 1965, 1965).

¹³ John Laband, *The Transvaal Rebellion: The First Boer War, 1800-1881*, (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2005).

¹⁴ Peter Fawcus, with collaboration of, and Alan Tilbury, *Botswana: The Road to Independence*, (Botswana: The Botswana Society and Pula Press, 2000).

¹⁵ Isaac Schapera, *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, (Cape Town: Lovedale Press, 1934).

administration. To govern, the British colonial government had to invent a new territory of Botswana by defining the borders in relation to the neighbouring colonies, as well as the attempt to define a new nation of Botswana.

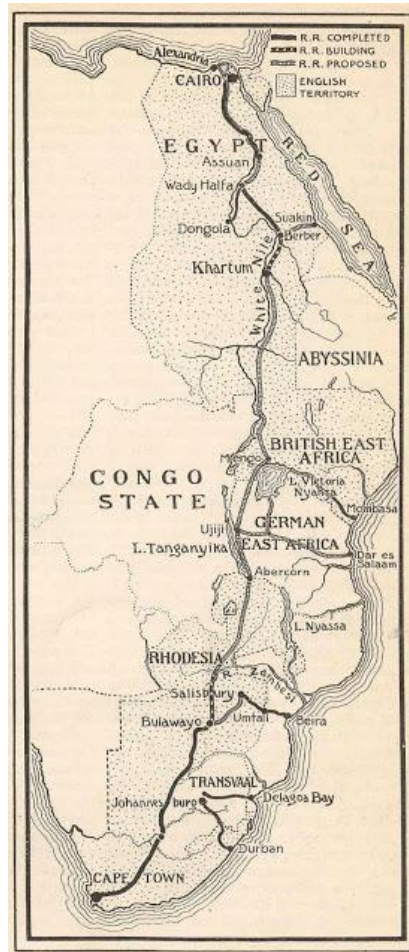


Figure 2.1: This map indication of Cape to Cairo railway proposals (Source: <http://www.digitalhistoryproject.com/2012/06/africa-building-cape-to-cairo-railroad.html>)

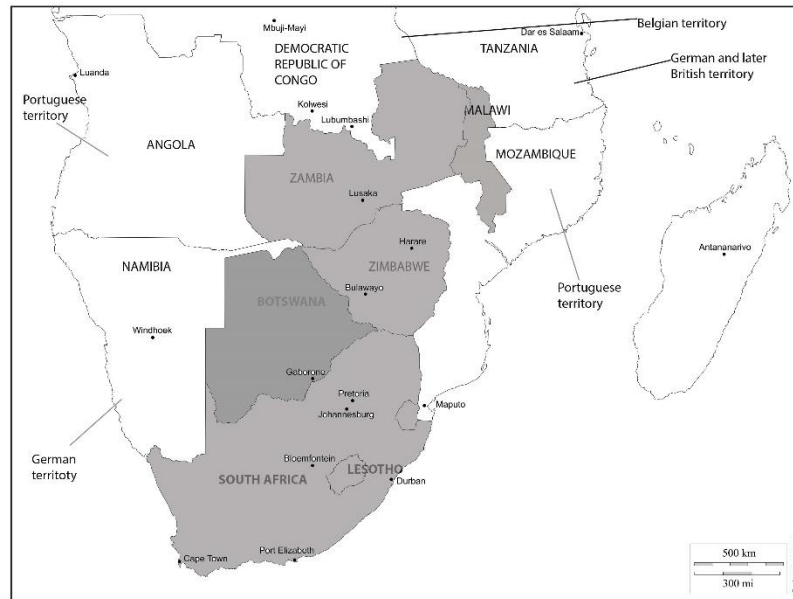


Figure 2.2: The map of southern Africa showing the countries under the British control in grey and others as indicated. Some countries like South Africa fell into the hand of different colonial powers (Source: <http://d-maps.com/c> and edited by author)

What is a nation? The Identity politics during the colonial period

The concept of a nation has become elusive to define,¹⁶ owing to the synonymous use of the terms ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism.’ Moreover this confusion is exacerbated by the extent to which elements of individual or collective identity contribute to the construction of national identity¹⁷ such as religion, class and gender. Considering these elements, the definition of a nation has developed along two major lines of argument: one stressing an objective criteria of religion, race, and culture and the other stressing a subjective criteria of politics, self-awareness or solidarity.¹⁸ Offering a ‘workable definition’ of a nation, Benedict Anderson posits that: “a nation is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”¹⁹ The word “imagined” is used to underline the fact that most

¹⁶Enerst Gellener, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2 edn (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), p. 5; Valery Tishkov, 'Forget the 'Nation': Post-Nationalist Understanding of Nationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (2001).p625;Umut Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, (New York: Palgrave, 2000), p. 58.

¹⁷ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1990), p. 5.; Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*.

¹⁸ *ibid*Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, p. 58.

¹⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 1991), p. 6.

members of a nation will never meet, yet it is ingrained within their minds that they are part of a national community united by common history, culture or religion and who share a national territory. It is also limited because that nation is contained within defined or elastic boundaries 'beyond which other nations lie.'²⁰

This school of thought of a nation as an imaginative construct, historically and socially formed, informed by political and cultural constructs is a modernist one. Under the same category of modernists is the political scientist, Ernest Gellener, who argues that the construction of nationality requires both "will and culture," with both conditions being pertinent to the construction of a nation. For this, Gellener proposes that defining a nation according to a shared culture is not sufficient since it overlooks the reality that human history is characterised by cultural differences.²¹ According to Gellener's theory, nationalism creates nations and not the other way around, in this manner 'nationalism plays a larger role in determining where and when nations will be formed.' Nationalism is defined as "a primarily political principle, which holds that that the political and national unit should be congruent."²² The rise of the modernist view has been attributed to the rejection of primordialism which held that nationalism is in fact a natural occurrence²³ and thereby a 'God-given' way of classifying human beings. Instead the modernist view of nation-building and its foundations emphasises the influence of modern factors such as capitalism, mass education, and urbanisation, which led to the formation of a nation state.²⁴ This view has also been partially inspired by nationalism movements of decolonisation in Africa and Asia which brought another wave of interest in nationalism and nation-building. The post-modern view on nations takes the idea of 'imagined nation' further by suggesting that the idea of a homogenous identity or 'single origin' of a nation or is no longer valid. These perspectives have been developed further by different schools of thought such as the postcolonial and the post-

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2nd ed. / introduction by John Breuilly. edn (Malden, Mass. ; Oxford:: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 52-53.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, pp. 64,85.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 85.

modern theories.²⁵ Richard Kearney draws theoretical insights from the postmodern critic of 'deconstruction' by Jacques Derrida to argue that the discourse of the nation as the centre or 'single origin' is no longer relevant because of the 'multiple narratives' that characterise the 'nation.'²⁶ This line of thinking is also influenced by the nationalism movements in Europe during the Second World War and after the war. Despite these fundamental differences in these schools of thought, the recent studies have argued for the need to explore the alternative narratives and identities of the nation as constructed by those in power as well as the 'everyday life.'²⁷

However, historically, scholars have emphasised that nationalism is a doctrine that took root during the nineteenth century development of nation states in Europe. Nations were initially developed according to a common or shared language and ethnicity. By then, questions of a nation gradually developed to include subjective elements such as political agency, territory and symbolic use of a national flag to represent the state. All of these elements were however not prerequisite to the formation of a nation as widely acknowledged in several literature sources.²⁸ In the same vein, Anthony Smith has also argued that nationalism is a political ideology and movement, which should be understood within the context of a multidimensional concept of national identity as a 'collective cultural phenomenon' viewed from the vantage point of ethno-symbolism.²⁹ For Smith, national identity invokes a sense of political community as well as territorial space and has attributes of historic territory or homeland, common myths and historical memories, a common mass culture, as well as common legal duties for all members, of which are all imbedded in common *ethnies*.³⁰ Smith's theory has been criticised for emphasising attributes of pre-existing ethnic culture which inevitably overlooks

²⁵ Richard Kearney, 'Postmodernity and Nationalism ; a European Persective', *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, (1992), 582; Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*.

²⁶ Kearney, 'Postmodernity and Nationalism ; a European Persective'.

²⁷ James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 1998); Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*.

²⁸ Montserrat Guibernau, *The Identity of Nations*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007); Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (London: Penguin books, 1991).

²⁹ Smith, *National Identity*, p. vii.

³⁰ The word *ethnies* is derived from French which in English is equivalent to ethnicity. It refers to groups with share ancestry. Ibid. pp. 9,14.

the role of the nation-states in the construction of national identity.³¹ To bridge the gap between the ethno-symbolism and the role on nation states in constructing national identity Montserrat Guibernau suggests that we should examine both cultural and political aspects.³²

How are nations then formed? Eric J. Hobsbawm has observed that unified nation states in Germany and Italy were founded by the educated elite within a common language, while in Poland or Belgium claims of independence were not based on language or rebellion.³³ Following the growth of nationalism movements and developments around the world including the decolonisation of Africa and Asia in the 1960s and the formation of new states and nations, the concept of a nation has been re-theorised and re-analysed. For example, in the wake of decolonisation, scholars refer to designed nations, planned in accordance with colonial occupation by European powers. Nations were forged in the absence of common political and cultural identities but rather based on changes brought by the colonial government such as definition of boundaries which still defines nations such as Nigeria, Kenya, Congo and others.³⁴ However, some postcolonial states and nations followed a different model in that they were shaped by a majority ethnic community which eventually took over to define the new political national identity.³⁵

The same inference of a majority ethnic community forming the nation of Botswana has been made by Richard Webner, who has emphasised that “The Bechuanaland Protectorate as a colonial state had been federal; it granted citizenship to individuals and group-specific rights to subject communities, on an unequal basis.”³⁶ However, pre-colonial kingdoms in southern Africa are believed to have operated on *frontiers* which are general regions occupied by

³¹ Montserrat Guibernau, 'Anthony D. Smith on Nations and National Identity: A Critical Assessment', *Nations and Nationalism - Oxford*, 10 (2004), pp133-4

³² Ibid.

³³ E. J. Hobsbawm and E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780 [Electronic Resource] : Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge : Cambridge University Press 2012, 2012).

³⁴ Smith, *National Identity*, p. 106.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 110; Valery A. Tishkov, 'Forgetting the 'Nation': Post-Nationalist Understanding of Nationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (2000), p632

³⁶ Webner, 'Challenging Minority and Tribal Citizenship in Botswana', 675. 675

each tribal group or kingdom and not precisely defined boundaries. The demarcation of territories was a product of colonialism for effective administration purposes. As a result, nation the state of Bechuanaland during the colonial period was initially formed through the cultural assimilation of the major Tswana tribes (sharing a common language, common history but with nuanced cultural differences), as well as forged during the colonial period. This denoted the first attempt to define Botswana as a nation.

The introduction of indirect rule in Botswana signalled change in the political and social structure of the country. The British colonial government had to bring some sense of structure with regards to land ownership, political administration and territorial boundaries between the tribes and European settlers. Isaac Schapera suggests that the British colonial government "found the Native population politically organised into several different tribes whose ruling communities were all of the Tswana Stock"³⁷, but in reality, the tribal make up was more complex than that. A book titled *African Survey* by Alan C. G. Best and Harm J. Blij published in 1977, suggests that precolonial ethnic group boundaries in Africa were far nuanced as illustrated in figure 2.3 indicating the composition of ethnicities.³⁸ The tribal territories were loosely defined and each tribe was independent, thus conducting its own political and economic affairs.³⁹

³⁷Schapera, *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, p. 8.

³⁸ Alan C. G. Best and Harm J. De Blij, *African Survey*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977).

³⁹ Maundeni Zibani, 'The Evolution of the Botswana State: Pre-Colonial, Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods', *Online Journal of African Affairs*, (2012), 22.

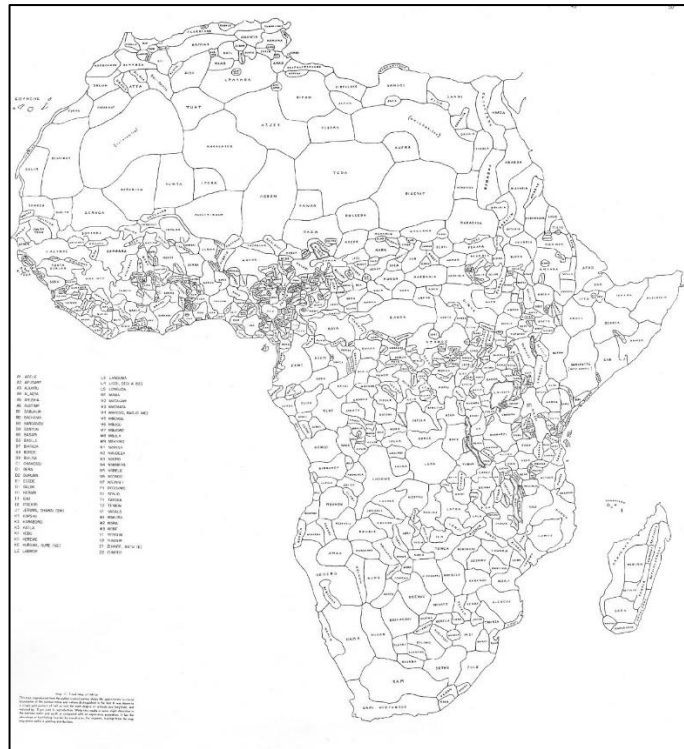


Figure 2.3: This map shows the approximate areas of how different tribal groups occupied land in Africa (Source: George Peter Murdock, *Africa: It's People and Their Culture History*, New York and London: 1897)

In Botswana, a number of Proclamations were therefore issued to reorganise the administration, define the powers of the chiefs and demarcate land according to the Tribal Reserves, Crown land and freehold land. These practices formally introduced new cartographies in the country. As such in 1899 a Proclamation was issued defining a total of eight Tribal Reserves, roughly based on the major tribal groupings of the Tswana descent. These included the Ngwato Reserve, Tawana Reserve, Kwena Reserve, Ngwaketse Reserve, Kgatla Reserve, Maletse Reserve, Rolong farms and Tlokwa Reserve (Figure 2.3). Dividing the country into reserves based on the Tswana speaking groups denoted the first attempt to define Botswana as a homogenous nation. Each Tribal Reserve had its own tribal capital and a paramount chief who was the main representative of the tribe to the colonial government under the African Advisory Council while the representatives for the freehold land had their own European Advisory Council. Other minority tribes were simply assimilated into the major tribe and if they happen to settle in the tribal

capitals any new incomers (which also included traders and missionaries) were simply given a new place and ward to settle. The tribal chiefs were to retain their powers over their respective tribes, but were under the supervision of the Resident Commissioner, while the administration of the Crown land and freehold land (that is land owned by European farmers) was administered by the colonial government. This meant that tribal communities could maintain their own tribal identities tied to their homeland and cultural ties. Scholars have argued that the colonial administration encouraged some degree of tribal federalism,⁴⁰ as well as attempting to define a new nation. Furthermore, integrating the traditional political institutions into colonial rule was achieved, Terence Ranger suggests, through a process of the 'invention of tradition' by Europeans to formulate an administration framework which drew from both of the European and African traditions. Ranger argues that the 'invention of traditions' by British administrators in Africa was influenced by their own respect of the monarchy, which meant that they had to draw on aspects they thought were traditionally African⁴¹ to extend the colonial power.

⁴⁰ Neil Parsons, 'The Evolution of the Modern Tswana: Historical Revisions', in *Evolution of Modern Botswana: Politics and Rural Development in Southern Africa*, ed. by L. A. Picard (Lincoln, Nebraska & London: Nebraska University Press & Rex Collins, 1985), pp. 26-29.

⁴¹ Terrence Ranger, 'The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1992), pp. 211-62.

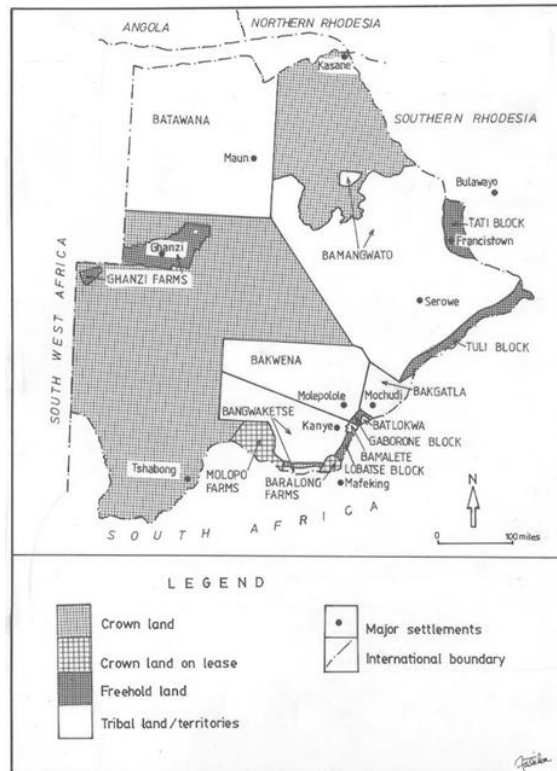


Figure 2.4: The map of Botswana illustrates the delineation of the territory into Crownland, Freehold and Tribal Reserves (Source: collected from Survey and Mapping office in Gaborone Botswana)

Urban historian Robert Home has suggested that indirect rule under British colonial rule was derived from the colonial practice in India of princely states after 1857. British rule in some parts of India retained the traditional ruling system and integrated it into the colonial administration, therefore princes reported to the resident commissioners.⁴² This system was interpreted unevenly across other British colonies in Africa and Malaysia. Richard Dale traces the development of power structures in Botswana, and has pointed out that they differed from other colonies. The knowledge networks in Botswana depended on the exchange between Botswana and South Africa rather than directly between Botswana and the British metropole, and this reflected the structure of a sub-colony. The administrative structures started from the District Commissioner stationed within Botswana to the governor in the

⁴² R. K. Home, *Of Planting and Planning : The Making of British Colonial Cities*, (London: London : E. & F. N. Spon, 1997), p. 127.

Mafikeng Reserve Township and then the colonial office in London. Consequently, due to the status of Botswana as a sub-colony, its extraterritorial capital was based in the Cape Colony through the British High Commissioner to South Africa. From 1895 until 1965 the administration centre was moved from Vryburg to the Imperial Reserve in Mafikeng.⁴³

Settlements during the colonial period

As previously mentioned in the introduction, townships in Botswana were built on freehold land and crownland such as Lobatse and Francistown were segregated along racial and social class categories, which lead Boga Manatsha to argue that the segregation in these townships reflected a scenario of "a colony within a protectorate."⁴⁴ This was because during this period some of the land in these regions was freehold, while a smaller portion was crownland.⁴⁵ Native housing areas were often distinguished from European housing areas based on the character and the design of the houses.⁴⁶ According to the zoning description, "European areas" were not "exclusive", thus Africans and Asians could settle there on the condition that "they were prepared to erect a house of suitable standard."⁴⁷ However this principle of segregation was not enshrined in legislation and it did not exist in Gaborone Township as we shall see next.

Gaborone Township

Gaborone was initially established as a military camp in 1870. The camp was by no means intended as a permanent settlement, but rather it provided a

⁴³ Richard Dale, *Botswana's Search for Autonomy in Southern Africa*, (London: Greenwood Press, 1995).

⁴⁴ Boga Manatsha, 'The Politics of Renaming "Colonial" Streets in Francistown, Botswana', *Historia*, 59 (November 2014), 276.pp269-288

⁴⁵ Abiodun Ayooluwa Areola, Thando D. Gwebu, and Reuben J. Sebego, 'A Spatio-Temporal Analysis of Peri-Urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Case Study from Lobatse, Botswana', *African Geographical Review*, 33 (2014).

⁴⁶ (archives)

⁴⁷ Notes of a meeting held in Mafikeng, on December 1957, Town Planning African Housing in the Township,

military support base during the second Anglo-Boer war.⁴⁸ During this period the colonial government had intended to integrate British Bechuanaland (now currently Northwest Province and the part of the former Transvaal in South Africa) into the Cape Colony, which in the end did not materialise. Anthony Sillery's study of the history of Botswana during the colonial period demonstrates the hesitation of the colonial government to build a permanent town in a similar scale and ambition to the Cape Colony, mainly because the prospects of Botswana as a colony (rather than a sub-colony) were not certain.⁴⁹ J. Ellenberger described Gaborone camp during the Second Anglo-Boer war in the following manner:

The Gaberones⁵⁰ of 1899 looked very different from the Gaborone's of today. The camp was surrounded on more than one side by very thick bush, much of which has since been cleared. It's only water supply was from a Police well on the fringe of dense bush on the river-flat and it had to be carted in a tank on wheels, drawn by oxen. The fort had been sand-bagged fresh and we all mustered in it at night.⁵¹

The land where Gaborone camp was established previously belonged to the Batlokwa chief having been obtained from the Bakwena *kgosi* Sechele. In 1895, following the relocation of the protectorate capital to Mafikeng, *kgosi* Sechele relinquished his rights over the land to the British Government for the construction of the north-south railway by the British South Africa Company 1905.⁵² This land was part of the strip of land which ran from north to south on the eastern part of the country and came to be known as the Railway Reserve. In 1946 Gaborone Reserve was surrounded by European farms on

⁴⁸ 1889-1902

⁴⁹ Sillery, *Founding a Protectorate : History of Bechuanaland, 1885-1895.*, Other Scholars share the same sentiment that Botswana was underdeveloped during the colonial period for example see Monageng Mogalakwe, 'How Britain Underdeveloped Bechuanaland Protectorate: A brief Critique of the Political Economy of Colonial Botswana', *African Development*, XXXXI (2000).

⁵⁰ As stated earlier the spelling 'Gaberones' appears in the quotes from the archival sources written during the colonial period.

⁵¹ J Ellenberger, 'The Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Boer War, 1899-1902', *Rhodesiana*, No 11 (Written in 1949, Published in December 1964) pp. 1-2.

⁵² *Kgosi* Sechele relinquished his rights of the land to the British Government following negotiations to reserve the land for railway construction. Isaac Schapera and John L. Comaroff, *The Tswana*, (London: Routledge Revivals in association with the International African Institute, 2015); Sillery, *Founding a Protectorate : History of Bechuanaland, 1885-1895.*

one end and on the other was the Railway Reserve and it covered an area of 189 square miles with a population of 300 people⁵³ (figure 2.5). The population in Gaborone Reserve comprised European families who were farmers, shopkeepers, mechanics and colonial administration employees.

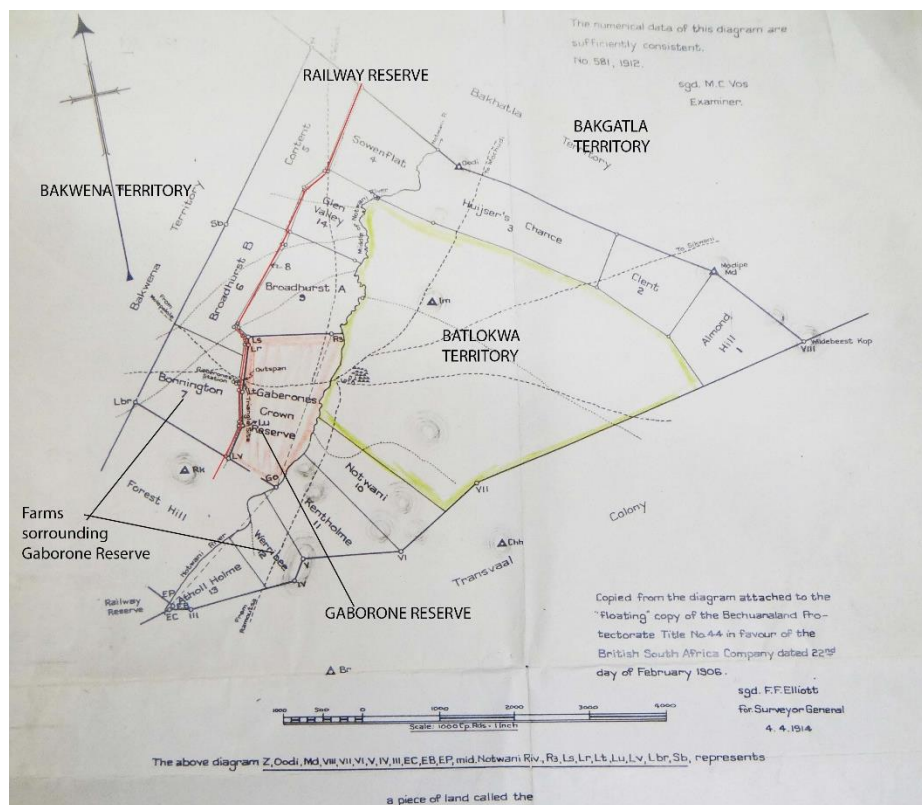


Figure 2.5: Gaborone Reserve was surrounded by farm land and the Batlokwa Territory (Source: collected from Botswana National Archives, file: Town Planning Gaborone Village, 1962, file reference no: S73 .2 .2)

In the early 1940s a more permanent settlement was set up on the eastern part of the railway line to accommodate a semi-administrative township as a seat for the resident commissioner. Despite the common knowledge of early European colonial outposts being built as architectural monuments symbolising the empire, Gaborone Township was rather modest. It comprised the minimal buildings and infrastructure required for a semi-administrative township. Gaborone Township also became a common meeting place for the tribal chiefs

⁵³ Isaac Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, (Oxford: International African Institute, 1938).

and the resident commissioner. It comprised of a railway line, which divided the township into a railway siding located about four miles from the main township and a railway station.⁵⁴ The main township comprised administrative offices, the house of the resident commissioner, civil servant houses, a prison, a school, police station, the Public Works Department workshops, an air landing strip and two general shops, a butchery, and small hotel. The character of the township was described by one newspaper as follows:

...all that the outside world knows of Gaborone is that it is on the main rail route between South Africa and Rhodesia. As the locomotive stands hissing at the the red-earth station, the passengers tired after the long crossing of the hot, dusty Bechuanaland veld, see a few bluegums, a store with hand-operated gasoline pump, and a hotel with a faded sign.Three miles down the wide road of the same red earth is Gaborone camp, headquarters of the local district commissioner and consisting of a few iron-tin roofed houses sheltering beneath deep verandahs, windows and roofs covered with screens.⁵⁵

The architecture the township followed the simplest forms and responded to local conditions. In 1962 the Public Works Department planners described the architecture of the camp as the simplest interpretation of European material culture in the absence of qualified architects:

...shops and other commercial buildings followed a simplest of functional pattern i.e. corrugated iron sheets and based on the simplest materials mud walled buildings with corrugated iron roof, this is general with a few exceptions in the form of hotels and banking houses.⁵⁶

Prestigious-at-time houses such as the house of the resident commissioner followed an interpretation of Cape Dutch colonial architecture. The old prison fort (figure 2.6) and the resident commissioner's house (figure 2.7), the former

⁵⁴ Eileen M. Steel, 'Gaborone', *Geography*, 54 (1969).

⁵⁵ D. A. Greig, 'British 'Capitalize' Bechuanaland', *The Christian Science Monitor*, (December 29th 1962).*The Christian Science Monitor*, December 29th 1962, British to Capitalize Bechuanaland

⁵⁶ PWD

police station, a grave site and other structures are the few remnants of the colonial township.⁵⁷



Figure 2.6: Old prison fort is one on the remnant buildings of Gaborone Township (Source: taken by author in 2015)



Figure 2.7: Old Resident Commissioner House now converted into artist centre. (Source:<http://www.transartists.org/air/thapong-visual-art-centre>)

⁵⁷ Sandy Grant, 'Gaborone Village ', in *Kutlwano Magazine*, (Gaborone: Government printers, September 2012).



Figure 2.8: Old Gaborone store during the 1940s (Source: Botswana National Archives.)

The earliest township map is dated 1946 on drawn by Public Works Department architect, D. E. Clark, and shows Gaborone settlement as a camp settlement with police barracks, housing for colonial employees, a store and bank (figure 2.8 and 2.9). During this period, there was no formal urban planning tradition and buildings designed by the Public Works Department architects were constructed under austere conditions to meet the practical demands of the time.

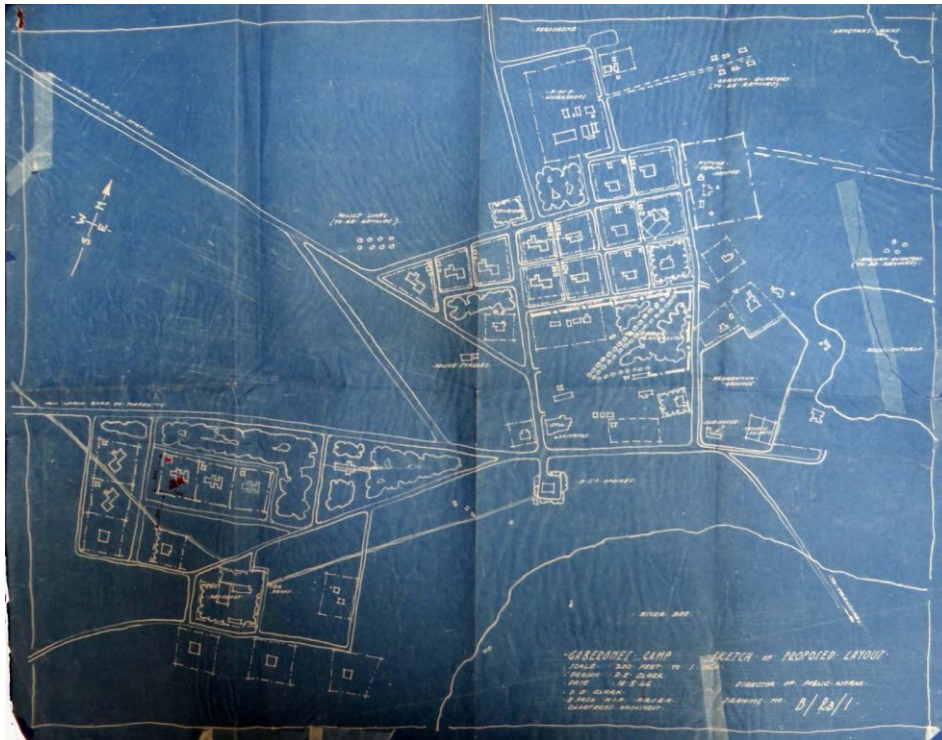


Figure 2.9: A plan of Gaborone Township in 1946 (Source: Botswana National Archives, file: *Town Planning Gaborone Village*, file reference no: S73 .2 .2)

Urban planning was not formalised to the townships in 1959 when the Township planning act was passed. In 1959, there was a consensus amongst the PWD architects, surveyors and the colonial office in Mafikeng that Gaborone could no longer develop in an ad hoc manner and thus deserved to be formally planned. The township system was a direct interpretation of the cantonment system in India⁵⁸ and used exclusively for the military, governing bodies and was kept separate from the indigenous towns.⁵⁹ The definition of a township can also be traced to the colonial Nigerian governor Fredrick Lugard who describes it as:

...an enclave outside the jurisdiction of the native authority and native courts, which are thus relieved of the difficult task (which is foreign to their function) of controlling the alien natives and employees of the Government

⁵⁸ See for example A.D. King, 'Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment', (Milton Park: Routledge, 1976).

⁵⁹ Home, *Of Planting and Planning : The Making of British Colonial Cities*.

and Europeans, who, together with natives engaged in ministering to the requirements of the township, constitute the native residents."⁶⁰

Lugard's portrayal of the township paints a picture of a town of order where street hawking is regulated, street avenues are lined with trees, and that should be further away from the 'so called native towns.' In contrast to such townships described as exclusive enclaves, although Gaborone was located in crownland, its status as a township was much different as the population of the administrative township itself was mixed, it comprised colonial administration employees of both European and African descent. Gaborone only was declared a township for the purposes of introducing formal urban planning legislation under the Township Proclamation of 1955⁶¹ and segregationist policies were not enshrined into the planning policy. The 1955 proclamation made a provision for settlements in the crown land to be given the status of a town, which was followed by the establishment of township boundaries and the introduction of town planning regulations. Only settlements in crown lands could be recognised as "towns".⁶² According to the Township Planning minutes:

In 1955, to provide for the regulation of Townships, the Townships Proclamation empowered the High Commissioner to declare any place in the Territory to be a township, other than a place situated wholly or partly in any Tribal territory. In conformity with the powers vested in him the High Commissioner at various times declared Francistown, Gaberones, Ghanzi, Lobatsi and Tatitown to be townships and defined their boundaries and areas (but) it was not, however, until 1962 that the first Township Regulations were made bringing Township authorities into existence in

⁶⁰ Fredrick Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, (Abingdon: Frank Cass & Co LTD, 2005), p. 574.

⁶¹ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'High Commissioner's Notice, the Declaration of Townships', in *collected file: Town Planning Gaberones, file ref no: S 73.2.1*, (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, 1960).

⁶²Ibid. p. 2.

Francistown and Tatitown to be followed in 1964 in the case of Gaborones.

63

Therefore, for any urban planning or development to be carried out it became imperative to survey the extent of the Gaborone Township. Its boundaries were defined within an area covering 11 square miles. Initially master plan to extend township underwent several revisions, with the original a master plan drawn by the Public Works Department architect. Over the years the township was extended as and when required. In the late 1950s more staff housing was built and by 1960 the population of the township was estimated at 2000 to 3000.⁶⁴ However, the township never reached a status or size of a capital city, because in the early 1960s the plans to build a new capital city that would supplant the township in the preparation for the transition of power were underway.

A Brief history of the Bakgatla

The Bakgatla community are part of the Sotho- Tswana group, split between South Africa and Botswana. Although Bakgatla are part of the Tswana speaking groups, the Tswana are by no means ethnically homogenous. Within the nation of Botswana different ethnic groups like Bakgatla identify as a distinct ethnic cultural group, traditionally governed by a hereditary paramount chief as previously mentioned. This traditional mode of political administration is common in South Africa and Botswana, and has now been integrated into the political structure of administration. The current tribal institutions have gone through significant transformation due to colonisation and modern democracy; however they institutionally play a pivotal role in the continuity of ethnic cultural identification and traditions. In South Africa, the government operates a federal form of administration where each province has a provincial

⁶³ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Minutes of the Planning Committee No. 5', in *Town Planning Gaborones*, file ref no: S 73.2.1, (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, 1959), (p. 1).

⁶⁴ Grant, 'Gaborone Village'; Sandy Grant, 'The Gaborones Crown Reserve and Its Adjoining Area in 1906', in *Kutlwano*, (Gaborone, Botswana, 2017).

government or metropolitan government or local authorities. Tribal leadership plays a much bigger role, for example participation in service delivery and the development of the economy at a local level.⁶⁵ In contrast, tribal leadership in Botswana as suggested earlier, operated under the local government and has a lesser role to play. For example, currently tribal leaders reside over customary courts, registration of marriages but do not participate in economic-led roles. A common thread between the two tribal leadership structures is that they are instrumental in the maintenance and construction of ethnic cultural identities.

Mochudi and Moruleng villages' architecture during the colonial period

The Bakgatla originate from Saulspoort, (presently and hence forth known as Moruleng) in South Africa, in the present-day Northwest Province. Moruleng was the capital of Bakgatla, and the rest of the community settled in other smaller villages in the region. History suggests that Bakgatla have been settled in this area since the seventeenth century.⁶⁶ The Voortrekkers⁶⁷ (later known as the Boers) arrived in 1836 after fleeing British rule in the Cape⁶⁸ and named the area Pilanesberg, derived from the name of the Bakgatla *kgosi* Pilane at the time.⁶⁹ Pilanesberg and other northern parts of South Africa became a focus for power struggle and control between the Boers and British government during the nineteenth century resulting in several battles and raids

⁶⁵ Republic of South Africa, 'No. 41 of 2003: Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Act 2003', ed. by The Presidency Republic of South Africa (South Africa: Republic of South Africa, December 200.); Prince Masehele, 'Traditional Leadership in South Africa; New Democracy', *Review of African Political Economy*, 31 (2004); Christine Pörsel, 'Unity, Diversity or Separation? The Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela in the Borderlands of Southern Africa', *Historia*, 59 (2014).

⁶⁶ Bernard Kachama Mbenga, 'The Participation of the Bakgatla Ba Kgafela of Rustenburg District the South African (or Anglo-Boer) War of 1899-1902', (South Africa: North-West University, Unknown), pp. 1-21.p3

⁶⁷ Voortrekkers refers to the Boers or Dutch who left the Cape in a Great Trek to the north and we called Voorttrekkers

⁶⁸ Isaac Schapera, *A Short History of the Bakgatla-Bagakgafela of Brchuanaland Protectorate*, (University of Cape Town: Communication from the school of Africa Studies, University of Cape Town Historical Papers, The University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1942).

⁶⁹ It is believed that the name Pilanesberg is derived from the name of Bakgatla chief Pilane who ruled the area. Pilanesberg means Pilane's mountain and refers to the ring of mountains around the Sun City region

between the two colonial powers.⁷⁰ In 1871 part of the Bakgatla community under *kgosi* Kgamanyane migrated to Botswana to the present-day Mochudi due to the strained relationship between *kgosi* Kgamanyane and the Boers, while the rest stayed in Moruleng.

In contrast to townships, traditional villages as the oldest settlements in Botswana were organised based on traditional socio-cultural practices. Early travellers and missionaries such as Robert Mackenzie described nucleated large capitals as compared to other settlements in the region.⁷¹ These were organised to reflect the “social hierarchies and complex political structures as evidence of civilisation.”⁷² Other travellers suggested the tribal capitals comprised a collection of villages and each village represented a unit of organisation which is now known as the ward.⁷³

The early Bakgatla settlements were composed of traditional vernacular huts, centred on the royal *kgotla* where “public meetings, ritual events, litigation, and administrative activities-and, often, a royal cattle enclosure in which were buried past rulers”,⁷⁴ formed the royal quarters. This spatial layout of the royal quarters, located in the centre of the village, was completed by the chief’s wives’ houses. Traditional villages also composed “wards or (*dikgoro*) of variable size, criss-crossed by a labyrinth of narrow pathways and wider traverses for animals to enter and exit.”⁷⁵ Wards were formed by houses and yards of relatives and these settlements were often densely populated with the Moruleng population estimated at approximately 3000 people in 1870.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Bernard K. Mbenga, 'Forced Labour in the Pilanesberg: The Flogging of Chief Kgamanyane by Commandant Paul Kruger, Saulspoort April 1870', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23 (March 1997).

⁷¹ Robert Mackenzie quoted in Andrew Reid and others, 'Tswana Architecture and Responses to Colonialism', *World Archaeology*, 28 (1997).

⁷² Stephen Voltz, 'European Missionaries and Tswana Identity in the 19th Century', *Pula: Journal of African Studies*, 17 (2003), pp6-7.

⁷³ Henry Lichtenstein, and translated by, and Anne Plumpre, *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1804, 1804, 1805 and 1806*, (Cape Town: Van Reibeeck Society, 1928), p. 377.

⁷⁴ I. Schapera, *Picturing a Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 61.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* page 61

⁷⁶ Bernard Mbenga and Fred Morton, 'The Missionary as Land Broker: Henri Gonin, Saulspoort 269 and the Bakgatla of Rustenburg District, 1862– 1922', *South African Historical Journal*, 36 (1997), 150.

These villages would have been significantly larger than other indigenous settlement in southern Africa, a feature archaeologists attribute to the Tswana cultural civilisation.⁷⁷ Traditional huts were built out of mud and stones, with thatch roof and walls decorated with distinct traditional motif,⁷⁸ known as *lekgapho* in the Tswana vernacular (figure 2.10). The character and identity of this traditional space is 'a clear spatial hierarchy, controlling public and private spaces; successive layering of space, created by walls within walls, with different realms of enclosure.'⁷⁹ It is a form of social organisation based on family ties and societal hierarchy (figure 2.11). Anthropologist Isaac Schapera who lived, studied and recorded the history of the Bakgatla in Botswana described the layout of each homestead in Mochudi:

Within the village each family has its own homestead, a cluster of huts clearly separated by a low wall or fence from those of other families.⁸⁰



Figure 2.10: Mochudi *kgotla* in 1907 showing the cluster of huts (Source: Grant Sandy, *The Transition from village to town*, p. 6)

⁷⁷ Amos Rapoport, 'The Nature of Cities and Their Capital Expressions', in *Capital Cities/Les Capitales: Perspectives Internationales/ International Perspectives*, ed. by John H. Taylor, Jean G. Lengelle, and Andrew Caroline (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), pp. 31-60; A. Reid and others, 'Tswana Architecture and Responses to Colonialism', *Taylor and Francis, World Archaeology*, 28, (1997).

⁷⁸ S. Grant and E. Grant, *Decorated Homes in Botswana*, (Cape Town, South Africa: Ceda Press, 1995); Schapera, *Picturing a Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*.

⁷⁹ <http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes.php?bldgid=9272>

⁸⁰ Schapera, *Picturing a Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*.



Figure 2.11: A typical Tswana Village showing the different spatial relations. Basimane ward in Serowe village Botswana in 1969 (Source: Kathryn Fewster, *The potential of analogy in post-processual archaeologies: a case study from Basimane ward, Serowe Botswana*, pp. 72)

It is difficult to describe Moruleng village layout and architecture in the same detail as Mochudi because of the absence of primary sources. However, given that the two villages would have been built by the same community, we could infer that similarities in the village layout and organisation. While traces of these spatial traditions are still evident in Mochudi village, this continuity in Moruleng has not endured due to the consequences of conflicts, colonialism, apartheid and other cultural influences such as Christianity. Particularly, the height of apartheid in South Africa resulted in land dispossession, the marginalisation of cultural practices and histories, and the interruption of oral traditions. The influence of colonialism and the exposure to missionaries and early travellers meant that new architectural forms and practices started to emerge. Schools, churches, and other significant buildings followed an interpretation of Cape Dutch colonial architecture. This architecture was characterised by white

washed walled, gable-end, hipped roofed buildings with corrugated iron roofs often painted red. The community in Moruleng and Mochudi appropriated this kind of architecture.

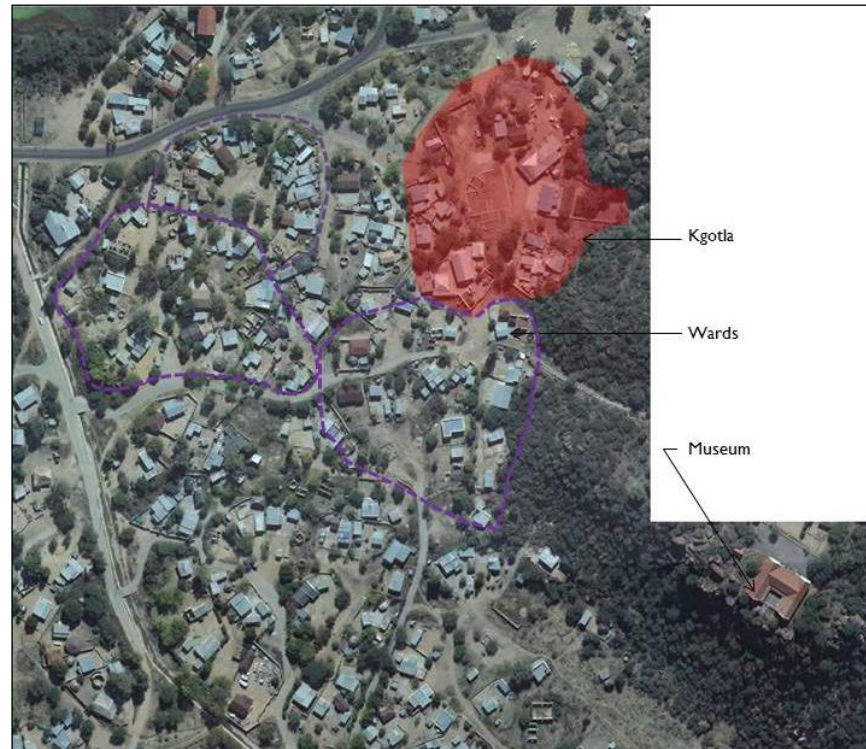


Figure 2.12: The older traditional pattern is still evident in Mochudi today as illustrated in the image above. (Source: Ariel photograph take from Surveys and Mapping, 2015, Gaborone, Botswana, edited by author)

The character of Gaborone Township previously described suggests that during the colonial period, architecture in the township did not illustrate any attempt to address a collective identity or power representation over the colonised. Instead this period was characterised by the hesitation to build anything substantive because of the political uncertainty of Botswana as a sub-colony (protectorate).⁸¹ The traditional villages on the other hand exhibited cultural influences from both vernacular architecture rooted in the socio-cultural practices of the tribal community and Cape Dutch colonial architecture.

⁸¹ Peter Fawcus and Alan Tilbury, *Botswana: The Road to Independence*, (Botswana: The Botswana Society and Pula Press, 2000).

Re-examination of the concept of a nation and the question of and the relationship to architecture, planning and heritage

The concept of nation has recently been re-examined by postcolonial scholars. An exemplary essay comes from cultural theorist Homi Bhabha titled; *Dissemination: The Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation* in the book *Nation and Narration*. In this essay Bhabha contends that the nation is not homogenous but rather the nationalist logic is aimed at translating “the many” into “one.” In this pursuit to represent the nation which is a “cultural construct of nationness”, the nation materialised in various complex ways, for example in literary text, narratives and particularly in architecture.⁸² Bhabha’s description of a nation advocates for the examination of the different forms of representations which denote both the national narratives constructed by those in power and other forms of signification of self, minorities and personal space. In extending this argument Bhabha makes a distinction between what he terms the pedagogical and the performative temporalities of the nation. Here pedagogical refers to pre-existing history which signifies people “*a propri*.” ‘Performative’ questions the linear narrative of the nation and restores people as the centre of the national signification process, where everyday life and oppositional narratives allow for the emergence of cultural difference. In short, this line of thought calls for the inscription of histories and narratives of other forms of representation and central to this argument is that the nation is not stable, and within the nation exist cultural differences.

This idea of nation is useful in the context of Botswana for several reasons. Society in Botswana has an ability to maintain a dual identify as part of the nation and part of the individual tribal group, rooted in an identification with a sense of “origin.”⁸³ This unusual system of identification means that the capital city is often charged with the task of representing the nation while the tribal

⁸² Homi K. Bhabha, 'Dissemination: Time Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation', in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi K. Bhabha (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 291-320 pp. 299,).

⁸³ “origin” is deliberately inverted commas because as stated earlier nations are constructed and require national myths or a common sense of origins to justify their existence

spaces represent tribal identities. Furthermore, the idea of the nation of Botswana is further challenged by the fact that the tribal groups who identify as Batswana also lie beyond the actual borders of the country as illustrated in the case of Bakgatla in Moruleng and Mochudi.⁸⁴ The Tswana groups are part of the larger Sotho-Tswana group whose origins have been traced throughout southern Africa.

In Botswana, it was only in the run up to independence that nation-building and nation identity debates gained more currency. Historian Richard Webner argues that during early post-independence the Tswana tribes became cultural nationalists; an assimilation exercise which was pertinent to the postcolonial political imagination and new nation-building⁸⁵ backed up by the new postcolonial state. In the current postcolonial context Botswana presents itself as a mono-ethnic state based on the assumption that the majority of the tribes are Tswana speaking and hence Setswana and English are considered official languages. However even within the Tswana speaking tribes' ethnic identities differences exist. This led Neil Parson to argue that;

*Tswanadom that is both philosophical and territorial has led many observers to assume that Batswana is a mono-ethnic state ...but only in so far as the Tswana minority has successfully imposed its culture on the majority population of the extreme diverse origins...[and even then] ethnic identities have not disappeared.*⁸⁶

It has been estimated that there are “about 37 other tribes in Botswana. The total non-Tswana population is generally estimated at about 60 percent.”⁸⁷ However, such estimates are not reliable because the population census since the colonial period has not recorded the tribal identity make up, and instead the census reflected only the number of people per region.⁸⁸ In 1966 Botswana gained independence and operated under a multiparty democracy system.

⁸⁴ The Bakgatla regard Mochudi as a tribal capital because the paramount chief resides there.

⁸⁵ Webner, 'Challenging Minority and Tribal Citizenship in Botswana', pp675-6

⁸⁶ Parsons, 'The Evolution of the Modern Tswana: Historical Revisions', (p. 27).

⁸⁷ Angela Gapa, 'Identity Management: the Creation of Resource Allocation in Botswana', *African Studies Quarterly*, 17 (March 2017); Nyati-Ramahobo, 'Minority Tribes in Botswana: The Politics of Recognition'.

⁸⁸ In the book: *The Tswana* by Isaac Schapera, population make up is shown according to the tribal reserves, crown land and freehold land. Schapera and Comaroff, *The Tswana*.

During the transition to independence the chiefs as the representatives of the major Tswana speaking tribes, the political elite and colonial administrators played a role in the formation of the constitution. Under these negotiations Botswana adopted a one nation values stance where, according to Lydia Nyato-Ramahobo, “the goal at independence was to assimilate ethnic groups into the Tswana culture to create a mono-ethnic state, a model found in the British Colonies”⁸⁹ based on ethnic homogeneity.

The new democratic system was partially modelled on the Westminster model of having two Houses-the House of parliament and the House of chiefs who were the ex-members of the African Advisory Council. However, the House of Chiefs plays a lesser political role in the country, as advisors to the parliament on bills and matters concerning cultural issues.⁹⁰ This system of having the Tswana cultural decent tribes as the principal tribes is further reflected in the Houses of Chiefs representation where the members of the house comprise the chiefs from the eight Tswana speaking tribes, while the other tribes are represented by elected members on a five-year term.

Despite the portrayal of Botswana as a mono-ethnic state, ethnic consciousness in the country even amongst the main Tswana speaking groups exist. The postcolonial period has been characterised by identity debates mostly in relation to the recognition of minority tribes in the Houses of Chiefs, languages debates and nation-building narratives as previously mentioned. The post-1990 period has witnessed the rise of ethnic consciousness through the revival of cultural ceremonies such as traditional schools and the invention of new cultural festivals reflecting the cultural diversity of tribes in the country seeking to preserve their own sense of identity. Current literature on the construction of national identity in Botswana has been conducted from the vantage point of tribal assimilation with a focus on minority debates. For example, prominent scholars in Botswana such as Richard Webner and Lydia

⁸⁹ Nyati-Ramahobo, 'Minority Tribes in Botswana: The Politics of Recognition'.

⁹⁰ Houses of chief's have no real political power. For example, bills concerning cultural matters are referred to the Houses of Chiefs from the parliament, but the parliament is not compelled to adopt the changes

Nyati Ramahobo have written extensively on tribal differences and the need to recognise Botswana as a multi-ethnic nation.

The relationship of national identity to architecture

The notion of national as 'imagined communities'⁹¹, as proposed by Anderson, has been extended to examine architecture. For example, in extending this argument Anthony King contends that 'the ideology of all imagined environments is contained, materialised and symbolised.'⁹² Architecture is conceptualised to symbolise national identity and different imaginations of the nation. As such, cities and buildings can symbolise socio-cultural and political identity or economic power. However, notions of linking national identity to architecture are of an older origin, and have been traced by Raymond Quek to the Middle Ages, and with a wider reception to the sixteenth century. With a historical perspective, Quek has pointed out that the seventeenth century meeting of Western and Eastern cultures initiated the interest of studying other civilisations. Colonisation and domination of other groups during the nineteenth century was seen as 'civilising' the space of others by leaving indelible marks on the physical landscape. Quek points out that it is in this manner that the 'dominion of the city' was realised in architecture and became 'the most powerful representation of a nation.' Similarly, when tracing the development of architectural nationalism in France and Germany during the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, Mitchell Schwarzer⁷⁴⁷⁴ reminds us that architectural nationalism did not originate from characteristics of common people or shared land. Instead it was from elites formed by kings, architects and state institutions who became involved in the international design scene with ambitions to place their state at an

⁹¹ Although Homi Bhabha has criticised the ideas of the nation as an imagined community by contending that this line of thought masks the other forms of representation central to the people who are the constituents of the nation, it is important to realise that members of the nation can become part of this imaginative process.

⁹² Anthony D. King, *Spaces of Global Cultures : Architecture, Urbanism, Identity*, (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 5.

advantage.⁹³ The nation-state in this way plays a major role in identity formation through a set of laws, institutions, philosophically, politically, and through education and the mass media.

How does architecture and urban form symbolise national identity, and how can we understand national identity? It has been widely acknowledged that nationalism is a doctrine of the modern age, resulting from political and economic forces over time, which held the social unit of a nation together.⁹⁴ Similarly, national identity is a modern phenomenon, applicable to members of nation states who hold the belief that they are related. The urban landscape as a container of the nation is more than the physical form, hence it has been described as a "storehouse for memories", a layering of meanings and values which are inscribed over time.

One way of understanding the complexity of national identity is to explore the social dimension, and how people have influenced both the architecture and the construction of identity. Following Guibernau's approach⁹⁵, the framework for understanding social dimensions of national identity can be explored through: cultural, historical, political and economic dimensions,⁹⁶ which suggests that architectural studies should go beyond the limitations of architectural styles and deal with the actual process and politics of how discourses of nationhood are formed and articulated.

The political dimension of national identity is inextricably linked to the modern nation-state, major economic developments and changing political power relations. In this regard, the nation-state as a political and economic institution, pursues a hegemonic approach which appropriates images and symbols of the dominant cultural group to represent the nation. Consequently, national identity in postcolonial societies has been linked to the

⁹³ Mitchell Schwarzer, 'The Sources of Architectural Nationalism', in *Nationalism and Architecture*, ed. by Raymond Quek, Darren Deane, and Sarah Butler (England: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 20-21).

⁹⁴ Joseph Esherick, *Remaking the Chinese City : Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

⁹⁵ This approach includes also territorial dimension and psychological dimension

⁹⁶ Guibernau, 'Anthony D. Smith on Nations and National Identity: A Critical Assessment'.p135

design of capital cities and modernity, the transformation of heritage, memory and urbanisation, thus influencing architecture. In this light, buildings and urban relationships, alongside other symbols of a nation such as the national flag and other emblems are used as national symbols. For example, the design of postcolonial cities such as Chandigarh in India and Brasilia in Brazil was seen as a representation of independence, politically motivated and a matter of concern for the new nation state.

Historical and cultural dimensions of national identity are also interconnected. New nation states look to common aspects of identity such as culture, tradition, national character and history to define self, for the purposes of historical and cultural continuity. 'The search of identity' by new nation states, as Clifford Geertz puts it, is driven by the aim of self-assertion to the outside world, by looking into the past as a reminder of shared history and culture, while striving for progress and modernisation.⁹⁷ Heritage and memory is also central to cultural and historical continuity. However, heritage in postcolonial societies is highly selective, entangled in discourses. Moreover, it continues to evolve and is contested since most discussions about the built environment are currently located within discussions about race, gender and class. This phenomenon has been more prevalent in postcolonial societies in the immediate period following independence. This quest for self-representation has been observed by Sabine Marshall who argues that it is 'ideologically and emotionally driven,'⁹⁸ conducted through the 'wholesale rejection of colonial discourses'⁹⁹, in so doing replacing heritage with new symbols that are reflective of the new social order. In addition to the dimensions of national identity, we can begin to look at Vale's argument that national identity in architecture and urban form as a top-down

⁹⁷ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures [Electronic Resource] : Selected Essays*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

⁹⁸ Sabine Marshall, 'The Heritage of Post-Colonial Societies', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2008), p. 348 (p. 350).

⁹⁹ Z. Aygen, *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation: Saving the World's Past*, (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2013), p. 48.

approach is constructed at personal, sub-national and supra-national levels.¹⁰⁰ This argument underlines that national identity in the city is negotiated within the ambitions of designers and politicians by producing architecture which asserts nationhood and symbolises economic development to the outside world.

Exemplary studies exploring identity in relation to architecture in Botswana come from heritage studies. For example, in the early 1970s calls to conserve regional heritage in Botswana were articulated in academic circles, increasing in the 1990s. These academic articles articulated the social and historic significance of vernacular architecture and tribal spaces. For example, Sandy Grant published articles in the Botswana Notes and Records, where he argued for the conservation of historic building and tribal spaces due to fears that heritage in tribal spaces is undermined by the national drive for modernisation. These concerns were expressed against the backdrop of the height of urbanisation in Botswana and tribal heritage.

However, so far none of these studies have explored how identity politics relate to the actual built environment, such as the planning of Gaborone as a representation of the new imagined nation or with regards to architectural heritage. Current literature on the city in Botswana emphasises that the creation of Gaborone as a capital city amounted to cultural imposition of a modern planned city by the departing colonial powers.¹⁰¹ A similar argument comes from urban planners Branko Cavric and Marco Keiner who believe that the notion of the new town of Gaborone was a radical replacement of indigenous settlement which was fuelled by "intensive political and economic transitions, received through independence, the liberal capitalist system and the diamond boom."¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, (United States: Yale University Press and London, 1992), pp. 52-53.

¹⁰¹ Branko Cavric and Marco Keiner, 'Managing Development of a Rapidly Growing African City: A Case of Gaborone, Botswana', (2006); A. Kent and H. Ikgopoleng, 'Gaborone', *Cities*, 28 (2011).

¹⁰²Cavric and Keiner, 'Managing Development of a Rapidly Growing African City: A Case of Gaborone, Botswana'.p96

This study goes beyond this view of the city which emphasises the narrative of the city and a representation of a singular narrative of power. Drawing from Bhabha's notion of the "the complex strategies of cultural identification,"¹⁰³ which for this study are the 'politics of identity' as part of a set of negotiated practices between different actors and their relationship to architecture, this thesis explores the different practices of identity making in the capital city and tribal villages in Botswana. Following this line of thought, recent scholarship has begun to explore how such identity debates relate to the actual built environment, in terms of urban planning architecture and heritage.¹⁰⁴ This view has been echoed by architectural historians who emphasise architecture has the advantage because it provides us with material facts which leave tangible inscriptions of past and present cultures whether through drawings, actual existing buildings or archaeological evidence.¹⁰⁵ The advantage of studying the architecture in this way means that it we can consider architecture not only thorough the historic lens, but we can also explore the contemporary (contingent) meaning of these places.

This chapter has traced the origins of the idea of a nation in Botswana. It was argued the nation of Botswana was initially constructed during the colonial period. However, during this time the idea of a nation was not necessarily materialised but remained a political construct. The administration of the country as a sub-colony also meant that there was no concerted effort to display a common national identity of the nation, other than assimilating all the other tribal groups into the seemingly 'homogenous' Tswana tribal communities which became the defining ethnicity for the nation. During the post-independence period, debates on national identity gained more currency. As Bhabha has suggested the national narrative is aimed at presenting the "many" into "one." It is thus important to question how the notions of

¹⁰³ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture [Electronic Resource]*, [New ed.] / with a new preface by the author. edn (London: London : Routledge, 2004), p. 140.

¹⁰⁴ Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire*, (Aldershot: Aldershot : Ashgate, 2003); Kathleen James-Chakraborty, 'Beyond Postcolonialism: New Directions for the History of Nonwestern Architecture', *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, 3 (2014).

¹⁰⁵ Zeynep Celik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule*, (United States: University of California Press, 1997); S. Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

national identity were historically framed and how such politics on identity, cultural dimensions or cultural histories are articulated in architecture. Kathleen James-Chakraborty has recently highlighted that questions around “creating architectural infrastructure of a modern nation state” could be answered by exploring “the relationship of architecture and politics and particularly the construction of collective identities.”¹⁰⁶ Following this line of inquiry, to understand the construction of national identities we need to locate architecture within a wider discussion of complex socio-cultural¹⁰⁷ and political dimensions, the urban processes and ideologies that underpin architectural practice.¹⁰⁸ As stated earlier, as society in Botswana has an ability to maintain a dual identify as part of the nation and part of the individual tribal group, rooted in the identification with a sense of “origin.” This unusual system of identification means that the National City is often charged with the task of representing the nation (examined in the next chapter) while the tribal spaces represent the tribal identities.

The transition of Gaborone from a township to a capital city is examined in the next chapter and it takes into the consideration the “process of envisioning” the capital city where the planning proposals and the debates on what kind of city was desired are discussed. In this regard the identity representations of the city as envisioned and materialised are explored as part of the identity making practices. Planning proposals and minutes provide the avenue to analyse this envisioned capital city and its identity, they illuminate not only the architecture but also its socio-cultural meaning and the politics of envisioning a postcolonial capital city which was previously neglected in the studies of Gaborone.

¹⁰⁶ James-Chakraborty, 'Beyond Postcolonialism: New Directions for the History of Non-western Architecture', 4.

¹⁰⁷ Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial : Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia*, (London: Routledge, 2000).

¹⁰⁸ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, (Great Britain: Pelican Books, 1961), p. 61; Susan Parnell and Alan Mabin, 'Rethinking Urban South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21 (1995).

3 The Imagined Capital City and the cultural legacy and the politics of planning a postcolonial city and civic space

The capital city of Gaborone was planned in 1960, by the departing British colonial powers in preparation for Botswana's independence. As we saw in chapter 2, Botswana was administered extraterritorially from the Mafikeng Imperial Reserve in South Africa during the colonial period because no capital city existed. Scholarship on the planning of Gaborone makes two assumptions: first, that the city was planned based on 'Garden city planning principles'¹ and second, that it lacks local character and architectural identity.² Some studies suggest that Gaborone was planned by an unknown group of British civil servants, who had limited understanding of cultural living patterns in Botswana and imposed modern planning on the city. As such Horatius Ikgopoleng and Anthony Kent suggest that Gaborone lacks in architectural identity and

¹ Branko Cavric and Marco Keiner, 'Managing Development of a Rapidly Growing African City: A Case of Gaborone, Botswana', (2006); A. C. Moshia, 'The City of Gaborone, Botswana: Planning and Management', *Ambio*, 25 (1996).

² Anthony Kent and Horatius Ikgopoleng, 'Gaborone', *Cities*, 28 (2011). pp 480

'cultural motifs' that can make the city distinct, a problem they blame on the early plans for the city and the imposition of modernism.³

These assumptions are based on a limited interpretation of the planning proposals and fail to explore the significant political processes of planning a postcolonial capital city.⁴ Opposing the view that Gaborone lacks identity and character, this chapter explores this social and political context and examines the role that urban planning and architecture played in defining national identity. Of interest, here is the politics of these ideas in planning the postcolonial capital city, as a negotiation between the departing colonial powers and the local political elite who also took an active role in envisioning the new city.

Previous studies have demonstrated that throughout history, cities have been sites of imagination through urban planning and architectural experiments.⁵ Although some interventions are not realised, these un-built planning proposals are part of the representation of the kind of urban space the nation and the state are to occupy and reveal ideas on national identity. These plans are part of the imagined world or 'the invisible city'⁶ that conceal critical thoughts on the imaginary city, its character and meaning to the dweller. The initial planning proposals of Gaborone, which have never been discussed before, share this quality of an imagined city and the process of envisaging and planning a postcolonial capital city.

³ Jan Wareus, 'Planning History of Gaborone', *Mmegi*, (2012).

⁴ This study classified Gaborone as a postcolonial capital although other literature still referred to the city as a colonial capital. My classification follows that of Lawrence Vale. My assumptions are that Gaborone was created as a capital city for independence, prior to that no capital city was built because the country was administrated from Mafikeng, South Africa. See Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, (United States: Yale University Press and London, 1992); Lawrence J. Vale, 'The Urban Design of Twentieth Century Capitals', in *Planning Twentieth Century Capitals*, ed. by David L. A. Gordon (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 15-37.

⁵ See for example Zeynep Celik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations algiers under French Rule*, (United States: University of California Press, 1997); Zeynep Celik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations algiers under French Rule*, (United States: University Of California Press, 1997); Anthony D. King, 'Colonialism and Urban Development', in *Cities of the Global South Reader*, ed. by Faranak Miraftab and Kudva Neema (Oxon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 29-38.

⁶Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, 1st edition edn (New York: Harcourt Brace Jonavich, 1974).

The purpose of this chapter is to give an account of the vision of Gaborone as a capital city. It presumes that the creation of Gaborone should be viewed in light of the transition of power to self-rule at independence. This process entailed the negotiation of different urban visions between the local political elite, the British colonial government and planning professionals. Gaborone was envisaged as an inclusive capital representative of the new nation; therefore its geographical location was also to be 'neutral.' The design of the city was not to reproduce existing cultural groupings, but to envision a new national identity for the soon to be formed modern state. Such ideas were expressed during a period when what it means to be a Motswana⁷ and a resident of Gaborone was politically debated. These ideas were rooted in theories defining a new kind of citizenry that would be both egalitarian and modern. One significant national principle, as stated in the planning brief for Gaborone, was the call for a 'non-racial city,'⁸ with proponents for this connecting the desire to define a new national identity with new ideas on urban planning and the city. The Gaborone project was to be both an administrative city to the newly formed independent state and a source of national identity for the new nation.

Beginning with an overview of the debates on choosing the location of the capital city, the chapter analyses the politics of planning Gaborone, examining the three main planning proposals completed by the Public Works Department (PWD) in Mafikeng and the Architectural Association of School (AA) in London. The three planning proposals are different, but it is argued that each contributed to the present form of Gaborone with its combination of neo-colonial and 'New towns' modern planning influences.⁹ This argument

⁷ Motswana is singular for Batswana; the nation is Batswana while the country is Botswana.

⁸ The idea of a non-racial city reflected the desire to create a city that will mark itself of the racially segregated cities in Southern Africa. Cities like Lusaka in Zambia, Johannesburg in South Africa

⁹ This observation was also made by urban planner John Wan Nostrand in his book, *Old Naledi: The Village Becomes a town*. The study does not go further to examine the different planning proposals. Nostrand suggest that due to the fact the city was planned by Britain, it 'rendered it a combination neo-colonial capital and British new town. See John Van Nostrand, *Old Naledi: The Village Becomes a Town*, (Canada: James Lorimer and Company, 1982). p 15

challenges previous and recent writing which generally states that the overall design of Gaborone was entirely based on 'Garden City principles.'¹⁰

The chapter traces how different planning traditions were applied in the planning proposals for Gaborone. Using a variety of archive sources including planning minutes, legislative debates, the planning proposals and their related correspondence, it illustrates that the plans for the city reflected debates on appropriating urban planning to create not only a show piece capital but to initiate ideas on identity, economic class distinction and the creation of a national public space. It shows how the three proposals were appropriated as a representation of national identity and modernity, and further revisited, post-independence, for the second expansion stage of the city when attempts to envision the city as an egalitarian city and to create an architecturally significant urban public space were again made. As a focused analysis, I then evaluate the central space now designated as the 'capital core.' Since inception, the Gaborone city capital core has continued to be appropriated as a representation of national identity, national histories and the nation state.

Locating the Capital: a nation-building exercise

History suggests that earlier proposals to move the administrative headquarters of Botswana from the Mafikeng Imperial Reserve to Botswana were made by the European Advisory Council after the First World War in 1921.¹¹ Latterly both the European Advisory Council, as one of two racially composed councils representing the interests of European people in Botswana, and the African Advisory Council who represented the interest of Africans, made petitions. These councils were part of the pre-independence administration and met annually with the colonial administration in Mafikeng to express any issues or concerns. However, the question of relocating the

¹⁰ Branko Cavric and Marco Keiner, 'Managing Development of a Rapidly Growing African City: A Case of Gaborone, Botswana', (2006); A. C. Moshia, 'The City of Gaborone, Botswana: Planning and Management', *Ambio*, 25 (1996).

¹¹ Peter Fawcus, with collaboration of, and Alan Tilbury, *Botswana: The Road to Independence*, (Botswana: The Botswana Society and Pula Press, 2000).

administration was rejected both in 1936 and 1946 by the government administration in London. According to scholars, the relocation would have likely been seen by the South African government as a political and territorial challenge, as Botswana had initially been intended to be incorporated into South Africa.¹² The 1946 relocation proposal was also rejected because of the cost of building a new town just as Britain was embarking on its post-war reconstruction.¹³

Fourteen years later the political situation was much different, Britain was relinquishing powers to its colonies, with Ghana becoming one of the first African countries to gain independence in 1957. The prospects for independence in Botswana had increasingly become real. According to official reports, the relocation of the capital became necessary for two reasons. First, there was an increase in racial tensions in the Mafikeng Imperial Reserve (and South Africa's withdraw from the commonwealth in 1961 further straining political relations with Britain).¹⁴ Second, it was expensive and impractical to administer the country from South Africa.¹⁵ Apartheid racial policies made it difficult for African staff to work in the Imperial Office in Mafikeng and the colonial government became increasingly concerned when one of the representatives of the African Advisory Council, Sir Seretse Khama, was prevented from attending the Executive Council meetings in Mafikeng because he was married to a British white woman and inter-racial marriages were outlawed by the apartheid policies.¹⁶ Members of the two advisory councils had to travel between Botswana and South Africa to attend meetings. Relocation inside Botswana would provide a new administration centre and a meeting place for both the African and European Advisory Councils.

¹² For the incorporation of Botswana to South Africa see Peter Fawcus, and Alan Tilbury, *Botswana: The Road to Independence*, (Botswana: The Botswana Society and Pula Press, 2000), (p 93), Richard Dale, 'The Tale of Two Towns (Mafikeng and Gaborone) and the Political Modernization of Botswana'.

¹³ Richard Dale, 'The Tale of Two Towns (Mafikeng and Gaborones) and the Political Modernization of Botswana'.

¹⁴ Fawcus, of, and Tilbury, *Botswana: The Road to Independence*; Quill Hermans, 'The Mafikeng Legacy', *Botswana Notes & Records*, 38 (2009).

¹⁵ Fawcus, of, and Tilbury, *Botswana: The Road to Independence*; Hermans, 'The Mafikeng Legacy'; Jowitt Paddy Batugile Mbongwe, 'The Colonial and Post-Independence Urban Development of Gaborone 1887-1981', (University of Botswana and Swaziland University College of Botswana, May 1982).

¹⁶ Inter-racial marriages were outlawed by the Apartheid Policy in South Africa. The Imperial Reserve was literally an island within the then Zuid Africanshe Republic. Hermans, 'The Mafikeng Legacy'.

In 1961, the Resident Commissioner, Mr Peter Fawcus, appointed a committee to survey, investigate and recommend a suitable site for the new capital city. The committee consisted of a representative from the PWD, the Government Secretary and a consultant engineer specialising in water and dams, Mr DC Midgley. A matter of necessity and pragmatism, the choice of the site for the capital was also underpinned by the need to fulfil the task of nation-building. It was argued that:

"The creation of a new township in Gaborones¹⁷ will fulfil two complementary needs which have long been felt in the Protectorate. The first and most important need is to move the administrative capital of Bechuanaland from Mafeking to the Territory; the second is to develop an urban core equipped with basic services capable of expansion, around which commercial and industrial development can take place."¹⁸

According to the Capital Committee report, a key criterion for assessing the suitability of each site was the availability of a water source,¹⁹ since the southern part of Botswana generally has lower annual rainfall than the north.²⁰ The new site was also to have access to transportation and communication, while most importantly it was to be centrally located and be of interest to both the African and the European communities.²¹

The committee explored the suitability of different sites in the north and south of the country. A total of nine sites with access to the railway were considered including Francistown, Gaborone, Lobatse, Bokaa/Pilane,

¹⁷ It must be noted that the spelling of Gaborone before independence was 'Gaborones'. Most of the archival data used the old spelling.

¹⁸ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'The New Headquarters Bechuanaland', (London, United Kingdom: The National Archives, Collected file Development of the New Capital, file reference no: CO 1048.253, 24th October 1963), (p. 1).

¹⁹ Headquarters Development Committee, 'Gaborone Headquarters Development Committee Minutes', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, file collected: Gaborones Headquarters Development Committee Minutes, file reference no: S 592/9, 13th June 1962).

²⁰ Eileen M. Steel, 'Gaborones', *Geography*, 54 (1969), (p. 218).

²¹ Committee, 'Gaborone Headquarters Development Committee Minutes'. (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, file collected: Gaborones Headquarters Development Committee Minutes, file reference no: S 592/9, 13th June 1962)

Mahalapye, Tuli Block, Dibete, Shashi and Manyana.²² The two existing towns of Lobatse and Francistown were considered but rejected because of the unavailability of crown-owned administrative land. Francistown was privately owned by the Tati Company (a mining company) and was not close to the main tribal capitals. Lobatse was also in the private hands of European farmers and in a peripheral location. Other sites were not approved because of lack of water supplies and infrastructure. Furthermore, these sites were either privately owned by European farmers or had a tribal association, which would in the end render the idea of a 'neutral site' and the intention of nation-building unattainable. The committee report indicated the preferred site as Gaborone. It emphasised how the chosen site presented the interests of both the European and African communities and had enough government-owned crown land. The committee carried out an extensive water survey in Gaborone headed by Professor Midley, and concluded that the Notwane River was a good water source. Importantly, the existing township infrastructure was an obvious advantage.²³

The report was turned into a white paper and debated in the newly-formed Legislative Council made up of representatives from the older Advisory Councils that it replaced. Members of the council voted on the suggested location and the decision was presented to London. Some members supported the proposed site because it addressed the question of nation-building, including members representing the African interest. For example, Seretse Khama argued that Gaborone was a "neutral territory" and would be suitable to realise the concept of a mixed-race city.²⁴ In Khama's view, the availability of crown land in Gaborone meant that no tribal group or European

²²Part Themba Mgadla, 'A Very Grave and Expensive Error?':The Legislative Council's Debates on the Choice of a New Site for the Capital of Botswana, 1961-1965', *A Special Issue on Humanities at UB and Botswana's 50 Years of Independence*, (2016), 62. Alan C. G. Best, 'Gaborone: Problems and Prospects of a New Capital', *Geographical Review*, 60 (1970). p4

²³ Committee, 'Gaborone Headquarters Development Committee Minutes'. (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, file collected: Gaborone Headquarters Development Committee Minutes, file reference no: S 592/9, 13th June 1962

²⁴ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Legislative Council; Official Report, Hansard 2, Second Meeting of the First Session of the 1st Legislative Council, 26th and 27th September, 1961, ' Gaborone ,Botswana: Botswana National Archives, File reference no: 328.6883 NAT, September 1961.

farmer could 'lay claim to the land.'²⁵ Most members in favour of this view pointed out that Gaborone would represent a unifying symbol. Khama also rejected Francistown and Lobatse because of the peripheral location of both towns.²⁶

The history and existing basic infrastructure of the site, as a semi-administrative township, was another noteworthy reason for those in agreement on Gaborone. It was already a sub-administrative town and previously a 'meeting place for the chiefs and the Resident Commissioner.'²⁷ Kgosi Bathoen II of the Bangwaketse (representing the African interests) agreed arguing that the chiefs viewed Gaborone as a 'semi-capital of the Bechuanaland Protectorate'²⁸ because the tribal representatives met with the High Commissioner there to deliberate on important matters concerning the country. Gaborone Township's existing infrastructure would also be an advantage when planning the new capital.

However, Part Mgadla has recently argued that the choice of Gaborone by the Capital committee did not pass unopposed during the Legislative Council debates. He suggests that although the process was democratic, (because members were given the chance to vote) the decision was swayed by the fact that the process of selecting the site was done by a committee set up by the administration.²⁹ This meant that consultation with inhabitants or tribal leaders was not conducted from the start, and instead technical and political experts completed the initial analysis on their own. He notes that some members preferred the more northern locations because of the more plentiful annual rainfall, while some preferred a more central site that enabled better access to existing population centres. Members representing European and African interests who contested the Gaborone choice were in the

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Best, 'Gaborone: Problems and Prospects of a New Capital' p4.

²⁸ Protectorate, 'Legislative Council; Official Report, Hansard 2, Second Meeting of the First Session of the 1st Legislative Council, 26th and 27th September, 1961, '.

²⁹ Part Themba Mgadla, "a Very Grave and Expensive Error?": The Legislative Council's Debates on the Choice of a New Site for the Capital of Botswana, 1961-1965', *A Special Issue on Humanities at UB and Botswana's 50 Years of Independence*, (2016).

minority. But, as one of the members, Jimmy Haskins, argued, the Legislative Council could have conducted its own investigation given that they understood the country better than the experts.³⁰ Some members echoed this sentiment arguing that the committee had overlooked the views of the community and were essentially 'imposing their decision on members.'³¹

Ironically, while the Legislative Council voted overwhelmingly for Gaborone, officials in London wrote to the Resident Commissioner³² stating Francistown was their preferred site. This decision was, however, quickly overturned when the Resident Commissioner provided evidence to support the choice of Gaborone, and the Secretary of State in London finally approved Gaborone as the new capital city site.³³

Although scholars have argued that the choice of the capital city site was driven by the availability of water,³⁴ locating the new capital held a wider meaning through the symbolism of nation-building and these ideas were idealised as part of devising the planning brief for the capital city. To the political elite, nation-building would be achieved primarily by choosing a 'neutral site' which would be in the interests of both the existing African and European population. Official development publications acknowledged that:

*"As long as Bechuanaland is administered from without, sectional and tribal loyalties tend to gain ascendancy over national interests, to the detriment of balanced development."*³⁵

The choice of Gaborone also acknowledged that 'the locus of power was closer to six of the eight'³⁶ Tswana speaking tribal groups; namely the Bakgatla,

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Fawcus, of, and Tilbury, *Botswana: The Road to Independence*. (Botswana: The Botswana Society and Pula Press, 2000)

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Sandy Grant, 'The Origins of Modern Gaborone', in *Kutlwano*, (Gaborone: Botswana Government Press, 2016); Moshia, 'The City of Gaborone, Botswana: Planning and Management'.

³⁵ Republic of Botswana, 'National Development plan, 1963-1968, p 30

³⁶ Edward Schatz, 'When Capital Cities Move: The Political and Geography of Nation and State Building', Working Paper (February 2003) (p. 12).

Bangwaketse, Batlokwa, Balete, Bangwato and Barolong. Edward Schatz has suggested that this 'promoted broad identification with a large-aggregate, national community'³⁷ and was done to win over support from the tribal leaders.³⁸

In Benedict Anderson's words, this process therefore allowed for the construction of the 'imagined nation'³⁹ of Botswana: imagined because members of the nation are made up of a majority of Tswana speaking groups with shared historical ties, heritage and language, but nuanced cultural identities. Earlier attempts to define a nation in Botswana can be traced to the colonial period when the country was divided into eight tribal reserves based on the Tswana speaking tribes.⁴⁰ This did not suggest that national identity superseded other forms of identities: as various cultural and literary studies have shown the nation has multiple sub-national identities⁴¹

The emphasis on a 'neutral and centrally located territory' was rather ironic because Gaborone is in the southeast of a vast, sparsely populated country with an area of about the same size as France.⁴² A similar case of locating the capital city in the centre of the country can be observed in Abuja, Nigeria, in 1975. Abuja was built to mediate the interests of the north and south, and unlike Gaborone it is geographically located approximately in the heartland of Nigeria.⁴³ In the end the idea of a central geographical location

³⁷ Edward Schatz, 'What Capital Cities Say About State and Nation Building', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 9 (2004), p121,

³⁸ Edward Schatz, 'When Capital Cities Move: The Political and Geography of Nation and State Building', Working Paper (February 2003).

³⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 1991).

⁴⁰ Neil Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32 (2006).

⁴¹ Studies on the nation and national identity the study draws the theoretical framework from include post-colonial critique see for example Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, (London: Routledge, 1990). (see chapter 2). In addition, the tribal make-up in the country is more nuanced (see chapter 2), as Professor Lydia Nayti-Ramahobo has observed, there are 37 tribes apart from the main Tswana speaking tribes. Most of these tribal groups maintain a distinct identity, based on the loyalty to tribal leadership and their shared historical ties.

⁴² James Denbow and Pheny Thebe, C., *Culture and Customs of Botswana*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2006).

⁴³ Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, (United States: Yale University Press and London, 1992). Nnamdi Elleh and David Elderman, J., 'Exploiting Public Art, Architecture and Urban Design for Political Power in Abuja: Modernism and the Use of Christian, Islamic and Ancestral Visual Icons', *Current Urban Studies*, 1 (2013).

became “irrelevant”⁴⁴ in favour of a location close to the six major Tswana speaking tribal groups. Located on land previously known as Gaberones Reserve and transferred from the Bakwena tribe to the Batlokwa tribe and finally to Crown land in 1904,⁴⁵ the new city site was intended to become a unifying symbol for the nation and to ward off any tribal insurgencies. Indeed, studies have shown that for postcolonial nations, the process of locating capital cities is a measured and conscious effort to address any challenges to nation-building⁴⁶, as was the case in Gaborone. Following this line of thinking the new city would be charged with the task of becoming a unifying symbol for the non-racial nation, promoting modernity and a symbol of the new administration.

Modernity versus tradition: the political elite’s dream city

With the location finalised, the task of planning and imagining the capital began. Early on, the local political elite presented the new capital as a symbolic and significant break from the colonial past: it was to be “a non-racial city.”⁴⁷ This statement clearly echoed earlier concerns about choosing a ‘neutral site’ with interests for both Africans and Europeans as previously argued. The notion of a ‘non-racial city’ also featured prominently in the national press and planning meetings at the time. Such sentiments were espoused during a period coinciding with the height of decolonisation in Africa and the planning of Gaborone was politicised as an exemplary model of a post-colonial capital city.⁴⁸ It was to be built as a ‘tangible symbol for national sentiment and to

⁴⁴Eileen M. Steel, 'Gaberones', *Geography*, 54 (1969).

⁴⁵ Paul Maylam, *Rhodes, the Tswana and the British: Colonialism, Collaboration and the Conflict in the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1885-1899*, (United States: Greenwood press, 1980); Isaac Schapera, *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, (Cape Town: Lovedale Press, 1934).

⁴⁶See for example the relocation of various capital cities in studies like; Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, (United States: Yale University Press and London, 1992). Emily Callaci, “Chief Village in a Nation of Villages’: History, Race and Authority in Tanzania, Dodoma Plan”, 43 (2016); Jones Paris, “the Basic Assumptions as Regards the Nature and Requirements of a Capital City’: Identity, Modernization and Urban Form at Mafikeng’s Margins”, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24 (March 2000); Edward Schatz, ‘What Capital Cities Say About State and Nation Building’, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 9 (2004).

⁴⁷Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Legislative Council: Official Report, Hansard 2, 26th and 27th September', Legislative Council (Botswana National Archive, File reference no: 328.6883 NAT, 1961).

⁴⁸ D. A. Greig, 'British 'Capitalize' Bechuanaland', *The Christian Science Monitor*, (December 29th 1962).

bear witness to the primacy of national interests,'⁴⁹ and a symbol of independence. The planning of Gaborone suited this desire to create tangible forms that signified the nation and materialised the 'imagined nation.'⁵⁰ The political local elite's aspirations for the new city consequently influenced the planning process.

The new capital site was located about two miles to the east of the existing Gaborone Township, in the Gaborone Reserve. This was deliberate, as the PWD planners and the administration stated that the new capital city be built on a virgin site, physically separated from the township to prevent it affecting the character of the modern city.⁵¹ This view contrasted somewhat with the earlier rationalisation for the choice of Gaborone based on its existing infrastructure, but the township was described as 'unsightly', highlighting a deep-seated idea of 'newness' for the city as a sign of modernity and progress.

To emphasise the newness, the vision of Gaborone was expressed in terms of competing notions of "modern forms" and "tradition cultural forms" as well as in defining what it meant to be a Gaborone citizen according to the colonial administration and the local political elite. Ideas on modernism were considered intermittently during the several Legislative Council debates and within PWD planning correspondence. For example, a Legislative Council debate explored the possibility of introducing modern planning in traditional villages illuminating attitudes towards modern and traditional spatial forms. A second debate focused on the utopian visions of the new capital. From these discussions two lines of thought emerged: first the idea that the city was to be different from the traditional villages to fully embrace the idea of a changing

⁴⁹ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Development Plan', Mafikeng (1963/1968).(p25), A Special Correspondent, 'A Supplement on the Republic of Botswana: A New Capital Rises in the Desert', *The Times London*, (Friday September 30th 1966); Unknown, 'Now-the 1965 Relief of Mafeking: A Government on the Move near Bechuana Capital', *The Star Johannesburg*, (February 1965); Unknown, 'Gaborone Developed as Capital City of the New State, Botswana: A Small Village Surrounded by Bush Is Transformed', *Nashua Telegraph*, (Wednesday 9th November 1966).

⁵⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 1991).

⁵¹ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Legislative Council Official Report, Hansard 12, Second Meeting, Sittings from 16th to 19th November 1964', (Botswana: Botswana National Archives, File reference no: BNB 822, November 1964)(p.80).

society that would adopt modern spatial forms, and second, that the new administration should be represented in the layout of the city.

For the political community, modern planning was the answer to define a new aesthetic and shape a new society. One Legislative Council member representing the interest of Africans⁵², *kgosi* Bathoen II, remarked that: ‘we need properly planned villages and cities rather than half African and half European fashion houses we see today.’⁵³ The dichotomy between European and traditional African forms continued to be expressed by other members, and Mr N. C. Molomo’s thinking reveals a consensus view, that the winding roads in the village and huts built in a ‘haphazard’ manner were not suited to the latest modern developments such as sewer lines and roads and should be replaced with straight ones.⁵⁴ In this sense straight lines were associated with modernity and the orderly city which sharply contrasted with the typically winding village circulation pattern that was generally seen within the Legislative Council as chaotic. Those valuing the traditional form of the villages were very much in the minority. For example, Mr Ketumile Masire noted that villages like Mochudi had beautiful huts but still emphasised the urgency to modernise village layouts. Khama emphasised the need for society to transform arguing that:

*“...all African Authorities can do is to see to it that where they do build it is in a reasonable and proper fashion rather than carrying on the same old manner that we have been used to up to date.”*⁵⁵

It must be pointed out that the traditional villages were, as previously stated in chapter 2 organised based on traditional socio-cultural practices, in social units called wards arranged around a semi-circular form with a shared open space and ruled over by the chief. For the political elite, the capital city

⁵² At this time, the two racially composed councils formed advisory council were dissolved to form the Joint Advisory councils with representations from both the European and African members.

⁵³ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Legislative Council Official Report, Hansard 12, Second Meeting, Sittings from 16th to 19th November 1964', (Botswana: Botswana National Archives, File reference no: BNB 822, November 1964), (p. 10).

⁵⁴ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Legislative Council Official Report, Hansard 12, Second Meeting, Sittings from 16th to 19th November 1964', (p. 80).

⁵⁵ Ibid. p79

was to be the embodiment of the new values of modernity, a sign of progress and order in contrast to traditional village practices.

For very different reasons, the 'modern' was favoured by the European community and government authorities. The new city was to be free from the sounds and imagery of industrial chaos that characterised older industrial cities in Britain:

*"I do not think that the administrative capital should be mixed up with the noise, bustle and squalor of an industrial area. When we think of an administrative capital, we think of peace and quietness, we think of the gentle rustle of papers, and gentle clink of cups of tea, we think of the tip-toeing of messengers taking portfolios from one office, one department to another in an everlasting circle and this would hardly fit in with a busy industrial area! Think of Scotland! There, over on the west, we have a great dense population of Clydeside, we have the great industries and the noise and the turmoil and the slums, and the smoke. We come over to the capital in the east, Edinburgh, where we find the dignity and the quiet of a capital city and I think we can take a lesson from that. Let us have our administrative capital where it can be developed into a beautiful and dignified place and I think Gaborone is most suited for that."*⁵⁶

The vision of a 'modern' and strictly administrative city with minimal industrial functions, accommodating government workers and state functions offered the promise of citizens guided to a modern way life through the means of the modern planned city. This intention was further highlighted in planning guidance documents that stated:

*"...Africans generally live a normal **tribal** life in one of the eight Tribal territories under strict tribal control. ...From this it will be appreciated that*

⁵⁶ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Legislative Council; Official Report, Hansard 2, Second Meeting of the First Session of the 1st Legislative Council, 26th and 27th September 1961, ' (Gaborone Botswana: Botswana National Archives, File reference no: 328.6883 NAT, September 1961), p 25-26

*the advantage is on our side in so far as we can endeavour to guide the African **urban** way of life ...*⁵⁷

James Holston, discussing the anthropological study of Brasilia, suggests that the modernistic aesthetic was an attractive prospect to third world governments, driven by the need to reshape their modernising society's history.⁵⁸ In the same way, the identity of Gaborone inhabitants was imagined as modern, a political and romantic view of a city in a symbolic contrast to the perceived backwardness of village life.

The planning teams and the planning context

In 1962, the PWD in Mafikeng published a *Town Planning, Architectural and Sociological Study* detailing the planning requirements for the new capital. From the outset, the brief paralleled the political elite's imagination of a capital city. It called for an ambitious and symbolic city, which would combine the urban design planning principles from "classical cities" with examples of modern planning.⁵⁹ Of significance was the explicit suggestion that the new capital city design should pay special attention to the location and the design of a government complex in relation to the rest of the city. The suggested location was the highest point of the site next to the railway line reserve, (a slight 100 feet gentle slope towards the Notwane River valley). The location was to

⁵⁷ Bechuanaland Protectorate Government, 'Proposed New Capital City: A Town Planning Architectural and Sociological Study of the Proposal for the Guidance of the Professional Development Team and the Architectural Association School of Tropical Architecture', by Director of Public Works, Public Works Department, Buildings Division (Mafeking: Botswana National Archives, Reference no: BNB 1100, (January 1962), (pp. 2-3).

⁵⁸ James Holston, *The Modernist City: an Anthropological Critique of Brasília*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), (p 5). Similarly, studies have shown that modernist architecture became a choice of architectural style for countries after independence or during colonialism for different reasons, such as the political, cultural and social reasons, see for example see Sibel Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001); Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Duanfang Lu, 'Entangled Modernities in Architecture', in *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory*, ed. (London and California: Sage Publication, 2012), pp. 231-46; Duanfang Lu, *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*, (New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁵⁹ Bechuanaland Protectorate Government, 'Proposed New Capital City: A Town Planning Architectural and Sociological Study of the Proposal for the Guidance of the Professional Development Team and the Architectural Association School of Tropical Architecture', Director of Public Works, Public Works Department, Buildings Division (Mafeking: Botswana National Archives, Reference no: BNB 1100, January 1962).

ensure that the government buildings would become the 'focal point' to the city and ensure the prominence of government functions. Indeed, the planning proposals by the PWD planners demonstrate this preoccupation of imagining a monumental city and a grandiose government enclave, as we shall see later.

Another significant part of the brief was the concept of the 'non-racial-city.' It was, however, unclear how the non-racial concept should to be addressed by the planning teams; instead it was left open for interpretation. However, as we have previously seen the political elite's version of a non-racial city was premised on serving the purpose of nation-building. This idea of a united nation of Botswana is part of the national principles (see chapter 2) and was recently re-appropriated during the 50 years of independence celebrations in 2016 under the phrase '*United and Proud.*'⁶⁰ To the rest of the world, Botswana and particularly the creation of Gaborone was presented as an exemplary and symbolic achievement of power transition and decolonisation as one international newspaper reported:

*'The acceptance by both races of coexistence and integration removed the biggest obstacle in the planning of orderly communities (in Bechuanaland) This new coexisting capital right at the race-beset Republic of South Africa is a dynamic portent for the future. It may well prove Britain's last grand colonial gesture in Africa.'*⁶¹

Consequently, the rhetoric of a 'non-racial' city in Gaborone took a much wider political significance, which is arguably in line with the wider use of modern planning in post-colonial capitals such as Chandigarh and Abuja. According to Emily Callaci, modernism in Abuja and Chandigarh was promoted 'to do away with ethnic or religious signifiers in the built environment, in the hope that such divisions would not threaten national unity.'⁶² This kind of thinking meant that any ethnic identity or religious

⁶⁰ Botswana celebrated 50 years of Independence in 2016. 'Nation Founded on Four Principles', *Botswana Daily News*, (2013).

⁶¹ Greig, 'British 'Capitalize' Bechuanaland'. *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 29th 1962

⁶² Emily Callaci, "*Chief Village in a Nation of Villages: History, Race and Authority in Tanzania, Dodoma Plan*", 43 (2016), (p5).

references were suppressed in favour of modernism generally seen as the universal symbol of progress. With no significant architectural identity to draw from, the planning brief developed by the PWD for guiding the design schemes suggested the need to draw architectural inspiration from 'best examples of modern architecture.'⁶³

Thus, in Gaborone, modernism and the 'non-racial' rhetoric was promoted as part of constructing national identity, as well as promoting a new set of national values, which would seek to define what it meant to be a *Motswana*⁶⁴ residing in the national capital. Stephen Marr has recently argued that 'Gaborone was to be a model pointing a way forward in the making of cities, founded on principles of unity and mingling, rather than division and isolation.'⁶⁵

Indeed, during the period leading to up to independence and in the immediate post-independence period, the ruling party- the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) continued to shape the imagination of what it means to be *Motswana*. Between 1966 and 1976 newspapers and government documents published the national principles, defined in terms of 'democracy, development, self-reliance, unity and social harmony.'⁶⁶ Several political speeches after independence were also framed around these values, with the aim to 'provide a sound basis on which to build a just and egalitarian society.'

⁶⁷ Through the period leading to independence the creation of Gaborone was

⁶³ The report stated that 'It is interesting to note that no apparent attempt has yet been made to create any particular form of architectural expression in the territory.' See Botswana Government, 'Proposed New Capital City: A Town Planning Architectural and Sociological Study of the Proposal for the Guidance of the Professional Development Team and the Architectural Association School of Tropical Architecture'. Director of Public Works, (Collected from Botswana National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana. File Ref no: BNB 1100) January 1962, (p2)

⁶⁴ *Motswana* is singular for *Batswana*; the nation is referred to as *Batswana*, while the country is *Botswana*.

⁶⁵ Stephen Marr, "'No One Can See If Your Belly Is Empty": The Politics and Performance of Insurgent Consumption in Gaborone, Botswana', in *ECAS*, (Leipzig, 2009).(p 7)

⁶⁶ Republic of Botswana, 'National Development Plan 1976-1981', Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (Gaborone, Botswana: The Government Printer, 1977); Botswana Government, 'Development in Botswana', Botswana National Archives (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, BNB 2121); Q. K. J. Masire, 'A Developing Society in Development in Botswana', ed. by BNB 2121 Botswana National Archives (Gaborone Botswana: Botswana Government), pp. 1-6; A Special Report, '10 Botswana's Five National Principles', *The Times*, (September 21st, 1976), p. 15.

⁶⁷ Masire, 'A Developing Society in Development in Botswana'.(p 1)

thus presented internationally as exemplary model of a non-racial city amid a region with racially segregated cities.⁶⁸

Despite the ambition, Gaborone was nevertheless planned in a period when there were limited funds and a lack of technical expertise in the country. Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world.⁶⁹ During the colonial period it had relied on financial aid from Britain for developmental programmes. The capital city project was largely financed by the British Ministry of Overseas Development and a Colonial Office Development grant of US\$11,200,00 and was to be built over a period of four years. The first phase entailed the construction of infrastructure including the Gaborone dam, roads and electrification. Following this, the houses for administrative staff and administration accommodation were built to enable relocation from Mafikeng by 1965.⁷⁰

In response to the planning brief, both the PWD in Mafikeng and the Architectural Association School (AA) in London both made planning proposals with the Building Research Station (BRS) in London providing the technical expertise. These planning proposals adopted different approaches as follows:

1. The first PWD proposal was a “semi-radial town” deriving its influence from the classical city.
2. The second PWD proposal envisaged a city with a tree-lined main boulevard (The Queen's way) terminating at the focal point where the most important (and imposing) government buildings would be located. It reflected the influences of the Beaux Arts planning tradition.

⁶⁸ 'Gaborones Developed as Capital City of the New State, Botswana', *Nashua Telegraph*, (Wednesday 9th November 1966); Greig, 'British 'Capitalize' Bechuanaland'; Unknown, 'Gaborone Will Be a Modern Town', *African Echo*, (1962).

⁶⁹ Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, 'An African Success Story: Botswana', (July 2011); Monageng Mogalakwe, 'How Britain Underdeveloped Bechuanaland Protectorate: A brief Critique of the Political Economy of Colonial Botswana', *African Development*, XXXXI (2000).

⁷⁰ Sandy Grant, 'A Preliminary Chronology of Modern Gaborone', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 38 (2006)

3. The AA proposed a “modern linear city” with residential units arranged around an urban core. It demonstrated modernist planning tradition in vogue in the 1950s and 1960s.

The three proposals were deliberated on by officials in London and Gaborone over a period of one year, with no plan achieving a favourable position over the others, and no consensus on such different visions for the new capital. The disagreements between the planners in London and the PWD in Mafikeng were stark, representing conflicting desires for a monumental and elitist city against the creation of an egalitarian city as initially intended.

The elitist city and monumental city

Within the space of five months in 1961 to 1962, the PWD had produced two main planning proposals for the new capital. The proposals were submitted to the Building Research Station (BRS), in the Planning Division in London and were presented to the Executive Committee and the Capital Project Committee in Botswana. The PWD office had no urban planners, but had a engineers and a surveyor, Mr Ray Renew, assisting the two qualified architects, Mr Peter Harris and Mr H. D. Quelch. These architects are presumed to have been British-educated and worked within the colonial public service office. However, the PWD experience in terms of urban design and planning was limited to fairly minor technical works and utilitarian building projects (for example surveying and planning the existing Gaborone Township and individual buildings in the Imperial Reserve in Mafikeng).⁷¹ Urban planner, Jan Wareus, and historian, Sandy Grant, recall that the planning team and the capital development committee were inexperienced. Grant writes, quite provocatively that, “...a butcher, a banker and a candlestick-maker sat down

⁷¹ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Gaborones Set Up', (London, United Kingdom: The National Archives, in collected file Bechuanaland Gaborones Township (new capital) 1963-1964, file reference no: DISR 4.3649, (1962).

to work out how they should create a new capital for an about-to be-independent state.”⁷²

However, the proposals prepared by the PWD demonstrated a keen ambition to design an imposing city as articulated in the planning brief. As stated earlier, the brief called for a city based on a combination of the ‘classical’ and ‘modern’; however more emphasis was placed on what was termed the ‘classical forms’ and regarded as key in symbolising and representing a well-ordered Government.⁷³ The term ‘classical’ had a wider meaning to the designers, in that it evoked admiration of the formal and monumental qualities of the first generation of planned capital cities such as Washington and New Delhi,⁷⁴ rather than the ancient capitals of Rome and Greece. These cities’ design inspiration drew from the Beaux-Arts⁷⁵ planning tradition of the 18th and 19th centuries, revered for grandeur and monumentality in their civic spaces, and these features were to be appropriated to conjure up the spatial identity of the city. The proponents of the Beaux Arts planning tradition drew inspiration from the French national school and the teachings of L’Ecole des Beaux Arts, with its artistic expressions of grand axial roads, tree lined avenues with vistas terminating on important buildings. This tradition was appropriated in different countries for different purposes and particularly in planning American cities, intended on promoting civic pride.⁷⁶ In Gaborone, the Beaux-arts planning was viewed by the PWD office as timeless, in comparison to the other urban planning

⁷² Sandy Grant, 'Creating a New Capital from Scratch', *Mmegi Botswana*, (3 June 2005). Jan Wareus, 'The Traditional Tswana Village: A Neglected Planning Prototype', (Gaborone).

⁷³ Botswana Government, 'Proposed New Capital City: A Town Planning Architectural and Sociological Study of the Proposal for the Guidance of the Professional Development Team and the Architectural Association School of Tropical Architecture'. Director of Public Works, (Collected from Botswana National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana. File Ref no: BNB 1100), January 1962.

⁷⁴ The classification of first generation of capital cities comes from Laurence Vale study of post-colonial capital cities. See Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*; Vale, 'The Urban Design of Twentieth Century Capitals'.

⁷⁵ The Beaux -Arts planning tradition development has been linked to classical traditions of ancient Greece and Rome. It was subsequently used in planning several cities especially in America. See for example, Daine Viegut Al Shihabi, 'Caractère Types and the Beaux - ArtsTradition: Interpreting Academic Typologies of Form and Decorum', *Athens Journal of Architecture*, 3 (July 2017). pp 227-249

⁷⁶ L. A. Gordon Ed. David, *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, (New York: Routledge, 2006); Michael Minkenbergh, *Power and Architecture: The Construction of Capitals and the Politics of Space*, (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014); Vale, 'The Urban Design of Twentieth Century Capitals'.

traditions for 'new post-war towns' in vogue in Britain and other countries at the time, such as modern linear towns and the garden-city-inspired towns.

These influences were evident in the successive planning proposals submitted by the PWD office. The initial schematic proposal was completed in May 1962. It focused on creating what was termed a "classical" semi-radial city, with zones separated by 120 feet wide ring roads, and a government complex as the focal point overlooking the town. The design report states:

*"Since the primary function of the town is to provide the territory with an imposing Legislative and Administrative Capital, it is appropriate that the seat of the Government should be the focal point in the town. At the same time, since it may be assumed that the most imposing architecture in the town will be built in this area, it is appropriate that these buildings, which are the material and visible manifestations of the concept of ordered Government law and justice should overlook the town."*⁷⁷

The government complex formed the first zone with the others radiated from it, cascading down following the natural slope towards the valley bottom. The second zone, described as commercial contained the city hall and library, with further concentric zones dedicated to low density and high density residential developments to the north and south respectively. Light and heavy industrial zones were kept to the east towards the railway station to minimise noise and smoke and for easy transport access.

Although the plan did not illustrate the architectural design quality of individual buildings, the formal Beaux-arts references can be gleaned from the design reports and planning meeting documents. A formal architectural language was to be emulated for the aesthetic and political reasons already described. The PWD constructed an essentially elitist and hierarchical image of the city where geometric form represented a civilised nation and state. The state would be rendered visible in the city through its physically dominant

⁷⁷ Bechuanaland Protectorate Public Works Department, 'Gaborones: Town Planning Schemes', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, file collected reference no: BNB 1098, June 1962), (p. 3).

government buildings reinforcing a new sense of hierarchy, power and pride in the government after independence.

The proposal was presented to the Executive Council Meeting in 1961 by the PWD director who argued that the government complex should be organised to reflect and celebrate the two tiers of the soon-to-be-formed-government: the local (or municipality) and national governments.⁷⁸ It was also suggested that the national government complex layout should make legible the hierarchy of different ministerial and governance structures. The Legislature building (later called the National Assembly) was at the centre of the complex with other ministerial and departmental buildings flanking it.⁷⁹ This would ensure that the Legislature building, as the representation of the new state, would be aligned with the vista of the planned main processional avenue to emphasise the political iconography and axis with the complex visible from every location in the city. Visitors and VIPs leaving the airport would join the main processional avenue into the city where they would be presented with a significant architectural vista, 'a view of the town's best feature'.⁸⁰ The Government House would also be located along this imposing route to complete the state symbolism.

⁷⁸ Bechuanaland Protectorate Public Works Department, 'Gaborones: Town Planning Schemes'. (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, file collected reference no: BNB 1098, June 1962),

⁷⁹ Ibid; Public Works Department, 'Gaborones Township Layout, Scheme B Survey Branch Submission', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, file collected Town Planning Gaborones New Township, file reference no: S74.1, 1961).

⁸⁰ Bechuanaland Protectorate Public Works Department, 'Gaborones: Town Planning Schemes', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, file collected reference no: BNB 1098, June 1962), (p. 8)

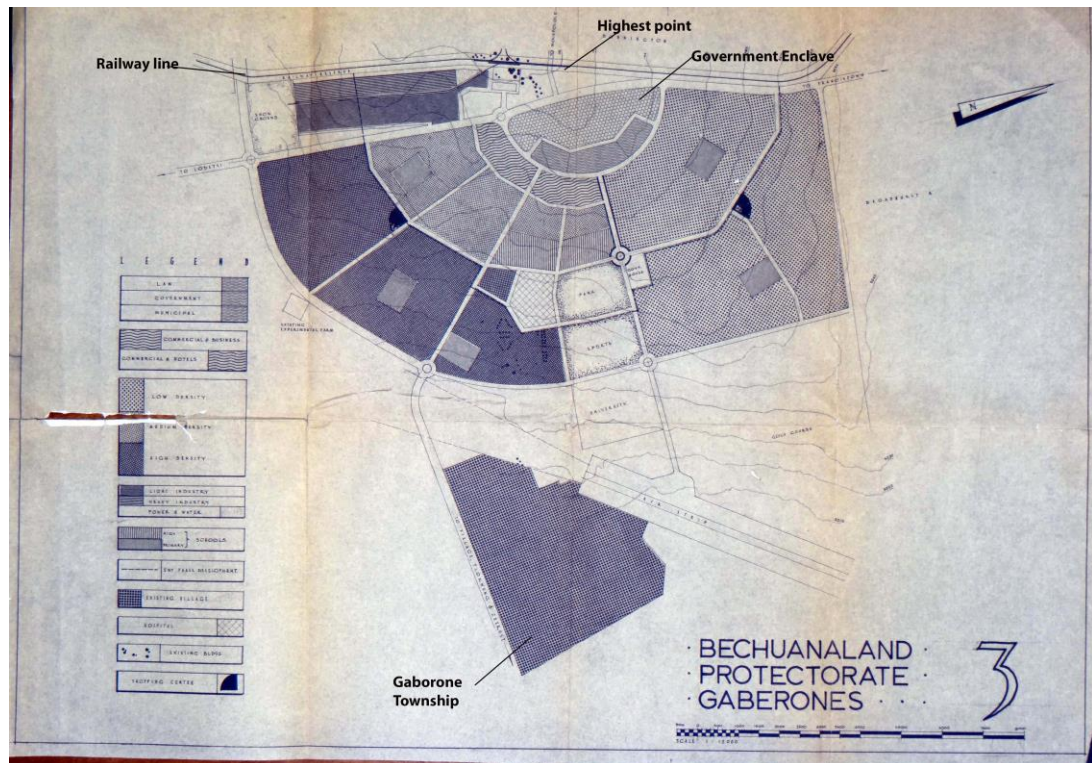


Figure 3.1: The first plan was drawn in 1961 and focused on designing the capital along the most "classic examples" of capital city design. It proposed a semi radial form, limited by the location of the railway in the east. The plan proposed to accommodate all administrative buildings of the national government in the centre of the half circle, while the rest of the zones radiated from it (source Botswana National Archives, collected from file Town Planning Gaborones New Township, file no: S. 74.1)

This scheme also allowed future city growth but was designed with an initial population estimate of 15,000, most of who were to be government officials,⁸¹ and each radial zone incorporated parks and recreational facilities. The city was to be built in stages to ensure that each section was completed in turn to avoid urban dereliction and the development of 'shanty towns.'⁸² As stated earlier, residential zones were organised based on density and economic status. Emphasis was placed on the principle that residential distribution would not be on a racial basis. Lower density areas would have high-valued properties for the middle and higher-class communities who would benefit from more generous plots of land, whereas the high-density areas would be for the lower-class communities which would include the

⁸¹ Ibid; Department, 'Gaborones Township Layout, Scheme B Survey Branch Submission'.

⁸² Bechuanaland Protectorate Public Works Department, 'Gaborones: Town Planning Schemes', Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, file collected reference no: BNB 1098, June 1962) (p. 14).

lower paid public service workers. Housing for the 'in-migration' of other workers from rural areas was not catered for in the scheme.

Despite the ambitious ideas about a 'non-racial' city, the proposal did not go further to explain how this concept would work apart from the assumption that residential areas would be on an economic rather than racial basis. Indeed, addressing the 'non-racial' principle was challenging, given that at one of the Executive Council meetings during the review of the planning proposals, one member argued that paying too much attention to realising the racial mix principles detracts from the idea that the rest of the city is 'non-racial.'⁸³ The idea of a non-racial city in the PWD proposals was thus overtaken by preoccupations with monumentality and order in representing the government which were further addressed in the second design proposal. No-one argued that economic segregation would go against the aims of creating an egalitarian nation, even though only a few members of the political elite, European government officers and business leaders would afford to live in the low-density areas. The majority of the African community would live in the high-density areas, thus rendering the ideology of a non-racial society unattainable, as will be shown later.

The second proposal demonstrated a remarkably similar approach to the first; it also emphasised the symbolism of the state, and did not attempt to address the racial-mix principle. Also using Beaux-arts principles, it envisioned a city with 'a tree-lined main boulevard' aptly named 'the Queen's way'⁸⁴ terminating at the focal point where the imposing government centre would be located. Visitors into the city were arriving along the boulevard and to be impressed by its beauty and awed by its grandeur and administrative buildings and the end of the vista. The second proposal went further to consider the spatial hierarchy of the state buildings by proposing the separation of the National Government from the Local Government zone. The significance of

⁸³ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Headquarters Development Committee Meeting', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, collected file Gaberones Headquarters Town Plan, file reference no: S 592.8, 13th June 1962), (p. 5).

⁸⁴Public Works Department Bechuanaland Government, 'Gaberones Town Plan Report', (Gaborone Botswana: Botswana National Archives , collected file Town Planning: Gaberones New Township, file reference no: S 73.3.1, 1962).

reflecting the structures of the state in the layout was highlighted during the review of the second draft planning proposal (figure 3.2) and earlier the first planning proposal by the Executive Council, as previously described.

The second preliminary draft plan shows the Legislative Council at the head of the processional axis and next to it are government offices while the Law courts are located on the other side, slightly detached from this composition. This layout was revised in the final draft plan following yet another suggestion from the Executive Council to reimagine the centre composed of the three buildings of structure of government. Therefore, this proposal has the Legislative Council building in the centre and is flanked to the east by the Administrative offices and Departmental Headquarters Building (or Law courts to be built at a later stage) with the area immediately to the West reserved to meet future requirements.⁸⁵

It was different to the earlier proposal by locating the government enclave was on the north east (ways from the highest point) with an axial vista to the processional boulevard, which at this point was no longer aligned to the airport but towards the Mafikeng road. On axis was an open public area called 'Fort Square'⁸⁶, a future location for state monuments. This spatial layout was curiously reminiscent to the design of New Delhi (the capital of British India) by Sir Edwin Lutyens. According to Lawrence Vale, the Town Planning committee report for New Delhi specified that 'the placement of the Government buildings would do more than form the heart of a new city; Government House and its flanking Secretariats'⁸⁷ which would be located on a prominent location on Raisini Hill approached via 'Kings Way.' However, the layout in Imperial Delhi was on a much more grandiose scale compared to the miniature version in the Gaborone proposal, yet the imagination of what Vale

⁸⁵ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Gaberones Town Plan: Savingram from Member for Local Government', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, File collected:Town Planning Gaberones New Township file no: S. 73.1, 1962), (p. 2).

⁸⁶ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Executive Council Minutes: The Establishment of Headquarters at Gaborone: The Presentation of the Town Plan by the PWD Director to the Council', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, file collected Town Planning Gaberones Township, file reference no: S 73.1, 1962), (p. 6).

⁸⁷ Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*.

describes as a 'trio of government buildings,'⁸⁸ approached from a processional avenue, is consistent in both cases.

The second plan proposed the city to be divided into seven zones, comprising Residential, Commercial, Heavy Industrial, Light Industrial, Central /government, Municipal Area and Public service zones. At the opposite side of the government complex there was a cathedral and a Government House, also set in a park setting. A separate Municipal area was to be located on a separate area from the government complex, with a city hall 'commanding an open square, capable of developing into a Market Square'⁸⁹ and arranged with a group of other public buildings, which would become the focus of a civic and commercial activity accessible to all residents. The PWD architects regarded the separation of Municipal (or City Hall) and Central Government activities necessary to avoid the disruption associated with market activities, and therefore to maintain the aesthetic qualities of a quiet government complex that was desired by the local political elite. Several landscape parks would be built in the city: one located next to social amenities such as schools and hospitals, and the other a large park that would separate the new capital city from the existing township 'to provide a vital lung for the expanding community.'⁹⁰ Heavy and Light Industrial areas were located next to the railway line and station. Once again, the issue of housing and the non-racial principle was overlooked, and instead the PWD and Executive Council discussion revealed the preoccupation of designing a monumental capital city with clear state symbolism and hierarchy.

The common vision of the planning proposals by the PWD was for a miniature-monumental capital and it was in three ways. First, the PWD team was much closer to the sponsoring power; therefore, as public servants, their understanding of the capital city was very much political because of their exposure to the political debates on the power transition and the formulation

⁸⁸Public Works Department, Bechuanaland Government, 'Gaborones Town Plan Report'. (Gaborone Botswana: Botswana National Archives , collected file Town Planning: Gaborones New Township, file reference no: S 73.3.1, 1962).

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 2.

of a new government and nation. It was also aesthetically driven, based on the assumption that geometric forms represented a civilised capital city as illuminated by the PWD planners' comments and appreciation of formal qualities of Beaux-arts inspired cities. As one of the PWD planners emphasised, Gaborone was envisaged as a model capital to the postcolonial world, to contribute to the formation of a nation and was meant to be 'a model and an experiment of African democracy.'⁹¹ The symbolism of the state in a separate precinct of power in both proposals was persistent and it has comparable formal qualities to most of the planned capital cities.⁹² It also idealised the political elite's⁹³ vision of a grandiose city, as one member of the Legislative Council, Mr Sim, had previously proudly expressed:

*"The inhabitants of this territory desire that the new town will be a modern town of beauty, with parks and gardens, with avenues lined with exotic trees, with wide streets, with traffic islands with either lawns or flowers in the centre, and an imposing Legislative Chamber."*⁹⁴

Based on these assumptions the PWD plans did not take into consideration the existing culture and architecture in Gaborone Township or traditional village patterns. Instead, such architecture was dismissed for the lack of distinct identity as the PWD report suggested that towns were characterised by simple interpretation of European forms.⁹⁵ This interpretation suggests a top-down model of planning a city where complex socio-cultural systems in the existing towns and villages were generalised and perceived as less interesting. Similarly, the intended concept of a 'non-racial city' was not interrogated but it was assumed that different races would be equitably represented in all income groups.

⁹¹ Protectorate, 'Legislative Council: Official Report, Hansard 2, 26th and 27th September', (p. 15).

⁹² L. A. Gordon Ed. David, *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, (New York: Routledge, 2006); Wolfgang Sonne, *Representing the State: Capital City Planning in the Early Twentieth Century* (Munich and New York: Prestel (distributed by Sandpiper, London, 2003).

⁹³ The political elite included the Tswana political elite who were members of the Advisory Council, the European community representatives as well as the colonial administrative staff.

⁹⁴ Protectorate, 'Legislative Council: Official Report, Hansard 2, 26th and 27th September', (p. 17).

⁹⁵ Government, 'Bechuanaland Protectorate Government, 'Proposed New Capital City: A Town Planning Architectural and Sociological Study of the Proposal for the Guidance of the Professional Development Team and the Architectural Association School of Tropical Architecture', by Director of Public Works, Public Works Department, Buildings Division (Mafeking: Botswana National Archives, Reference no: BNB 1100, (January 1962).

Second, the Beaux arts inspired plan was sought by the planners to promote a sense of identity and character for the city and its civic space, as distinct from the already existing villages and townships. The PWD planners' proposals emphasised the need to pursue a 'neutral identity' and "every attempt has been made to provide a town plan which postulates no particular political or economic ideology..."⁹⁶ Contrary to this statement the planning proposal embeds a particular social and political identity in the city. It was intended that 'the city will be complete at all stages'⁹⁷ to avoid informal settlements developing, yet in both proposals there was a missed opportunity to address the idea of a non-racial city. In contrast, it was assumed in the planning brief that the African population who would settle in the city would adopt the new modern lifestyle and this was seen as an opportunity to at least facilitate the development of a post-colonial architectural expression.⁹⁸

Third, Gaborone was the first city to be planned from scratch in Botswana as compared to the existing township or urban towns such as Lobatse and Francistown which naturally developed alongside mining and industrial activities. Similar modern capital cities planned in the post-colonial world as part of the birth of new nations and governance, such as Chandigarh in India and Brasilia in Brazil, did not provide the required precedence since they demonstrated high modernism, which had little to do with planning a "classical inspired city." The PWD planners associated the classical and geometric planning with the symbolism of the state and a well-ordered government. The juxtaposition of the 'Beaux-Arts' and 'radial classical city' influences with the modernism proposed for individual buildings was significant. While the two earlier planning traditions were surprisingly appropriated behind their time; the latter was very much in vogue in the 1960s. The Beaux-Arts approach was

⁹⁶ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Gaberones Township Report' (In Collected Files, 'Town Planning: New Township, 1961-1962', Botswana National Archives, File Reference Number S. 73/3/1-2, Gaborone, 1961-1962, (p3)

⁹⁷ Public Works Department Bechuanaland Government, 'Gaberones Town Plan Report', (Gaborone Botswana: Botswana National Archives , collected file Town Planning: Gaberones New Township, file reference no: S 73.3.1, 1962). (p. 4).

⁹⁸ Government, ' Bechuanaland Protectorate Government, 'Proposed New Capital City: A *Town Planning Architectural and Sociological Study of the Proposal for the Guidance of the Professional Development Team and the Architectural Association School of Tropical Architecture*', by Director of Public Works , Public Works Department, Buildings Division (Mafeking: Botswana National Archives, Reference no: BNB 1100,(January 1962).

in a striking contrast to the 1960s-urban planning tradition, which was anti-Classicist and anti-Beaux Arts, particularly in Britain.⁹⁹ However, these proposals give insights into the values and meaning of the city. They speak of the symbolism of state power, of hierarchy and of the creation of a distinct form of capital city that showcased the edifices of governance.

⁹⁹ Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural Cultures in Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2007).

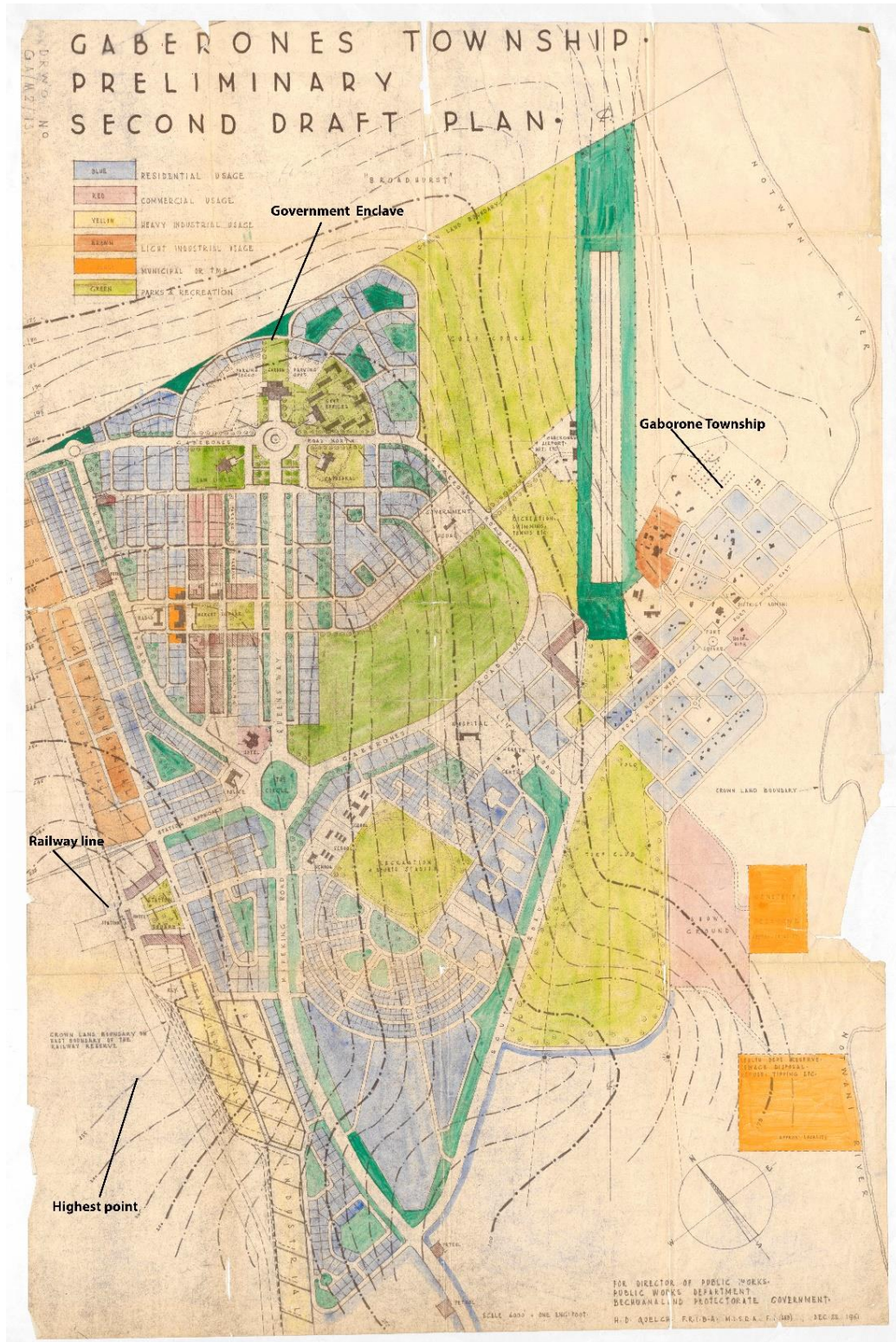


Figure 3.2: The PWD Second Draft plan of 1962 proposed the capital city based on the dominance of the government complex approach along a tree-lined processional avenue intended to awe visitors with grandeur and beauty on entering the city. (Source: the National archives in London, file collected, *Development of a Capital Township*, file reference no: CO 1048.253).

The modernist and egalitarian city

In 1962, Dr Otto Königsberger, leader of the Department of Tropical Studies at the Architectural Association in London, requested he use the planning of Gaborone as a design exercise for 4th year students in a meeting with PWD architect Mr. Harrison. The project offered the opportunity for PWD for alternative plan to be developed with the possibility of employing Königsberger as an independent consultant to assist in the final plan,¹⁰⁰ given his extensive experience designing new towns in India.¹⁰¹ All the relevant planning documents about the requirements for the new capital city which included the design brief, survey maps, photographs and climatic information were made available for the students' studio exercise, since no funds were available for a site visit. The AA involvement was on a non-monetary basis but it nonetheless played a key role in influencing the resultant proposal as will be discussed later.

Their proposal was radically different from the PWD schemes, as it provides a divergent vision of a capital city and was based on the modernist planning tradition of new towns. According to the literature, the post-war modernist planning profession in Britain included more public participation and inclusive planning,¹⁰² and as Andrew Higgott has pointed out, post-war planning was 'concerned with the inclusive planning of whole cities rather than the simpler *Beaux-Arts* intention of making the city beautiful.'¹⁰³ Significantly, the post-war planning tradition in Britain was to address very different concerns from Gaborone, including problems of congestion, reconstruction and the provision of adequate housing. In this light it is understandable that

¹⁰⁰Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Memorandum of Interview, Gaberones', (London, United Kingdom: The National Archives, file collected, Bechuanaland Gaberones Township (new capital) 1963-1965, file reference no: DISR 4.3649, 9th of October 1962).

¹⁰¹ Patrick I. Wakely, 'The Development of a School: An Account of the Department of Development and Tropical Studies of the Architectural Association', *Habitat International*, 7 (1983). pp. 337-346, (p.59), Memorandum of Interview, Gaberones Bechuanaland Protectorate National Archives London, (Collected files, Bechuanaland: Gaberones Township, new capital 1963-1965, File ref DISR-4-3.26, Architectural Association School, *Plans for the New Capital of Bechuanaland at Gaberones*, p23;

¹⁰² Emmanuel Marmaras, *Planning London for the Post-War Era 1945-1960*, (Springer Journal, 2015).

¹⁰³ Andrew Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural Cultures in Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2007).

the AA proposal rejected classical and Beaux-Arts motifs and advocated for a more egalitarian city as the statements below indicate:

*“Most of our older towns have developed in concentric rings around a commercial, administrative or religious centre. Concentric development is advantageous as long as a town remains small enough to be entirely pedestrian...The results are familiar to us from historical cities of Europe and the Tropics...”*¹⁰⁴

*“The city is intended as a multi-racial community and a place for all income groups which has an obvious bearing in the types of accommodation to be provided.”*¹⁰⁵

These statements highlight on one hand a direct criticism of the PWD plans while on the other hand it reflected the very nature of modern planning in Britain at the time, as previously emphasised. The AA School had an extensive tradition of challenging the normative forms of modernism, architecture and planning.¹⁰⁶ The School of Tropical Studies architecture programme was established in 1954,¹⁰⁷ as part of the AA architectural education tradition, and was concerned with educating architects on designing in the tropical countries.¹⁰⁸ Königsberger’s teaching also drew insights from his experience of planning new towns in India, such as a Bhubaneswar and Jamshedpur.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Architectural Association School, The Department of Tropical Studies, 'Report on the Capital Project Submitted to the Government of Bechuanaland', (London: Architectural Association, 1962) .(p. 6)

¹⁰⁵ 'Bechuanaland, Future Capital', in *Interbuild*, (May 1962), (p. 22.)

¹⁰⁶ James Gowan et al, *A Continuing Experiment: Learning and Teaching at the Architectural Association*, (London: Architectural Press, 1975); Higgott, *Mediating Modernism: Architectural Cultures in Britain*.

¹⁰⁷ Patrick I. Wakely, 'The Development of a School: An Account of the Department of Development and Tropical Studies of the Architectural Association', *Habitat International*, 7 (1983).

¹⁰⁸ The development of Tropical Modernism has been explored extensively in literature, hence it does not form the focus of this discussion since Gaborone did not become a focus of this architectural tradition

¹⁰⁹ The work of Otto Königsberger in panning 'New Towns' in India has been Otto Koenigsberger, *New Towns in India*, (University of Liverpool, UK: The town and Planning Review, 1952); Rachel Lee, 'From Static Master Plans to 'Elastic Planning' and Participation: Otto Koenigsberger's Planning Work in India (1939-1951)', in *16th International Planning History Society*, ed. by Christopher Silver and Dan Zhu (St. Augustine, Florida: University of Florida and Flagler College, July 2014), pp. 609-18; Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, 'In-Dependence: Otto Koenigsberger and Modernist Urban Resettlement in India', *Planning Perspectives*, 21 (2006).

Within this context, the AA proposal emerged as a counter-approach to the PWD proposals. It envisaged a modern linear city arranged along a central axis with an elongated central urban core combining the functions of the national, local government and commercial areas (figure 3.3). Three possible orientation solutions were explored and the ideal one was an East to West axis, to allow for the incorporation of 'natural growth points'¹¹⁰ suggested as the railway station and Tlokweng village. It was proposed that the city would accommodate 20,000 people during the initial year but could grow to 30,000 in five years due to the likelihood of rural to urban in-migration.

The plan also incorporated the existing township and Tlokweng village to avoid the uncontrolled growth of 'shanty towns' associated with new town modernist developments (for example Brasilia). Residential areas were arranged according to the concept of 'residential units' located along the flanks of the central urban core. Each residential unit accommodated 350 families and was to incorporate community facilities such as shops, school, police station, beer hall, service hall, library and post office forming the centre of the unit. These residential units accessed the urban centre via the two-main linear arterial roads running alongside the centre to minimise unnecessary roadways and reduce the amount of time travelled between home and work. The industrial zone was located on the western side of the railway line.

¹¹⁰ Architectural Association School, The Department of Tropical Studies, 'Report on the Capital Project Submitted to the Government of Bechuanaland'. (London ; Architectural Association School) p.4. Unknown, 'Bechuanaland Future Capital', in *Interbuild*, (obtained through inter-library request in British Library, May 1962). It must be noted that the concept of growth points was explored by Königsberger in Jamshedpur.

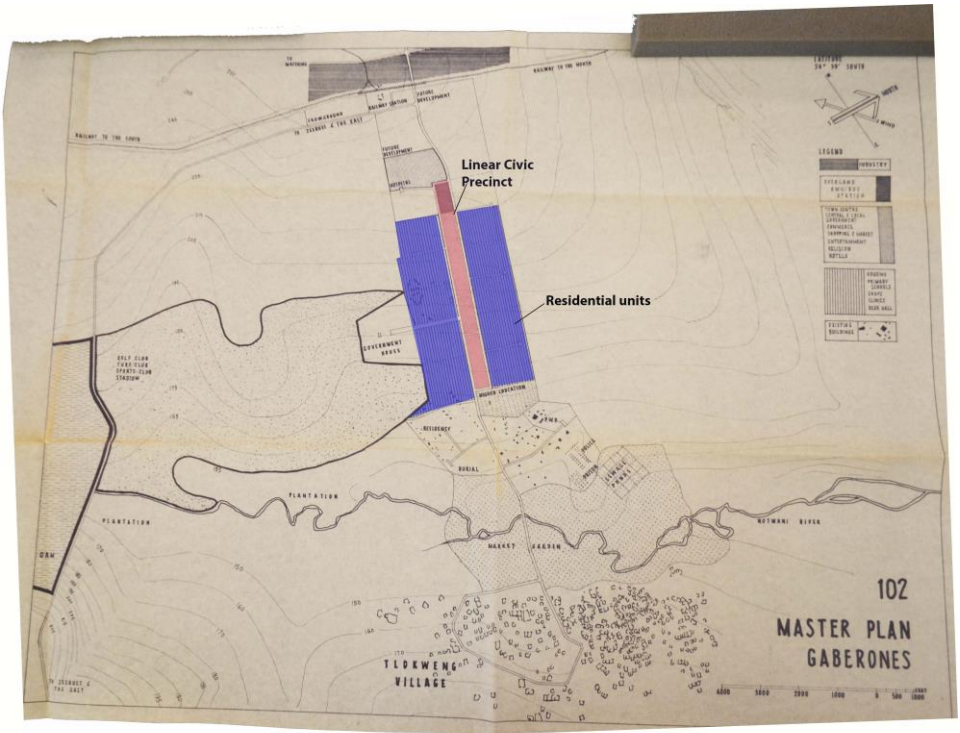


Figure 3.3: The AA master plan proposed a linear town arranged along west-east axis (source: collected from *The transfer of Government headquarters from Mafeking*, file reference no: MSS. Afr. s. 1256, from University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Commonwealth and African Collections)

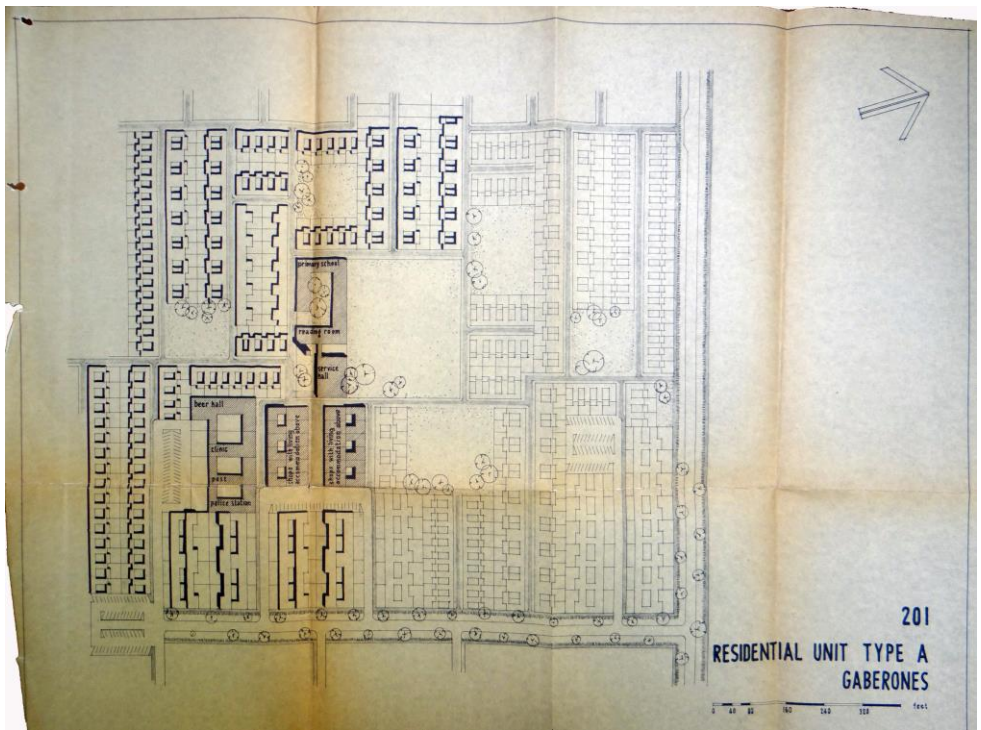


Figure 3.4: The residential unit model as proposed by the AA plan. (Obtained from the BNA archives in Gaborone, file reference no: S74-1)

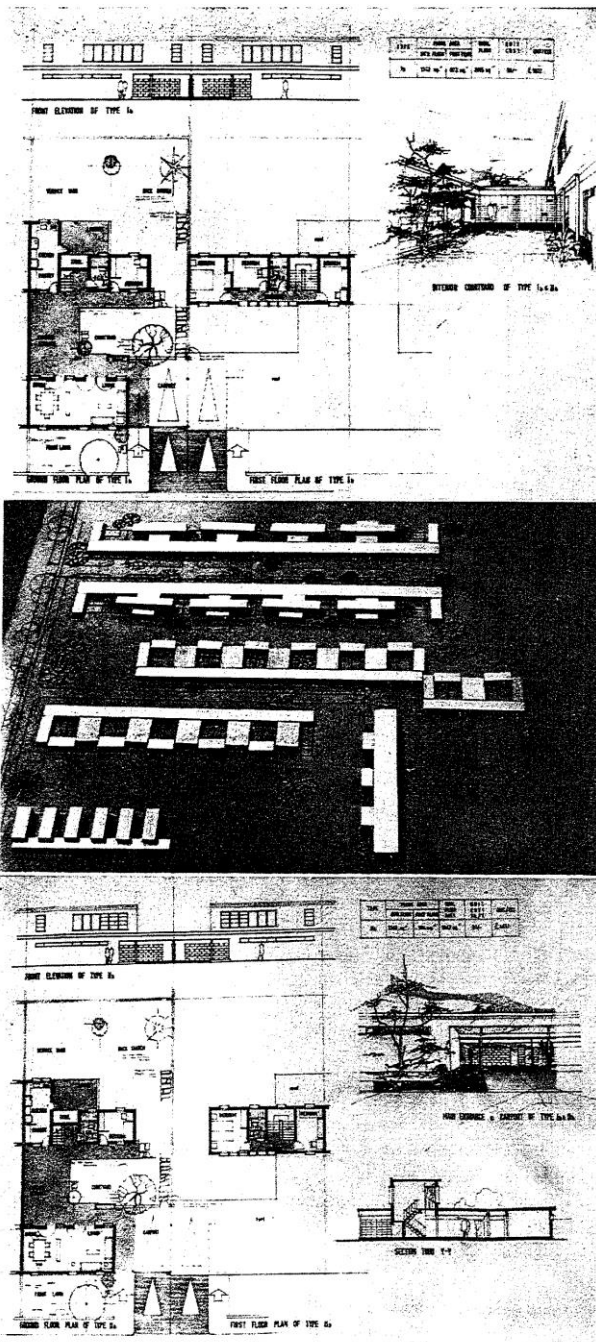


Figure 3.5: The plan of the residential areas as prepared by the AA student project indicate the in-ward looking houses with courtyards in the centre (obtained from Interbuild Magazine, May 1962, page 22)

The linear plan was not simply a modernist import, but behind this universalist idea was an attempt to address the idea of a non-racial city, by proposing an egalitarian city. In Königsberger's view an administrative city

should not be for 'the needs of the small number of persons employed by the Government', but should cater for in-migration from rural areas and allow for the development of other industries.¹¹¹ Each residential unit was to accommodate both government workers' houses and private residences within one unit. Most significantly these units incorporate different economic classes in one unit to encourage the development of a community, hence attempting to address the idea of a non-racial city.¹¹² It was argued that the city should cater of in-migration and where possible integrate hostels for single men looking for employment¹¹³ to avoid the development of slum areas. Citing Brasilia as an example, the report stated that the development of slums and labour camps on the fringes of the city should be avoided at all costs.¹¹⁴ Houses were designed with rooms arranged around an inner courtyard to encourage the use of outdoor spaces, as a response to the long hot summer months (figure 3.5). These courtyards spaces were to be landscaped and sheltered from the harsh winds with perforated screens. The houses could be extended by the owners in the subsequent years by adding more rooms around the courtyard to accommodate increasing space needs and income.

¹¹¹ Architectural Association School, The Department of Tropical Studies, 'Report on the Capital Project Submitted to the Government of Bechuanaland', (London ; Architectural Association School) (p. 25).

¹¹² Bechuanaland Protectorate Government, 'Proposed New Capital City: A Town Planning Architectural and Sociological Study of the Proposal for the Guidance of the Professional Development Team and the Architectural Association School of Tropical Architecture', by Director of Public Works , Public Works Department, Buildings Division (Mafeking: Botswana National Archives, Reference no: BNB 1100, (January 1962), (p. 13). It was argued that '...the houses of the wealthy are near enough to those of the lower income groups'

¹¹³ 'Bechuanaland, Future Capital'.

¹¹⁴ Architectural Association School, The Department of Tropical Studies, 'Report on the Capital Project Submitted to the Government of Bechuanaland'.

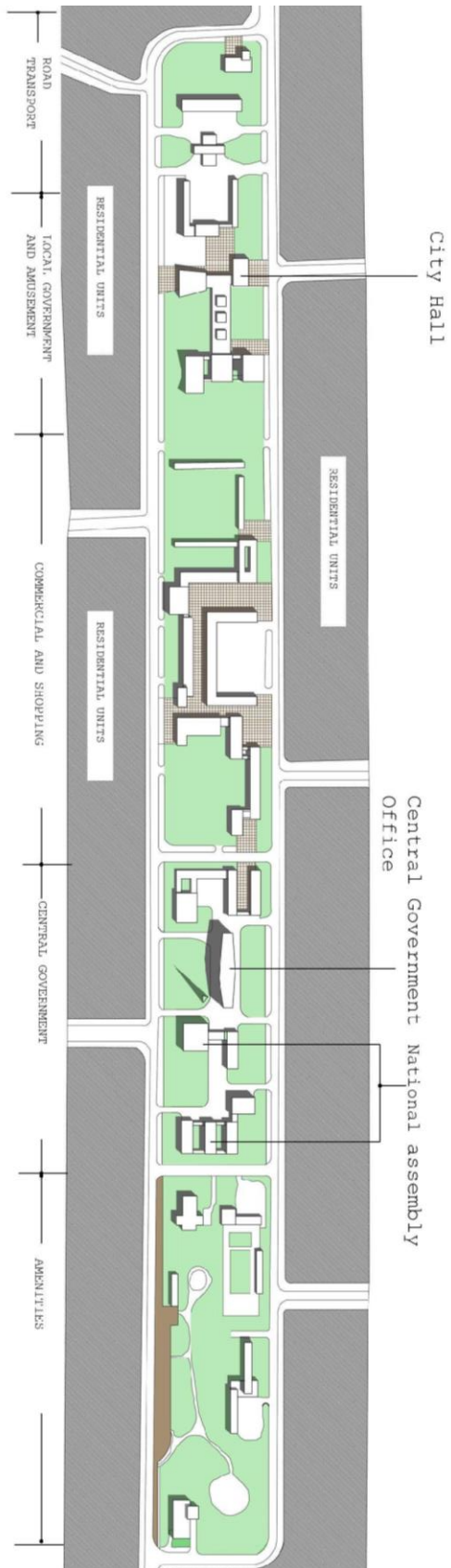


Figure 3.6: The AA plan proposed an egalitarian civic precinct in its linear form - the precinct and plaza is a powerful form of representative space of the nation through its inclusion of other civic activities (source: drawn by author based on a drawing collected from, AA archives: Otto Koeingsberger Collections, box no: 10)

The urban core subverted the spatial hierarchy of a purely administrative city by creating a common centre that was both civic and public, where all major commercial and government functions would be located (figure 3.4). The planning report contrasted this feature with the 'classical' medieval cities in Europe dominated by islanded administrative or religious centres¹¹⁵ that were latterly segregated from the rest of the town by roads. The precinct would be 'entirely pedestrian', featuring Local Government, Commercial and Central Government, and Amenities zones.¹¹⁶ The Government zone comprised the Legislative Council (National Assembly), offices and cabinet offices, the Secretariat and the Radio Station and Broadcasting Centre. Open areas within the civic spaces were to be used for weekend markets and public gatherings.

While this proposal echoed the reformist and modernist planning approach associated with post-World War II planning, there was a clear attempt to address the idea of a non-racial city. Unlike the preoccupation with monumentality in the case of the PWD plan, the linear plan considered housing and the creation of an egalitarian nation¹¹⁷ in the design of residential units. In this sense, it can be argued that the creation of a civic precinct is a powerful representation of a nation through the inclusion of civic activities other than state and political functions as we saw in the PWD proposals. It recognised the importance of creating a public space where every day public (commercial and social) activities would take.

However, the conceptualisation of a non-racial city as simply the integration of different income groups in one area overlooked the need to explore what this meant in the context of Botswana. Such interpretations were made without studies of what implications this would have in reality. In

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p. 13.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p. 16.

¹¹⁷ According to Koenigsberger's interpretation an egalitarian society could be achieved by avoiding a city where 'West-end' is for the rich and 'East-end' is for the poor. Although he argued that 'Social Stratification' cannot be avoided, the integration of different income groups in one area would ensure that all groups are located closer to the city centre and essential services like hospitals.

fact, any studies or population census into racial demographics and economic class demographics were discouraged during the build-up to independence, as this was seen as detraction from nation-building principles.¹¹⁸ The lack of studies into settlement patterns, racial demographics, and socioeconomic patterns during colonialism meant that there was an assumption by designers that the community in Gaborone would be homogenous, as evidenced by the standardised model of the residential unit in the AA plan. Three variations of the standard residential units based on ownership were designed. One was based on majority government-owned housing with few privately owned housing; another on majority privately housing and a few government housing and the last one comprised privately owned housing only. Houses of different sizes were incorporated in each unit to cater for different income groups as an attempt to introduce diversity within the neighbourhood. Furthermore, residential units were intended to stimulate a sense of community amongst the residents as a response to living patterns in African villages,¹¹⁹ where families lived in smaller wards. Despite these attempts, the AA plan illustrates a standardised model of residential unit conceived from a top-down approach, which also lacks in the interrogation of the then settlement patterns and racial relations.

The politics of arriving at a plan and representations

The three schemes were submitted to the approving body - the Tropical Planning Division under the Building Research Station in London - to either choose one proposal, which the city would be based upon, or provide further advice on the direction of the plan. No single proposal was approved because of their distinct approach and an argument subsequently developed as to whether the city should prioritise a monumental identity or the vision of a non-racial city.

¹¹⁸ Architectural Association The Department of Tropical Studies, 'Report on the Capital Project Submitted to the Government of Bechuanaland', (London: Architectural Association, 1962)

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Critics of the monumental PWD proposals included the administration in London and the Tropical Planning Division for various reasons. First, inexperienced staff prepared the PWD proposals and their drawings are abstract and diagrammatic and do not show the spatial layout of different zones in detail, apart from the emphasis on the processional avenue and government enclave. Second, housing design that addressed the concept of a non-racial city was ignored. The government enclave and boulevard approach were described as too 'grandiose'¹²⁰, unreasonable and expensive. The reviewers questioned the monumentality and in their view, it did not make sufficient provision for a common public space other than as an island of government buildings. The scheme did not reflect 'the latest thinking of town planning in England and elsewhere, and it was difficult for the town planning adviser to be happy about giving even qualified support.'¹²¹ The wide ring roads in the radial plan would be costly to construct and maintain, and would in the end limit the overall expansion of the city.

Those in support of the PWD proposals included members of the colonial administration in Gaborone and Mafikeng. Their arguments were based on the comparison between the AA linear city and PWD proposals compiled in planning minutes and correspondences. The linear plan was criticised for a lack of character and hierarchy because government buildings were not separated from other commercial functions and hence did not demonstrate the identity of a capital city. The planning minutes also reveal that the linear town was largely rejected because it did not demonstrate the impressive monumental qualities demonstrated in the PWD proposals. For the colonial administrators, the absence of 'certain key features' like the processional avenues illustrated a monotonous city associated with new towns in England and elsewhere.¹²²

¹²⁰ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Memorandum of Interview: New Capital Gaborones', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, File Collected, October 1962), (p. 3).

¹²¹ Memorandum of Interview, Subject: New Gaborone, Bechuanaland Protectorate, October 1962, (p1)

¹²² Committee, 'Gaborone Headquarters Development Committee Minutes', (p. 2).

Another noteworthy criticism was the idea of residential units, which one member, dismissed because it reflected the character of 'slum clearance' housing proposals widely practised in post-war reconstruction in Britain. Sim argued that their (the political elite's) idea of a non-racial city was not to be taken literally as the residential unit concept proposed to house people of different economic statuses in 'tightly composed compartments.'¹²³ This view reflected concern that the political elite did not see themselves living in multi-economic class areas and regarded this principle as a modernist social engineering concept'¹²⁴ viewed as culturally unacceptable in the Gaborone context. Of course, what the colonial administration failed to address was that the majority of highly paid government workers were of European origin while unskilled labourers were of African origin. It was also argued that the density proposed in the AA plan did not suit the lifestyle of inhabitants who were accustomed to larger plots of land. As a result, the political elite once again overlooked the idea of a non-racial city. The PWD sent correspondence to the Tropical Planning Division echoing this and it was noted that the town was built on the assumption that all races will settle in zones of different densities reflecting their socio-income status rather than race.

The consequence of this difference of opinion was that a compromise plan had to be reached quickly by the end of 1962 before work could begin in on design development and construction the following year. The British colonial administration in London had made it clear that no funds were available to employ Königsberger as an independent planning consultant, and therefore the Tropical Planning Division planner, Watts, was to advise on the final plan that would be prepared by the PWD in Gaborone.¹²⁵ Most importantly, cost was to play a key role in the final plan, which meant that the proposed urban

¹²³ Ibid.(p. 7.)

¹²⁴ The Executive Council and the Capital Committee expressed their dislike for the residential unit concept because it integrated people from different economic groups into one space. But it was argued that some of the features in the scheme 'merited inclusion in a town plan for Gaborones.'

¹²⁵ Public Works Department, 'Gaborones Capital Project: Results of a Second Meeting of Director of Public Works and Colonial Offices Representatives', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, in collected file Town Planning Gaborones New Township, file reference no; S74-1 October 1962), (p. 2).

layout and its buildings should be modern but 'simple, functional and austere.'¹²⁶

The heart of the city and the non-racial experiment

The final plan was, somewhat uncomfortably, an amalgamation of all three planning proposals. The planning minutes reveal that the discussions concerning how the final proposal would be achieved was two-fold; the need to reach a compromise plan based on the three planning proposals and the attempt to adapt to the design traditions to the context of Gaborone whilst maintaining the commitment to create a city with a particular identity. As Kenneth Watts had put it;

“Intensive discussions took place with the architects and engineers there, resulting in an eventual agreement on the form of a plan, and this was to provide the basis for a city as built. In it I has specified, amongst other features, a central pedestrian mall, and the layout of the residential areas on the ‘Radburn’ principle, New Jersey in 1929, to separate pedestrian from vehicular traffic: strictly non-indigenous solutions.”¹²⁷

The process of arriving at the final plan was directed by the advice from the Planning Division office in the Building Research Station in London and prepared by the PWD in Mafikeng. It begun with the correspondences prepared by Watts in which he detailed the merits and demerits of each plan. This process eventually culminated in a planning report authored by Watts which was used to guide the design of the final plan.¹²⁸ In the planning report prepared to guide the final plan, Watts suggested lesser road layouts (as compared to the radial road layout in the PWD plans) within the city because

¹²⁶ Bechuanaland Protectorate Public Works Department, 'Town Planning Scheme', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National archives, file collected reference no: BNB 1098, June 1962), (p. 3).

¹²⁷ Kenneth Watts, 'Urban Planning and Development 1948–1989: A Personal Memoir', *Habitat International*, 16 (1992), (p. 18).

¹²⁸ Kenneth Watts appraised all the design proposals from the AA and the PWD before his visit to Gaborone in January 1963. After his visit Watts prepared an advisory report which detailed aspects of the three design proposals and how these different ideas could be adopted in the final plan.

of the cost associated with their construction. Instead he argued that a series of pedestrian ways should be incorporated into the scheme where social amenities such as schools and shops would be accessible to the residents within walking distances. Vehicle and pedestrian movements were to be separated,¹²⁹ and in Watts's own words this would reflect the 'modern thinking' worth to be taken into consideration.¹³⁰ Amongst these recommendations was that road layout should be organised in a hierarchical fashion with the main roads wider than the secondary residential roads kept to a minimum width of twenty to twenty-four feet and this would allow for the 'cul-de-sac type of development which is the basis of the Radburn layout.'¹³¹ During a visit to Gaborone in 1963, Watts further proposed that the houses should be arranged around cul-de-sacs with their rear backing onto schools and communal sites, of which he pointed out that the advantage of this layout is that 'the basic form of the cul-de-sacs works well enough for the lower density,'¹³² based on the concept of the Radburn in New Jersey commonly known as the 'Radburn idea.'

Another significant suggestion from the report, was to insert the linear Mall layout as proposed in the AA plan, but the scale as size was to be significantly reduced to cater for the first stage of development with population estimated to be around 2000 to 5000 people a number much smaller than the 30 000 people catered for in the AA plan. He recommended that reducing the size of the Mall would ensure that the plots allocated for different social amenities such as shops and offices would be completed in time for independence given the financial constraints, and hence would ensure that 'the town is a complete unit at each stage of its development...'¹³³ However, Watts suggested that phasing the development of the city into complete stages would ensure that

¹²⁹Kenneth Watts, 'The Planning of Gaborones, the New Capital of Bechuanaland: Reports on an Advisory Visit', Department of Scientific and Industrial and Building Research Station Research (Collected file: Gaborones Town plan, file no: S542/8, Botswana National Archives, Gaborone Botswana, 1963).

¹³⁰ Kenneth Watts, *Outwards from Home: A planner's Odyssey*, (Sussex: The Book Guild, 1997); Watts, 'The Planning of Gaborones, the New Capital of Bechuanaland: Reports on an Advisory Visit', (p. 3).

¹³¹ Watts, 'The Planning of Gaborones, the New Capital of Bechuanaland: Reports on an Advisory Visit'.

¹³²A. G Director of Public Works, 'Gaborones Headquarters Town Plan, Savingram', (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, Collected File reference S.542/8, 20th February 1963), (p. 1).

¹³³Watts, 'Urban Planning and Development 1948–1989: A Personal Memoir'. Watts, 'The Planning of Gaborones, the New Capital of Bechuanaland: Reports on an Advisory Visit', (p. 5).

the city can be extended in the subsequent years, of which it was projected that the population would grow between 10,000 to 20,000 over a period of twenty years.¹³⁴ It was also emphasised that the distinctive features of the linear pedestrian Mall as demonstrated in the AA plan should be retained such the precinct circumscribed by roads and should be traffic free. The linear pedestrian Mall would be surrounded by residential houses on two sides to enable residents to access the Mall on foot. The Government enclave was to be maintained as reflected in both of the PWD planning proposals because according to the report the precinct was located on the highest point of the city and after reviewing the plan the executive Council in Gaborone had suggested that the City Hall should be located in the opposite site of the – eastern part of the mall.

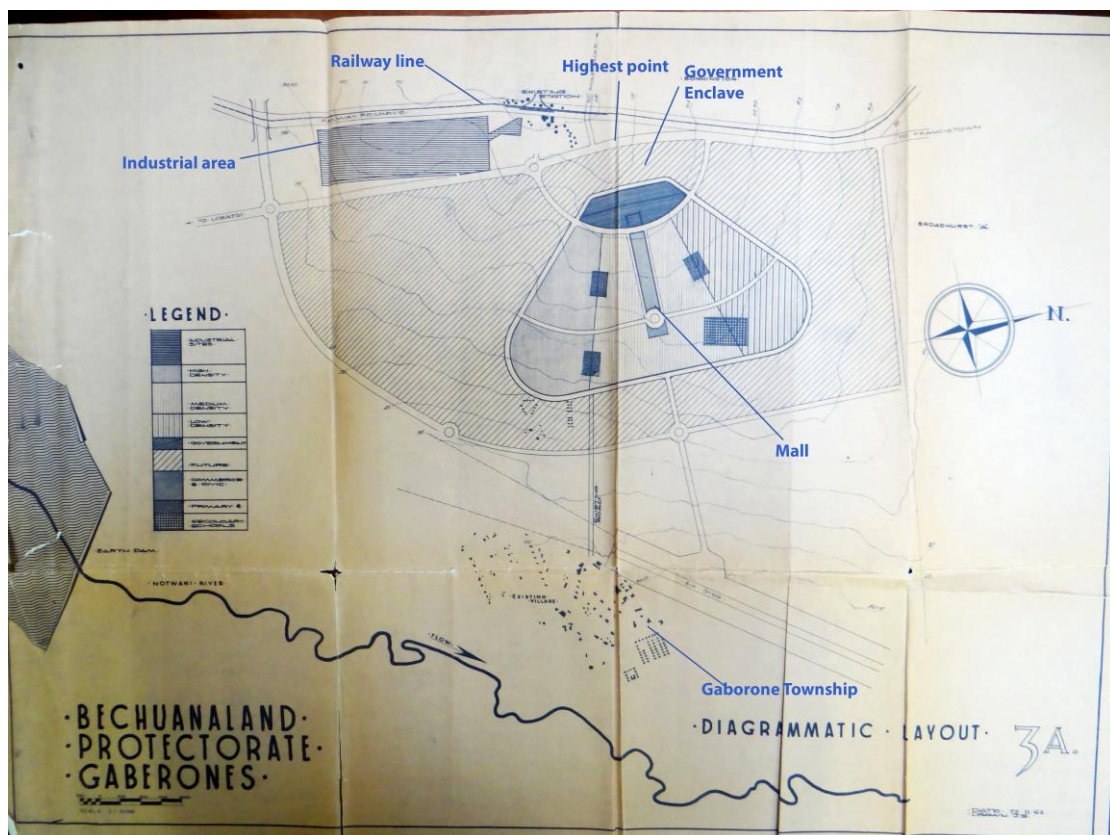


Figure 3.7: The final plan of Gaborone combined the linear Mall, Government Enclave and the Radburn residential areas (source: Botswana National archives, collected from *Town Planning: Gaberones New Township*, file reference no: S 74.1)

¹³⁴ Watts, 'Urban Planning and Development 1948–1989: A Personal Memoir'. Watts report and paper

Working with the above recommendations the PWD planners, prepared the final plan which was approved in 1963. Within a period of two years from 1963 to 1966, the city had been built and ready for the government staff to relocate from Mafikeng to Gaborone in between the construction period in 1965. The central pedestrian mall formed the core of the city, with the Government Enclave located in the west while the City Hall was located on the Eastern part of the city.

The central Mall is architecturally modest; it covers an area of 8.3 hectares in the middle of the city, orientated towards the government precinct to the East with the City Hall located to the West (figure 3.7). Flanked by Queen's Road, Botswana Road, Independence Avenue and Khama Crescent, the Mall is vehicle-free with its central space comprising pedestrian ways linking three connected open squares. These buildings included shops, a bank, hotel and post office, offices, cinema, restaurants and embassy buildings. The pedestrian Mall comprised of three open public squares organised according to uses such as the central larger square defined by the cinema and hotel while the other two squares had car showrooms and shops. The squares were landscaped with 'a series of plant and paving forms, pools, seats, advertising kiosks lighting, with other object of giving each space a distinct character of its own, related to the surrounding uses.'¹³⁵ The buildings in the Mall followed the late 1960s modernist architecture. Two rows of concrete building blocks, with covered pedestrian ways in the front and frame a central open space, which is now used for temporary markets and cultural performances. By 1966 only two thirds of the Mall had been built and it was mainly characterised by two and three storeys modest modernist buildings with shops at ground floor and offices above (figure 3.8). The National Assembly and four ministerial building blocks formed the government precinct and are also modest examples of modern architecture (figure 3.8 and 3.9). This area is linked to the Mall by a landscaped piazza replete with its World War Memorial, but separated by a road, which has also been significantly reduced from the initial proposal. The monumental vista from the City Hall towards the National Assembly was also

¹³⁵Gerald Bennet Dix, 'Gaborones', *Journal of Town and Planning Institute*, 51 (1965), (p. 295).

not achieved because of the budgetary constraints associated with the capital project, as well as the significant reduction of the scale and architectural ambition and most government buildings were designed by PWD apart from the City Hall and the National Assembly to keep the cost down.¹³⁶ As urban planner Dix G. B. pointed out in 1965 “The Assembly building is not large and though it stands on the highest ground there was a danger that it might be lost to the beholder approaching the Mall.’¹³⁷

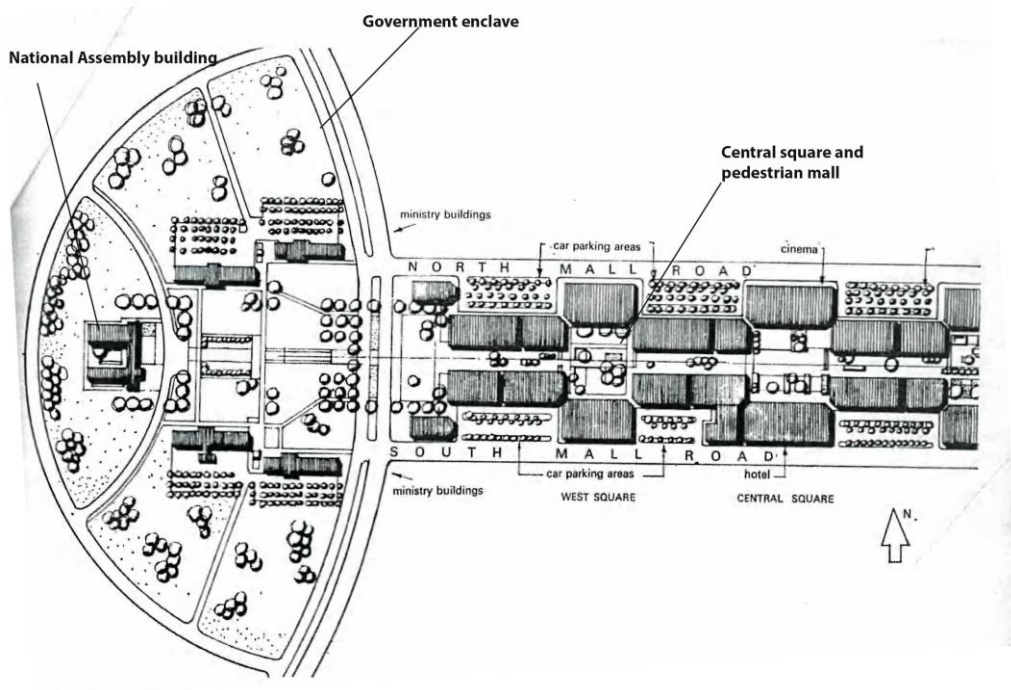


Figure 3.8: The pedestrian enclave and (source: Gerald Bennet Dix, 'Gaberones', Journal of Town and Planning Institute, page 291)

¹³⁶ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Development Plan', Mafikeng (1963/1968).

¹³⁷ Gerald Bennet Dix, 'Gaberones', *Journal of Town and Planning Institute*, 51 (1965)



Figure 3.9: Buildings in the Main showing the character of the open squares (source, Best Alan C. G., *Gaborone: the problems and prospects of a new capital*, *The Geographical Review* page 7)

To the west of the city, between the railway line and the Old Lobatse Road was dedicated to the industrial uses. The residential areas were organised based on economic class—the high, medium and low-income areas. A total of 200 houses had been built by 1964, comprising 4 blocks of 2 double storey flats and 190 single storey houses.¹³⁸ The population of Gaborone at this time was estimated at 4000, the majority of whom were government employees. The low density areas in the north of the Mall comprised 2 to 4 dwellings per hectare mostly inhabited by the African political elite, highly paid government officials and business community. These houses were bungalows (figure 3.10) or flats set in large plots with back and front gardens. Even smaller houses in the high and medium density areas had front and back gardens (figure 3.11).¹³⁹ Medium density area is located between the Khama Crescent road and it comprised 5 to 12 houses per hectare and high-density area had 20 to 25 houses per hectare and was inhabited by lower paid government servants.¹⁴⁰ Each zone residential had a school in the centre within walking distance

¹³⁸ Grant, Sandy. "A Preliminary Chronology of Modern Gaborone." *Botswana Notes and Records*, vol. 38, 2006, pp. 182–194. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41235999.

¹³⁹ Eileen M. Steel, 'Gaborone'. *Geography*, 54 (1969)

¹⁴⁰ Kenneth Watts, 'The Planning of Gaborone, the New Capital of Bechuanaland: Reports on an Advisory Visit', (p. 4).

accessed via pedestrian ways. Watts's own reflections suggest that his partial application of the Radburn layout reveals a concern with the aesthetic and identity of the new capital city, as well as the need to harness the design features such as hierarchical road layout, pedestrian movement within the city and population projection. The planning minutes and a report prepared by Kenneth Watts suggested this partial adoption of the Radburn ideas as the statement below illustrates:

*“A form of layout on the ‘Radburn’ principle might well assist in this respect by providing compactness and greater ease of movement for pedestrians and cyclists on ways which are independent from the road system.”*¹⁴¹

A few features of the Radburn plan were retained in Gaborone, for example –the location of schools located within walking distance, for example the northern lower destiny and high density areas had a schools and local shopping centre within walking distance (figure 3.13). The central Mall is also within walking distance accessed by a series of pedestrian walkways and semi-circular roads –the Independence Avenue, the Inner Ring Road and Outer Ring road. The planning minutes and reports suggest that the density considerations were adjusted to the prevailing conditions of what was customary in southern Africa. While the colonial administration office and political elite supported even the need for bigger plots and lower densities in residential areas, Watts had advised that such low densities would create spread out residential areas that he linked to the ‘spread-out town of colonial empires’ and criticised for being wasteful.¹⁴² However, the PWD and administration made the final call with regards to plot sizes. It was argued that Europeans who settled in Southern Africa were accustomed to a large plot with ample garden space in the front and rear of the property used as family recreation spaces with outdoor swimming pools and tennis courts,¹⁴³ as the final report highlighted:

¹⁴¹ Ibid. (p 4)

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid. p. 4.

'It was emphasised both by the administration and the professional officers that Europeans in Southern Africa were accustomed to large stands (or plots); they developed their gardens to an extent that was now unknown in Europe, turning them into family recreational areas with pools, lawns, tennis courts, etc.' ¹⁴⁴

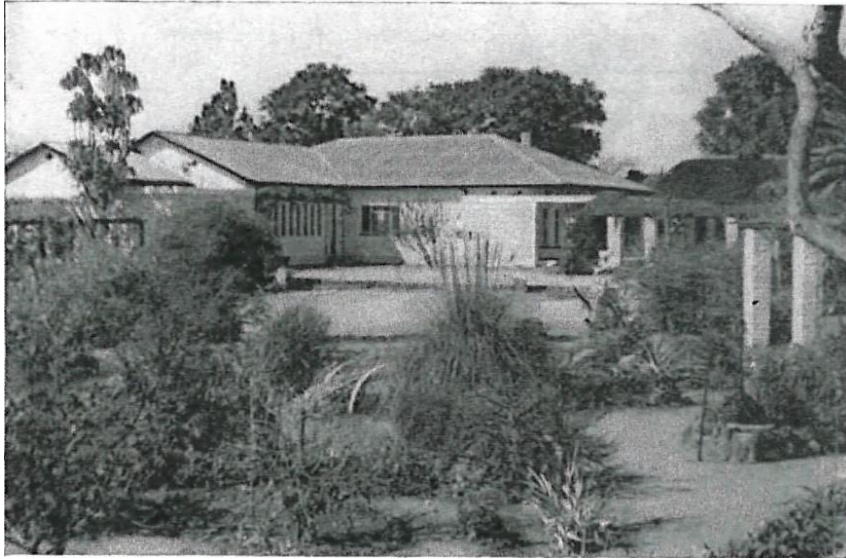


Figure 3.10: This house was typical of houses in high-income residential zones (source: Best Alan C. G., *Gaborone: the problems and prospects of a new capital*, *The Geographical Review* page 7)

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 5.



Figure 3.11: Low cost Housing in the Southern part of the city (Source: Dix, G. B., *Gaborones*, Journal of the Town Planning Institute, page no 292)

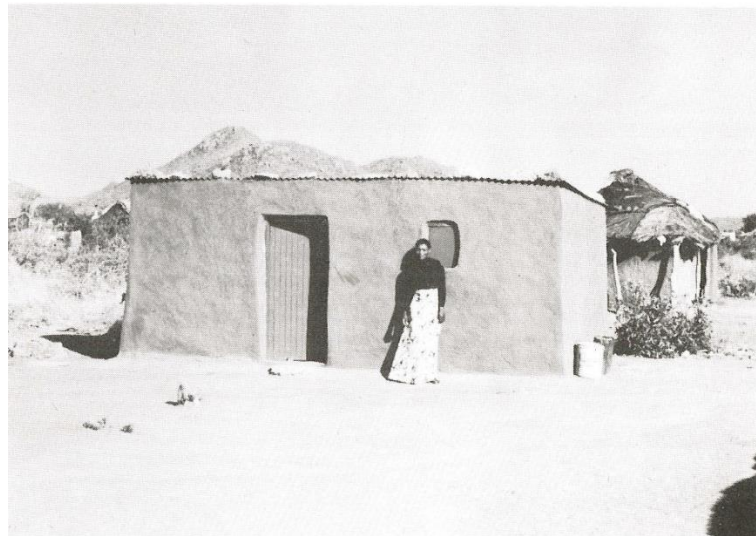


Figure 3.12: Housing in Old Naledi which developed as a result of the labour camps which developed in the northern part of the city (source: *Building in hot climates: a selection of overseas building notes*, 1980, page 9)



Figure 3.13: Residential areas showing the road layout and pedestrian ways (source: *Development of Capital 2*, file reference no: CO 1048.253, collected from the National Archives in London)

However, there are clear divergences between the Radburn principle as developed by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in New Jersey in 1929. In Gaborone the density of residential areas even in high density areas was quite low given that it was only 15 to 25 houses per hectare as compared to Radburn where housing densities were up to 40 houses per hectare. According to planning literature, the Radburn planning principles evolved from the English Garden City model and it emphasised a town designed for the 'motor age' with emphasis on the separation of pedestrian and vehicular movement, social amenities such as shops and schools within walking distances, self-contained residential communities, housed in superblocks (for single, double and multifamily occupancy) organised around communal held park land in cul-de-sacs with houses facing on to the open space with the rear face the streets (back to front).¹⁴⁵ Road layouts were curved and followed a hierarchical street layout meant to reduce the unnecessary traffic in

¹⁴⁵Kristin Larsen, 'Research in Progress: The Radburn Idea as an Emergent Concept: Henry Wright's Regional City', *Planning Perspectives*, 23 (2008). Eugenie Eugenie Ladner Birch, 'Radburn and the American Planning Movement: The Persistence of an Idea', *Journal of American Planning Association*, 46 (1980).

residential areas.¹⁴⁶ In contrast to the back to front arrangements of houses in Radburn, in Gaborone houses faced onto the streets away from the pedestrian networks and these later became neglected urban open spaces.¹⁴⁷ Only a few cul-de-sacs were included and streets layouts were significantly straightened as compared to the curved roads in Radburn.

Contrary to the contemporary belief by some scholars who often mention that Gaborone was based on the Garden City only, where in fact it was more complex with the partial application of different planning traditions. The model rather than the Garden City model¹⁴⁸ was adopted to model the identity of residential zones as was the linear town derived from the AA plan. According to Wareus' argument, Gaborone was based on the Garden City model because its ultimate population projections were similar to those proposed in the Garden city model. Watts suggested that this of planning was derived from the Radburn model, a concept he attempted to adapt to different conditions in the global south.¹⁴⁹ For Watts this model of planning was in line with the 'well-designed British housing areas'¹⁵⁰ and these comments underscored the commitment to aesthetics and identity for the residential areas in the new city.

¹⁴⁶ Birch, 'Radburn and the American Planning Movement: The Persistence of an Idea'.

¹⁴⁷ Moshia, *The Use and Misuse of Urban Public Spaces in Botswana: Case Study, Gaborone, Botswana*

¹⁴⁸ It must be noted that other scholars do not offer any explanation as to why Gaborone demonstrate the qualities of the Garden city model, except the assumption that the pedestrian ways which link the residential areas to the Mall are seen as evidence of the Garden city model. However, Gaborone does not illustrate similar features as the garden city model as purported in the literature. Nicholas Patricios notes that the Radburn was built for the motor age by integrating curved road layouts organised in a hierarchical manner to reduce the danger to the pedestrians and it was never 'an attempt to create a garden city.' The Radburn emphasised the hierarchical street network while the Garden City emphasised the creation of decentralised communities which would be located closer to the main centre. In Gaborone these features of the Garden City were never implemented nor considered instead, the city demonstrates some of the features derived from the Radburn ideas such as houses with front and rear gardens, pedestrian ways. See Nicholas N. Patricios, 'Urban Design Principles of the Original Neighbourhood Concepts', *Urban Morphology*, 6 (2002).

¹⁴⁹ Watts, *Outwards from Home: A planner's Odyssey*.

¹⁵⁰ Watts, 'Urban Planning and Development 1948–1989: A Personal Memoir'.

Identity politics in Gaborone and post-independence imaginaries

The creation of Gaborone in time for independence was intended to promote national identity and to provide the country with a symbol for the nation, as well as a place for the administration and the development of a modern economy by the political elite. It was also an opportunity to envision a new capital city where architecture and planning would play a pivotal role in defining a new national identity and the values of a non-racial society. The transition to modernity was also expressed in the newspapers of that time, that the creation of Gaborone as an important progress towards modernity because the city¹⁵¹ 'was bluntly booted from *bundu* oblivion to equal capital status with Bonn, Brussels.'¹⁵² Gaborone was therefore compared to capital cities like Brasilia.¹⁵³ Furthermore, in the planners' view, Gaborone was to avoid problems associated with newly created capital cities such as the development of slum areas in the outskirts of the city similar to the labour camps in the edge of Chandigarh in India. Kenneth Watts argued that to avoid these challenges, population growth of Gaborone could be predicted, and fixed to ultimately accommodate 25,000 people, as it was stated that:

*Although nearly three times the size of the United Kingdom, the population of Botswana is only 350,000 people... the estimated present rate of natural increase is 1 percent, low by African standards, and would only assume 100,000 to be the population in 25 years... In these circumstances, it is possible to fix the minimum size of Gaborone with some accuracy, but difficult indeed to define its ultimate size. This minimum value can confidently be set at 25,000...with an increase of 10,000 or even 15,000...over 20 years.'*¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Correspondent, 'A Supplement on the Republic of Botswana: A New Capital Rises in the Desert', (p. 75). "Less than 3 years ago Gaborone was another village in Africa. Today it is the seat of government for a new State-Botswana. This transformation from village to capital meant more than designing and building parliament buildings and government offices. It called for the creation of all services and amenities so often taken for granted and without it would be impossible to establish a modern community."

¹⁵² Wilf Nussery, 'A New Capital Is Born', *Durban's daily News*, (January 1965).

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Kenneth Watts, 'The Planning of Gaborone, the New Capital of Bechuanaland: Reports on an Advisory Visit'. Department of Scientific and Industrial and Building Research Station Research (Collected file: Gaborone Town plan, file no: S542/8.; Botswana National Archives, Gaborone Botswana, 1963).

However, the population of Gaborone grew faster than it was initially projected reaching 60,000 in 1986 because of rural to urban in-migration by workers looking employment.¹⁵⁵ An unplanned settlement developed in the southern part of the city opposite the industrial area and it was initially built by the manual workers and builders who were involved in the construction of the city (figure 3.15).¹⁵⁶ It later on accommodated new migrants into the city and this area came to be known as Old Naledi.¹⁵⁷ Watts also wrote reflectively in his paper in 1992 that although the plan catered for growth, there was a preoccupation with design and the need to construct a sense of identity, in this case, it suggests rather than accommodating population growth. His concern was that the city should be an orderly city, complete and that the centre should be comparable to similar purpose-made capital cities like Washington and Canberra.¹⁵⁸ In this regard, Watts continued to question whether western utopian ideals were suitable in planning cities in the global south, where the emphasis is placed upon the design of the city rather than adopting these design solutions to the context and the realities of place. This utopian idea an orderly model of the postcolonial capital city remained partially on paper because of the cost constraints and resulted in a somewhat negotiated form. It could then be argued that there was a missed opportunity to explore how the realities of for example rural to urban migration may be catered for, as well as how the idea of a non-racial city may be addressed.

Given the growing population, inequality and housing needs in Gaborone, in 1971 the president, Sir Seretse Khama commissioned a Scottish engineering and planning company, Wilson, Womersley and Partners¹⁵⁹ to develop a master plan for an extension to the city. For the first time, the idea of a non-

¹⁵⁵ Mosha, 'The City of Gaborone, Botswana: Planning and Management'; Watts, 'Urban Planning and Development 1948–1989: A Personal Memoir'.

¹⁵⁶ Ministry of Local Government Republic of Botswana, Lands and Housing, 'Physical Planning Handbook for Botswana, Swedeplan', ed. by Department of Town and Regional Planning (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 1997). Nostrand Nostrand, *Old Naledi: The Village Becomes a Town*,.

¹⁵⁷ It must be noted that Old Naledi was later upgraded in 1976 and residents were given land rights instead of being relocated. New infrastructure such as roads and sewer lines were built. See Nostrand, *Old Naledi: The Village Becomes a Town*,.

¹⁵⁸ Watts, 'Urban Planning and Development 1948–1989: A Personal Memoir'.

¹⁵⁹ Hugh Wilson, Lewis Womersley, and Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick, 'Gaborone: Planning Proposals', (Gaborone: Republic of Botswana, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, August 1971), pp. 1-88.

racial Gaborone was scrutinised by the president, who declared the failure of the city and the amalgamated plan to achieve an egalitarian and non-racial society by creating an 'economically segregated city.'¹⁶⁰ Seretse's use of the words 'economic segregation' was also politicised to argue that the Gaborone as built did not suit the intended values of an egalitarian society, of which he envisioned as different income groups located in the same area, an idea that was previously rejected, as proposed in the AA plan. Income social group segregation was further worsened by the lack adequate housing provision in Gaborone and the failure to address the possibilities of in-migration. Richard Sennett has argued that the city should be seen as a place of diversity where new places created to allow for interaction and diversity than the creation of ethnic or social class enclaves.¹⁶¹ He argues that the emergence of capitalism and the desire of the elites to live in segregated enclaves have meant that the cities have increasingly become segregated along economic lines.¹⁶² A similar argument has been extended further by Stephen Marr in relation to the creation of Gaborone that the decision to organise the residential areas according to economic class, as well as the failure to provide housing for construction labourers was because the political elite did not want to associate with the poor.¹⁶³ Seretse's views suggested the rejection of the design of residential area model, of which it was argued that the contrast of house and plot sizes between the different income groups encouraged social segregation trends in the city. This social segregation was blamed on the imposition of planning ideas from the metropole, without taking into consideration the values of the identity of an egalitarian society. In his remarks, Seretse Khama likened the houses in the low-density area in the north part of the city where he resided as 'Little England' because of the contrasts in the size of land and houses between the residential zones, which were viewed as

¹⁶⁰ Republic of Botswana, 'Physical Planning Handbook for Botswana, Swedeplan'.

¹⁶¹ Richard Sennett, *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life*, (New York: Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1970).

¹⁶² Richard Sennett, *The Fall of the Public Man*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1977).

¹⁶³ Stephen Marr, 'Spaces of Aspiration, Liberation and Exclusion: The Politics of Urban Space in an African Democracy', (University of Florida, 2008), p. 80.

symbols of social status. The identity of a non-racial and egalitarian city thus took on a different meaning, contrary its earlier one.¹⁶⁴

The planning report suggests that Khama 'instructed the planners to come up¹⁶⁵ with a more egalitarian concept'¹⁶⁶ suited for the nation. This phase coincided with similar 1970s attempts by African governments to create new cities based on promoting national identity and egalitarianism, such as Dodoma in Tanzania¹⁶⁷ and Mmabatho in Mafikeng.¹⁶⁸ In Gaborone the postcolonial government revisited the non-racial city ideas and this time it was defined in terms of creating a city that was not economically polarised, signalling a shift from the earlier understanding. The new areas would now be designed according to the newly redefined postcolonial national egalitarian principles. As a result of these criticisms, the non-racial experiment came under scrutiny in 1971, when proposals to extend the city towards the north into Broadhurst Farm, a piece of government-owned land, were drawn up in response to the larger than expected population increase. The outlook on the Botswana's economy at this time had begun to improve because of mining, and particularly the discovery of diamonds. The aim of the 1971 Wilson-Womersley plan was to reinterpret the non-racial and egalitarian and to rearticulate the centre of the city as a 'national space.' According to the report:

"Two aims are of exceptional and predominant importance in the planning of Gaborone. The first is the general, national policy for non-racial development. ...It is arguable that the existing form of Gaborone runs counters this aim, as it comprises three large, strongly contrasted areas of housing. ...The low and medium cost housing areas of Gaborone are both relatively poor and almost entirely occupied by black people. But the high

¹⁶⁴ The inequality was blamed on the so called imported planning models and concepts.

¹⁶⁵ According to Aloysius Mosha (and the handbook for planning), president Khama had rejected the 1963 amalgamated plan and the 'Garden City model' for creating a segregated city which he saw as contrary to the egalitarian and non-racial identity of the Batswana nation.

¹⁶⁶ Republic of Botswana, 'Physical Planning Handbook for Botswana, Swedeplan'.

¹⁶⁷ For Dodoma see, Emily Callaci, 'Chief Village in a Nation of Villages': History, Race and Authority in Tanzania's Dodoma Plan', 43 (2016).

¹⁶⁸ Jones Paris, 'the Basic Assumptions as Regards the Nature and Requirements of a Capital City': Identity, Modernization and Urban Form at Mafikeng's Margins', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24 (March 2000).

cost housing area north of the Mall is truly multi-racial, and sharply set off from the rest of the town by class distinction and economic differences.

The second exceptional aim is to maintain and enhance Gaborone's role as a national capital. In this context, attention has to be focused mainly on the Mall and the Government offices. The architectural quality of the buildings so far constructed is not high Achievement of this aim must focus on maintaining and improving the character of this area..."¹⁶⁹

Once again there was a deliberate attempt to use urban planning to develop the identity of Gaborone as non-racial and egalitarian, as well as improving the architectural character in the city. Prior to submitting planning proposals for Gaborone, Wilson, Womersley and Partners had completed planning proposals for Francistown. Here, the concern was to alter the earlier colonial planning which imprinted racial segregation in the urban landscape, by proposing a social-mix concept where houses from different income groups would be in one area. Having initially rejected this idea in the AA plan for Gaborone, the post-independence government now enshrined their social mix concept into Botswana's postcolonial urban planning policy to be adopted in the second planning phase of Gaborone. It was argued that the benefit of this model was that high, it avoided social polarisation and all neighbourhoods would benefit from equal access to a basic social infrastructure.

The Broadhurst Farm expansion plan doubled the size of the city¹⁷⁰ creating a new neighbourhood between the railway line in the north-south and Notwane River in the east. Low income areas were located at the centre of the neighbourhood while high and medium income areas were located towards the road frontages. Scholars have questioned the success of this social mix concept beyond meeting the planning politics of the postcolonial government and whether these ideas of an egalitarian society translate

¹⁶⁹ Wilson, Womersley, and Kirkpatrick, 'Gaborone: Planning Proposals', (p. 17).

¹⁷⁰ Michael Bose, 'Die Neuen Hauptstädte Des 20. Jahrhunderts –Planung, Realisierung Und Aktuelle Anforderungen: gaborone -Hauptstadt Von Botswana Seit 1963', (2017).

physically.¹⁷¹ Lekwalo Mosienyane noted that the mix does not appear in the same street, but rather that any neighbourhood should contain a mixture of plots/houses for different income groups.¹⁷²

With regards to the mall, according to the planning document there were two ways of achieving this. The first was to improve the architectural quality of the buildings by creating more 'slender' tower buildings to address the monotony associated with the as-built boxy concrete three storey buildings. These buildings were described as architecturally uninteresting. Second, a comprehensive plan for the centre of the city was to be prepared, detailing an urban design approach where each building would be designed as part of its larger context rather than as an individual design exercise. The report further recommended a 'stringent review of the designs of the buildings, especially in their relationship towards the environment.'¹⁷³ For the planners, new modernist exemplary architecture would improve the character, skyline and lived experience of the centre as a whole. New multi storey parking would be built alongside the new blocks.

However, the plans for the Mall failed to materialise due to the lack of political willingness, and instead the city is often described as lacking in architectural character. As Killon Mokwete pointed out, 'the city adopted a neutral interface with no cultural symbols...'¹⁷⁴ In contrast Alan Best suggested that Gaborone became an experiment "Like most planned capitals, Gaborone is a showpiece whose general design should impress the tourist and be functionally acceptable to its residents."¹⁷⁵ Other scholars condemn the failure of the planners to take into account the country's diverse culture in planning the city. As evidence suggests, the actors involved in planning the city saw no significant architectural and cultural character to draw from, indeed

¹⁷¹ Marr, 'Spaces of Aspiration, Liberation and Exclusion: The Politics of Urban Space in an African Democracy'; Lekwalo Leta Mosienyane, 'Shha: Botswana's Self-Help Housing Agency: A Success Story, but Is It Sustainable', *The Sustainable City, Royal Swedish Academy of Science*, 25 (March, 1996).

¹⁷² Mosienyane, 'SHHA: Botswana's Self-Help Housing Agency: A Success Story, but Is It Sustainable'. pp142

¹⁷³ Wilson, Womersley, and Kirkpatrick, 'Gaborone: Planning Proposals', (p. 99).

¹⁷⁴ Sandy Grant, 'Gaborone- Never a Garden City!', *Mmegi Online*, (December 2014); Killion H. Mokwete, 'How the 'Garden City' Concept Failed in the Making of Gaborone', in *Boidus Focus: Botswana's Architecture & Urban Design Newspaper*, (Gaborone: Boidus, October 2012), p. 1 and 8.

¹⁷⁵ Alan C. G. Best, 'Gaborone: Problems and Prospects of a New Capital', *Geographical Review*, 60 (1970), 13.

modernist ideas were pivotal in ensuring that the new national space was devoid of such cultural associations. Nonetheless, because of the negotiated nature of the plan for the city, the Mall has developed its own momentum as a public and cultural urban space usually populated by tourists in search of cultural artefacts. This space now hosts different activities both formal and informal and is now designated as a representative of the nation in the Gaborone Development Plan.

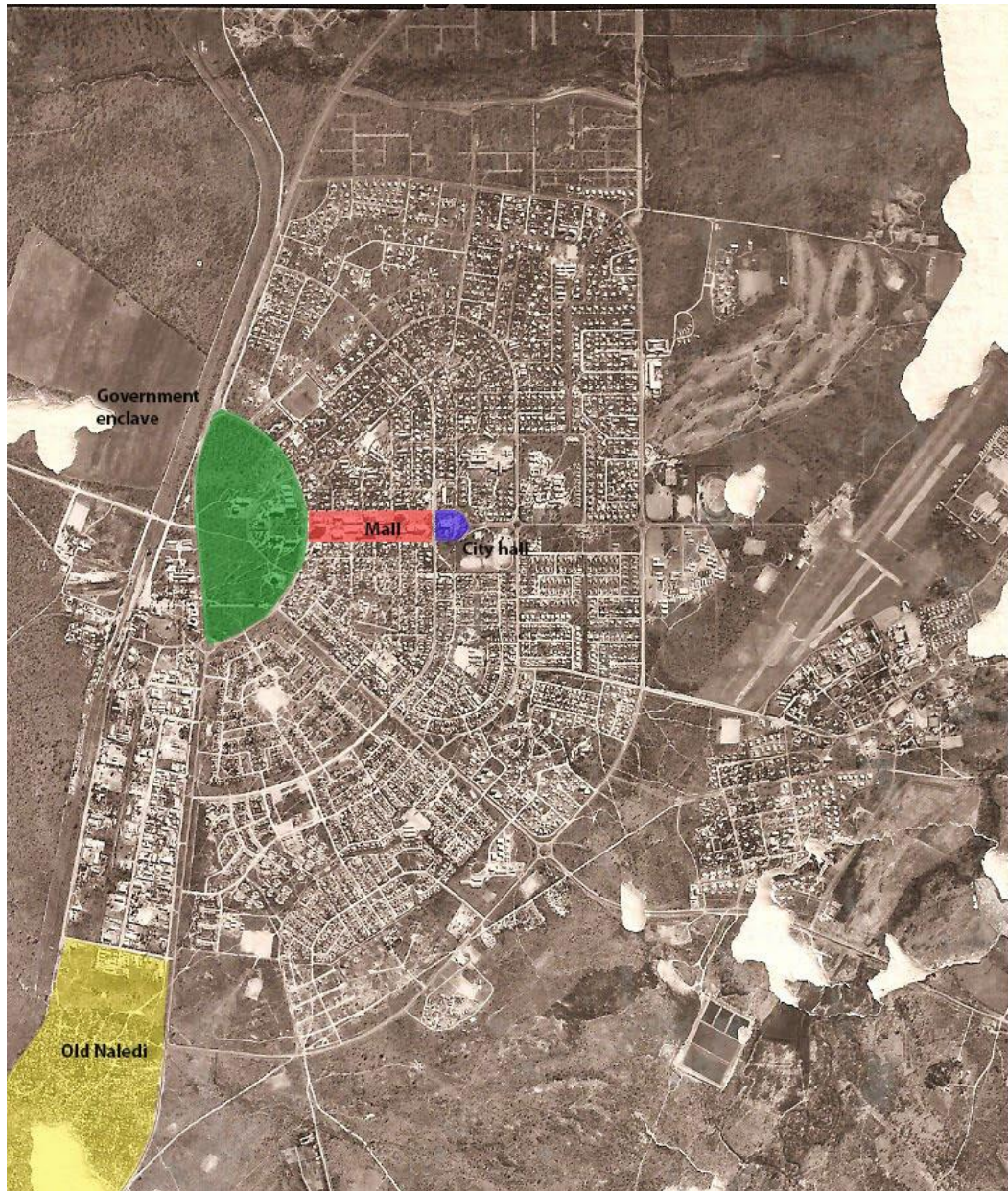


Figure 3.14: A satellite view of Gaborone in 1975 showing the location of Old Naledi towards the industrial area and the main features including the pedestrian mall and the Government Enclave (source: adapted by author and take from the Department of Survey and Mapping in Gaborone, Botswana)

Revisiting Gaborone's identity

The creation of Gaborone is portrayed in literature as an apolitical endeavour, consequently the city is also viewed as imbued with political neutrality, where a group of British planners imposed modernist planning without the input of the local population. Contrary to this view this chapter

suggested has that the planning proposals of Gaborone provides a lens to explore the politics and process of planning and imagining Gaborone as a postcolonial capital city by both the departing colonial powers and Botswana's extant political elite. Gaborone is also an exception in the history of planning capital cities because it was created for the purposes of power transition.

Nonetheless at a glance, Gaborone can simply be dismissed as a 'typical modernist city'. Yet, the significance of planning a capital city has been highlighted in literature as an important opportunity to centralise power, to develop national culture and identity. Gaborone was envisioned to fulfil these tasks and the planning process was a multifaceted process, which entailed the political imagination of a 'non-racial city', and the symbolism of a nation and government. Both the planners and political elite envisioned an identity influenced by imported planning concepts to mark itself off from the traditional settlements characterised by half-European and half-traditional houses. Thus, the capital city and its architecture was intentionally presented as a symbolic break to the pre-colonial past and the already hybrid architecture of traditional and modern house. It was therefore to be modern and a showcase model capital to the world. This would entail building the city from scratch on a completely new and 'neutral site' to fulfil the purposes of nation-building.

A closer examination of the planning process also illustrates that beyond the cost constraints and the rhetoric of a 'non-racial city', there was a clear ambition for a monumental and egalitarian capital city. These intentions were attempted in the PWD planning proposals by appropriating Beaux-Arts planning to symbolise the civic and political presence of the soon-to-be-formed government. These imaginations of the city shared by the PWD and the local political elite illustrate the ambition to inscribe political values in the spatial layout of the city and the initial desire to develop a symbolic place for government and national functions.

Contrary to the aforementioned intentions, the initial plan of Gaborone demonstrated an economically segregated city. The intention for a monumental national space and non-racial egalitarian city was unfulfilled. For example, in terms of monumental expression, the modified plan now locates both seats of national and local power (that is the National Assembly and the City Hall) in an axis opposite each other. This layout is less dramatic in comparison to the earlier ambition. The vista approaching the National Assembly has been significantly marginalised by the central mall where everyday life activities both formal and informal activities thrive. Several ministerial and government buildings have been built within the government enclave transforming the space into a government complex, and effectively dwarfing the National assembly in scale and height. The area stretching from the National Assembly to the city hall has gradually become an important public, civic and cultural space. It has now been designated as the 'capital core', now emphasised for its symbolism of the nation. The capital core is described in the current Gaborone Development plan as "the City Hall which is anchored directly to the east of the Parliament, thus creating an axial vista between the two seats of the nation's Government and the city's Government respectively." Highlighting the symbolic role of government buildings in the city, the report argues for more monuments to be constructed within the government precinct to narrate national histories and reinforce national identity. This highlights the attempts to define the city as a cultural and political centre. Such a quest and pursuit for national identity in postcolonial capital cities has lead Vale to argue that it is used to overcompensate for areas where the capital city is lacking, in terms of for example economic base and size.

In the case of creating Gaborone this chapter has argued that the plans of the city present an attempt to construct national identity, based on the politics of nation-building. The failure of this space to achieve the architectural quality of a 'national space' was highlighted in the 1971 Wilson-Wormesley plan. What then is the identity of the capital core in Gaborone as a national space? How are such identities constructed and presented by both residents

and the government? The next chapter examines the city centre as a representation of national identity.

4 The heart of the city and the pursuit for national monuments

The previous chapter discussed how Gaborone was conceived during the power transition to independence, imagined as a new city representative of a new nation. It was expected that the government precinct was to be monumental in order to portray a well-ordered government. It was previously illustrated that such ambitions remained unfulfilled but the process of envisioning and building Gaborone as a capital city allowed the extant political elite¹ to conflate the notions of national identity and nation-building with the plans of the city, while simultaneously playing down any tribal references in favour of what Vale has termed the “slippery concept of national identity.”² Vale speaks of national identity as slippery, difficult and indefinite because of the way modern nations, particularly in Africa, were constructed out of

¹ The political elite included the Tswana political elite who were members of the Advisory Council, the European community representatives as well as the colonial administrative staff.

² Lawrence Vale and Kim Dovey have illustrated that national identity in relation to the built environment is an elusive concept because as Dovey has argued that the construction of identity in cities' shopping centres can be understood in terms of what he termed 'framings' of a range of activities and practices and everyday life. See Kim Dovey, *Framing Places : Mediating Power in Built Form*, 2nd ed. edn (London ; New York: Routledge, 2008), (p. 49); Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, (United States: Yale University Press and London, 1992). Ian Jackson also argued that 'nation and nationality' are difficult concepts to fix because of they are socially constructed based on the socio-political conditions. Ian Jackson, 'The Architecture of the British Mandate in Iraq: Nation-Building and State Creation', *The Journal of Architecture*, 21 (2016).

colonialism. Consequently, it is difficult to speak of a common pre-colonial identity, because as postcolonial scholars remind us, such identities are fractured and constructed in relation to other identities. In contrast to the silenced notions of ethnic cultural identity,³ this chapter explores continued efforts to promote national identity in Gaborone during the post-independence period where the pursuit for identity representation has become pertinent. It explores issues around heritage, national histories and identity in relation to the continued attempts to appropriate and define the central space in the city as the “Capital Core.” This designation of ‘national space’ is intended to equate the significance and meaning of the Capital Core to the older historic cores in the traditional villages such as Mochudi (see the next two chapters 5 and 6). The capital core is described as representative of nation. According to the planning report, the core ‘symbolises the heart of Botswana and its people’⁴ but it does not go into detail as to how this idea is represented. Nonetheless implicit in this statement (or perhaps in my interpretation) is the suggestion that the value of the historic core lies in the intersection between place, culture, and the everyday life practices.⁵ However, the 1970 master plan for Gaborone highlighted the failures of the initial plan to achieve this desired national image. The master plan further argues that the creation of a ‘national space’ should focus on improving the architectural quality of buildings in the area around the pedestrian mall and government precinct, since the buildings constructed after independence lacked in ‘architectural quality.’⁶ Since then, the subsequent Gaborone master plans and development plan⁷ have echoed these concerns, with the latest master plan suggesting that symbolic monuments should be built throughout this area to commemorate national heroes and histories.

³ The previous chapter has shown how reference to cultural or ethnic identity was rejected in favour of newly invited egalitarian national identity and the adoption of modernism as a sign of progress.

⁴ Department of Urban and Rural Planning Botswana Ministry of Lands and Housing 'Gaborone City Development Plan 1997-2021', (Gaborone, Botswana: Gaborone City Council, 2009, Revised Plan).

⁵ This statement is my interpretation.

⁶ Hugh Wilson, Lewis Womersley, and Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick, 'Gaborone: Planning Proposals', (Gaborone: Republic of Botswana, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, August 1971), pp. 1-88.

⁷ It must be noted that in Botswana the role of the physical master plans and development plans is to provide a framework for developments and the focus of these plans varies. At times, the plans can provide a focus on the physical development and planning of an area or more widely the development of larger areas. See Aloysius Clemence Mosha, 'The Experience of Sub-Regional Planning in Botswana: Achievements and Challenges', *Regional Development Dialogue*, 28 (2007).

In 2003, the government, through the Department of National Monuments Art and Gallery, proposed to erect a monument in the Main Mall to commemorate the role the three *dikgosi*⁸ played in forging the nation. Although the monument was not built in the Main Mall but elsewhere, it was immediately designated as a national monument. The narrative behind its creation suggests the desire to create visible elements in the city as part of the construction of national identity and the consolidation of the national myth of the three *dikgosi* as founders of the nation. Since then the attempts to develop the capital core as a heritage space include the building new national monuments and an unrealised regeneration project scheme focusing on the promotion national identity. Such projects suggest there are ongoing desires to re-define what constitutes heritage in the city, in particular to define what built heritage and national heritage should look like. This chapter addresses how heritage may be defined in the capital core through examining case studies related to heritage and identity in the city. The broader post-independence promotion of national culture, identity formation debates and identity are explored. The case considers heritage in different ways. The first case illuminates the pursuit to define the capital core and the Main Mall as a heritage space where monuments and cultural installations linked to the national narratives are proposed or built as part of national identity and collective memory. The meaning and contestation of these monuments are explored and the proposal to turn the Main Mall into a heritage space is also reviewed as part of Botswana's on-going identity politics.

The second case study is the National Assembly built in 1966 which has since undergone two extensions and an un-built proposal to build a new assembly hall. This building is the most recent building listed as a national monument; therefore, it enjoys the same legal protection status as the ancient sites in Botswana that dominate the heritage list. The third is the national museum. Built in 1967 it focuses on the promotion of both heritage and culture, but with a greater emphasis on ethnology, archaeology research and

⁸ *Dikgosi* is a Setswana word and means 'chiefs' in English.

natural sites. In 1991 the National Museum built an open-air museum in the middle of its courtyard named *Visit the Traditional House at the National Museum*, which simulated the layout of a traditional village as part of the revival, preservation and presentation of traditional architectural skills. This contains vernacular huts from different ethnic cultural groups including Bakgatla, Baherero and Batlokwa.

The case studies raise questions on the role of national identity on heritage in the city. It is argued that the heritage value, identity, and character of the capital core can be described in two aspects; first, is the existing built heritage which locates the two precincts of power on the opposite's sites. Secondly, the central mall with the late 1960's architecture which allows appropriation of space by vendors and the unfolding of the everyday life practices which contribute to the character of the place. It will argue in the same vein as postcolonial urban scholars that we need to explore the character of the city by taking into consideration how people inhabit and appropriate these spaces. It builds on the suggestion by Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall on ways of reading spaces as part of the 'everyday practices' and urban imaginations,⁹ rather than lacking in character in identity. It unpacks the meaning and interpretation of the Capital core as heritage. This perspective on heritage is different from the contrived monuments and the top-down interpretation of heritage as "cultural signs" by the government.

Post-independence revival of culture, heritage and the city

Scholars have argued that the post-independence period in former colonial countries is characterised by the pursuit to develop a sense of national culture or identity to define the newly formed nation.¹⁰ In this regard, the capital city is tasked with the challenge of materialising this new sense of identity by

⁹ Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall, *Writing the World from an African Metropolis*, *Public Culture* 6 (3), 2004, pp. 347-72

¹⁰ Derek R. Peterson, Kodzo Gavua, and Ciraj Rassool, *The Politics of Heritage in Africa : Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures*, (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2015, 2015); *Power and Powerlessness: Capital Cities in Africa*, (Cape Town, South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council and CODERSRIA, 2012).

creating space and buildings which hold the idea of the nation congruent and tangible, because as Anderson reminds us the nation is an 'imagined community.'¹¹

In the dawn of independence, the Botswana government encouraged the idea of one nation whilst playing down any suggestion of tribal identities. Historian Neil Parsons has observed this reawakening of national culture through examining ways in which the interest in history and writing about history has evolved from the pre-colonial tribal federalism, in which each tribe was recorded by foreign anthropologists as distinct, to focus on national culture. He argues that the claim to 'regaining our history' in Botswana increased in popularity in the 1960s and 1970s because of the need to define a sense of unified identity, as part of the 'sacrosanct' idea of a united nation of Botswana,¹² currently materialised and represented through the nation's monuments.

In the essay, *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development*, Alois Riegl's classic theory has been credited for developing value-based approaches to monuments or what we now consider heritage. According to Riegl, monuments can be categorised in a number of ways. There are "deliberate" monuments that are built with the aim of commemorating an important historical event. These are in contrast with 'historical' monuments which are not intentionally built as such but valued for their artistic achievement. Then there are monuments that are valued for age, where signs of decay denote their significance. In Riegl's view, when monuments that we today consider heritage were created, they were not intended as such.¹³ Françoise Choay, however, suggests in *postcolonial nations* that new

¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 1991).

¹² Neil Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32 (2006).

¹³ Alois Riegl, 'The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development', in *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, ed. by Nicholas Stanley Price, M. Tallery, Kirby Jr., and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro (Washington: The Getty Conservation Institution Los Angeles, 1996), pp. 69-83.

monuments are created to intentionally perform this purpose.¹⁴ For example, most of the recent monuments built in Botswana have all been listed as national monuments from inception. From the time these monuments are built, they are charged with meaning - representing national memories and identity - rather than - evolve to assume this signification. The first few pages of the book *Power and Powerlessness: Capital Cities in Africa* identifies capital cities according to their monuments which commemorate national narratives. For example, the commemoration of independence is considered with a focus on the relationship of these monuments (and other architectural edifices) to the representation and manifestation of power in the cityscape.¹⁵ They are supposed to perform the role of national identity representation. This consideration of recent monuments and modern buildings as heritage has led Hilde Heynen to question, first, whether these buildings can qualify as monuments and, second, how such buildings can become part of the 'points of reference' and identity for a specific group, because of their 'ephemeral' qualities¹⁶ and architectural modesty when compared to the earlier 19th century monuments.

In the context of Gaborone, where no monuments existed prior to independence apart from the older colonial heritage buildings, the pursuit for national identity extends to several aspects of society including literature, the arts, architecture and public squares.¹⁷ This desire for national identity involves the identification of new heritage sites and the construction of new monuments,¹⁸ which amounts to national identity making, under the aegis of heritage conservation. Sabine Marschall highlights two forms of postcolonial monuments - those dedicated to the commemoration of the struggle for independence and those whose meanings are charged with the role of

¹⁴ Françoise Choay and Lauren M. translated by O'Connell, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁵ *Power and Powerlessness: Capital Cities in Africa*.

¹⁶ Hilde Heynen, 'Petrifying Memories: Architecture and the Construction of Identity', *The Journal of Architecture*, 4 (1999).

¹⁷ Sabine Marshall, 'The Heritage of Post-Colonial Societies', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2008), p. 348; Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana'.

¹⁸ Jane Jacobs, *Edge of Empire [Electronic Resource] : Postcolonialism and the City*, (London: London : Taylor & Francis, 1996, 1996); Marshall, 'The Heritage of Post-Colonial Societies'.

regaining of pre-colonial identities and performing the function of unifying the nation. In Botswana, a common identity was imagined as something that could be drawn from the distant past, when the nation of Batswana was seemingly homogenous. As one of the proponents of rediscovering 'our common history and heritage' Sir Seretse Khama famously suggested:

We were taught, sometimes in a very positive way, to despise ourselves and our ways of life. We were made to believe that we had no past to speak of, no history to boast of. The past, so far as we were concerned, was just a blank and nothing more. Only the present mattered and we had very little control over it. It seemed we were in for a definite period of foreign tutelage, without any hope of our ever again becoming our own masters. The end result of all this was that our self-pride and our self-confidence were badly undermined. It should now be our intention to try to retrieve what we can of our past. We should write our own history books to prove that we did have a past, and that it was a past that was just as worth writing and learning about as any other. We must do this for the simple reason that a nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past is a people without a soul.¹⁹

One simple interpretation of this statement could be the implied belief that a common heritage of Botswana as a nation exists and that it should be restored, celebrated and if necessary 're-created.' This is reflected within current heritage policy which focuses on ancient monuments such as rock paintings, alongside heritage and monuments that relate to national histories and heroes.²⁰ Consequently, scholars have pointed out the lack of architectural heritage conservation and identity in Gaborone. As Sandy Grant and others have noted, there is a general lack of conservation programs and defined approaches in Botswana,²¹ while Ikgopeleng and Kent suggest that the current buildings in Gaborone lack 'African cultural motifs' that make it

¹⁹ *Botswana Daily News*, 19 May 1970, supplement

²⁰ Tsholofelo Cele Dichaba, 'From Monuments to Cultural Landscapes: Rethinking Heritage Management in Botswana', (Rice University, October, 2009).

²¹ S. Grant, 'Conserving the Historic Past- Botswana's Settlements and Buildings', *Botswana Notes ad Records*, JSTOR, 27 (1995); S. Merlo and S.M. Mothulatshipi, 'Urbanisation of Traditional Settlements in Botswana: Some Aspects of Heritage Management', in *Urbanisation of Rural areas in Botswana*, (Botswana, 2012), p. 21.

distinct and that the few 'colonial heritage' buildings which are part of the older township are largely invisible and not part of the heritage tourism network.²² It seems these observations question what heritage in Gaborone should look like and more importantly, what role identity should play in such spaces when dealing with their heritage?

An interesting aspect of the nation and culture in Botswana is the ability to maintain a double identification system, characterised by identifying both with the nation and with individual ethnic cultural groups. This is also evident in the settlement patterns where people maintain both rural traditional village cultural roots and a city life.²³ During the holidays, the majority of the population visit their 'homes' in rural villages. The culture is characterised by the juxtaposition of both modern and traditional systems,²⁴ which also extends to the political system. This results in a hybrid culture which is not necessarily contradictory but complementary.

The national space and the pursuit for national monuments: evoking national histories

At the time of independence, the parliament building and four ministerial buildings were completed west of the city and these defined a square known as Heroes' square which leads towards the central pedestrian mall. At the opposite end, on axis to the Parliament, is the City Hall. As previously highlighted, this area of the city was initially intended to be monumental as well as to creating a 'national space.'²⁵ This suggests that the government and the planners' view of national space was about constructing impressive buildings in which cultural and commercial activities would be situated within

²² Anthony Kent and Horatius Ikgopoleng, 'Gaborone', *Cities*, 28 (2011).

²³ Ministry of Local Government Republic of Botswana, Lands and Housing, 'Physical Planning Handbook for Botswana, Swedeplan', ed. by Department of Town and Regional Planning (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 1997).

²⁴ Essy Baniassad, 'Urbanization in Rural Botswana: Modernity and Tradition, Complementarity or Contradiction?', in *Urbanization of Rural Settlements in Botswana*, (University of Botswana, 2012).

²⁵ Wilson, Womersley, and Kirkpatrick, 'Gaborone: Planning Proposals'.

the mall, while the government enclave would house administrative functions (figure 4.1).

However, the interpretation of this space as uninteresting because of its failure to achieve the desired 'monumentality' was raised in the 1970 master plan of Gaborone. According to this view, buildings constructed since independence were of low architectural quality. These buildings were also criticised as monolithic blocks with unappealing elevations which dominated all elevations of the Mall. The report recommended the construction of slender, taller, buildings with integrated parking to create more of a national centre through scale and skyline (figure 4.1 and 4.2). This was expected instil some sense of national or even civic pride in the centre of the city which would be achieved through the implementation of strict planning and urban design controls. This clearly demonstrates both monumental and aesthetic views of architecture and urban space. It is a 'top-down' interpretation of place which does not take into account the multiple ways in which residents appropriate space such as public thoroughfares as temporary markets. In this planning approach new individual building proposals were to be assessed based on the strict compliance of this 'monumental' urban design strategy.²⁶ These planning controls and urban design proposals were not realised and remained more as a recommendation than a binding planning policy, and hence highlighted a gap between that which is proposed and reality. Architect and urban planner, Mr Lekwalo Mosienyane, suggests that although the plans are aimed at developing a comprehensive planning strategy for the city, there is lack of political and financial will for implementation.²⁷

²⁶ Republic of Botswana, 'Gaborone Planning Proposals', ed. by File Reference Number BNB 5340 Botswana National Archives (Gaborone, Botswana: The Government Printer 1971).

²⁷ Interview with Mosienyane, by Katlego Mwale (September, 2015). Similarly Mosha has argued that most plans are not strictly implemented because of a variety of reasons such as lack of political will. Mosha also highlighted the inadequacy of these plans because they cover a broad brush of issues and although they provide development guidance they are never implemented - see Mosha, 'The Experience of Sub-Regional Planning in Botswana: Achievements and Challenges'.



Figure 4.1 The Ariel view of Gaborone in 1966 showing the Government Enclave in the foreground and the Main shopping mall in the centre while shopping mall is in the middle (Source: *Kutlwano Magazine online*)



Figure 4.2: This picture shows the Main Mall in the centre in the 1970s with building heights ranging between one to four storeys (Source: Collected from the *Botswana National Archives Gaborone*)

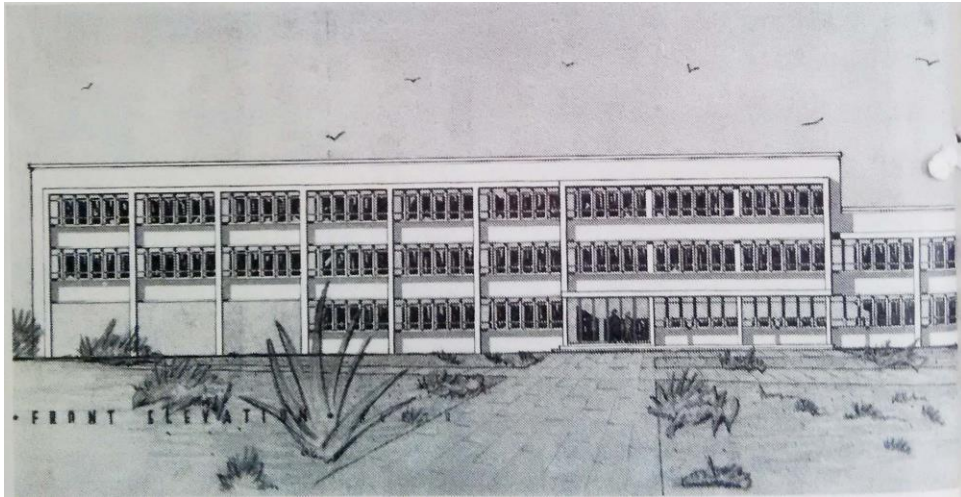


Figure 4.3: An elevation of Government offices showing the character of 1970s architecture and it was designed by PWD architects (Source; Kutlwano magazine, 1966 p. 18)

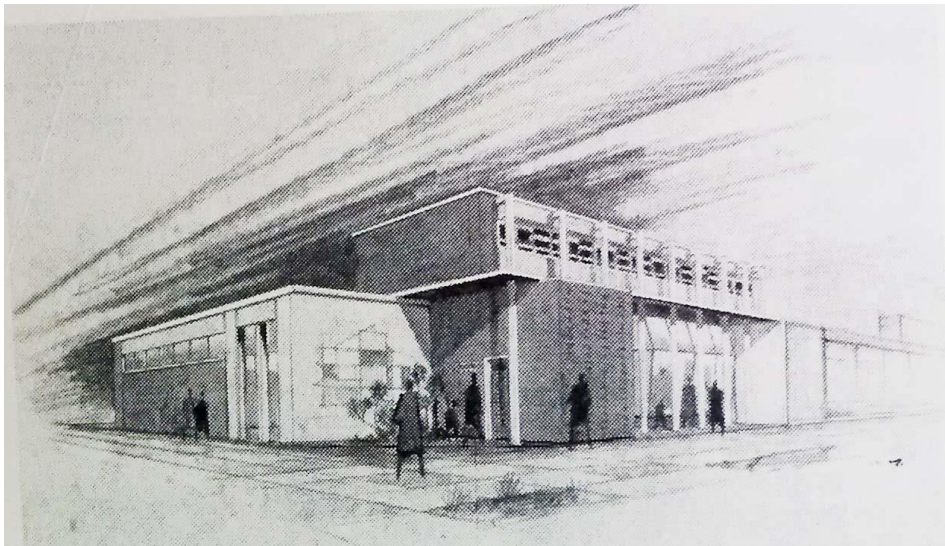


Figure 4.4: A 3d impression of one of the shops and office space in the pedestrian mall (Source: Kutlwano magazine, 1966, p.18)

The majority of building developments in the Main Mall have been carried out by private developers, other than the government offices and three foreign embassy offices (figure 4.3 and 4.4).²⁸ As previously mentioned these buildings are seen as lacking of architectural character and identity, which also emphasised in the recent *Gaborone Development Plan Report* which that states:

Gaborone city lacks a distinctive image and local character, including a sense of place that is welcoming, legible and with a strong public realm....

²⁸ Ministry of Lands and Housing 'Gaborone City Development Plan 1997-2021'.

The capital core as conceptualised by this plan is the precinct which symbolises the heart of Botswana and its people. Botswana has only one capital city and that is Gaborone, which should be planned to reflect that status... thus, a precinct of strategic and symbolic importance, as well as the most prominent area where the Government should invest in creating a most distinctive image for the capital city, which will aid in realising the vision of Gaborone becoming a model city of choice, nationally and internationally.”²⁹

Furthermore, as the *Gaborone Development Plan* author, Mr Lekwalo Mosienyane,³⁰ explains:

*...The urban core should be the centre of culture and the centre. These spaces should be celebratory centres such as the independence squares... One would like to see spaces such as theatres, monuments and amphitheatres where cultural activities can take place and can be celebrated.*³¹

These statements illustrate the emphasis of Gaborone as the lacking in heritage, a trend scholars associate with new towns and modern heritage. Scholars have emphasised that the problem of ‘new modern towns’ is their lack of identity and character,³² as well as the lack of preservation and appreciation for modern architecture. This is because modern architectural heritage is often considered to have less historical value in comparison to ancient sites and natural and cultural landscapes - which make up a large percentage of the listed monuments in Botswana.³³ In Gaborone, the difficulty of designating heritage in the capital core is further complicated by the fact that the majority of the buildings are not individually listed, mainly because of

²⁹ Ibid. p.84

³⁰ Mr Lekwalo Mosienyane is the author of *Gaborone City Development Plan 1997-2021*

³¹ Interview with Mosienyane. by Katlego Pleasure Mwale(September 2015)

³² Kent and Ikgopoleng, 'Gaborone'. The appreciation of modern architectural heritage has begun to gain interest in other parts of Africa. See for example see Christoph Rausch, *Global Heritage Assemblages: Development and Modern Architecture in Africa*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2017).

³³ The majority of heritage listing is natural and ancient sites associated with early inhabitants, the San, such as rock art. This listing trend reflects the listing policy which evolved from the influence of antiquarian movement in Europe.

lack of appreciation for them as potential (modern architectural) heritage.³⁴ Furthermore, heritage and planning reports do not pay attention to the multiple ways in which the inhabitants have continued to appropriate these spaces. For example, the central square in the Mall has been used in most cultural celebrations as seen in figure 4.5.



Figure 4.5: This picture shows one of the squares used for a public performance in the Main Mall in 1997. (Source: with permission from Zoran Markovich)

³⁴ The heritage list reveals that most buildings listed are of archaeological, natural and cultural landscape sites



Figure 4.6: This picture shows one of the squares used by activists in 1997 (Source: with permission from Zoran Markovich)

The process of nominating a building for heritage listing particularly in the Gaborone remains an elitist top-down process conducted by heritage and urban planning professionals. More significantly, there are a general lack of conservation guidelines (designated criteria for built heritage) and further, uncoordinated regularly protection as there are no official government programs for the conservation of built heritage. This shows that there are not only poorly defined heritage values but also a lack of criteria to help determine the significance of heritage.³⁵ For example, criteria to help

³⁵ Grant, 'Conserving the Historic Past- Botswana's Settlements and Buildings'. pp61-69 Merlo S. and Mothilatshipi S. M., 'Urbanisation of Traditional Settlements in Botswana: Some Aspects of Heritage Management', in *Urbanisation of Rural Areas in Botswana*, (Gaborone, Botswana, 1-23, 2012).

determine heritage significance listing descriptions emphasise historical value but do not go into detail in regards architectural (or design) significance.

Although the majority of the buildings in the Capital Core are not listed, there is a concerted effort to designate this area with the special status of 'heritage space.' The Capital Core is described as a representation of the nation of Botswana.³⁶ This designation suggests there is an appreciation of the spatial composition of the centre, organised around its strong axis between the two precincts of power - the National Assembly and the City Hall. Currently, the vista along the axis is not successful because the 'imposing National Assembly' termination point which was originally intended was not realised. Nonetheless, the success of this urban space is its location in the heart of the city and significance in terms of its planning heritage, as well as the appropriation of this space by vendors and as part of the everyday life activities. In terms of historic value, it is the oldest (post-independence space) and most central part of the city and the most accessible part of the city. It's planning and architectural heritage is a simple design gesture of having the two precincts of power opposite each other and a central pedestrian mall has enabled the gradual development of cultural markets and informal vendors in the open squares in the central space. The National Museum was built in 1967 opposite the City Hall which added to the cultural spaces in the city (figure 4.7). The Capital Core is presently considered as a place where 'intentional' monuments should be built to narrate national histories. The current master plan suggests that the identity of this place would be improved by building new national monuments and retaining listed buildings, namely the National Assembly and the City Hall.³⁷ Here the word 'monument' is often used synonymously with architectural heritage and recent 'intentional monuments.' The plan highlights the significance of the Capital Core in terms of urban design features and states that:

The Capital Core by definition includes the City Hall which is anchored directly to the east of the Parliament, thus creating an axial vista between the two seats of the nation's Government and the city's Government

³⁶ Ministry of Lands and Housing 'Gaborone City Development Plan 1997-2021'.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 85.

*respectively. The symbolism that this creates cannot be emphasised enough. It is for this reason that it is strongly recommended that the City Hall and Mayoral offices be retained in their present location, and if anything, the Departmental offices of the Council could move to the site allocated in the new C.B.D. The existing landmarks within the capital core precinct include the Parliament buildings, Sir Seretse Khama Monument, the Civic Hall and the Pula Arch. The Pula Arch actually serves as a symbolic gate linking the City Hall and the Main Mall, with an axial vista stretching all the way to the SSK Monument. All these landmarks need to be reinforced and new ones erected strategically in terms of their location.*³⁸

The report does not go into detail about the conservation of built heritage or its designation. Indeed, the limited impact of this document is that it is prepared on behalf of the Gaborone local authority, without input from the government department responsible for heritage management, the National Museum, Monuments Art and Gallery (NMMAG). This was confirmed by one museum specialist involved in the identification and designation of heritage who stated that although NMMAG collaborates with planners on issues of approving new planning proposals for applications involving historic sites, the greater area Development Plans and Master Plans of the city are done in isolation and as standalone documents.³⁹

There has also been a push by the national government to build intentional commemorative monuments whose meaning is linked to the birth story of the nation. As Anthony Smith has observed, nations depend on national myths to narrate a common history of origin and ancestry.⁴⁰ Since independence, the Capital Core has become a focus for the construction of monuments (some built and others built elsewhere), beginning with the World War I and II memorial completed in 1965 (figure 4.8 and 4.9). This is a small obelisk with the names of Batswana soldiers who died during the war inscribed on its

³⁸ Ibid. p85

³⁹ Interview with Anonymous PI, 'Interview with Anonymous PI', ed. by Mwale Katlego (July 2015).

⁴⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

metal plate. It became a point of gathering and procession during the Independence Day commemoration in 1966 (figure 4.10). Another monument, built on the opposite side, commemorates Botswana soldiers who died in Lesoma village in 1977 when the civil war in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) spilled over into the country.⁴¹ The monument features a rifle on a plinth.

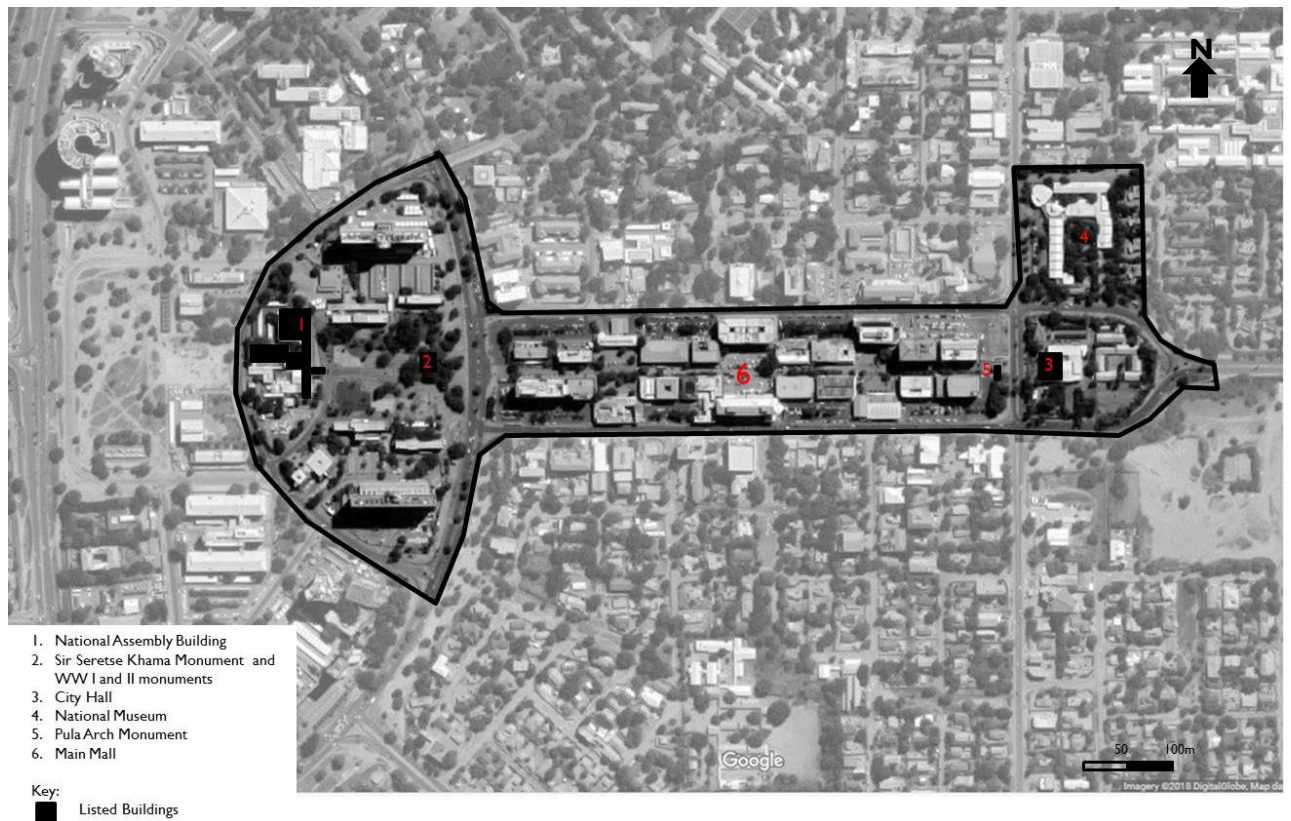


Figure 4.7: This map shows listed buildings in the capital core where figures (4.7 and 4.8.) were taken (source: Google maps and redrawn by author)

In 1976 a commemorative monument for Botswana's 10th Independence anniversary, the Pula Arch, was built opposite the City Hall, which added to the micro monuments and symbols narrating the history of the nation. The arch follows similar city arches built in major cities as part of the commemoration of historic events such as the *Arc de Triomphe* in Paris which symbolises French patriotism and the Independence Arch in Accra symbolising

⁴¹ Nnasaretha Kgamanyane, 'Several Buildings Declared National Monuments', *Mmegi*, (Friday 03 August 2012).

Ghana's independence and national identity.⁴² However, the Pula Arch in Gaborone does not share the same sheer scale and meaning with these other arches (figure 4.11). Its location in relation to the axis suggests that it was intended as a gateway to frame the view through the central pedestrian space towards the National Assembly. The arch marks a transition from the City Hall to the pedestrian mall which is currently accessed by crossing Independence Avenue, a pedestrian-unfriendly dual carriage way. The framing aspect of the arch is not successful because the vista was not realised, as previously mentioned. It is also much smaller and around seven metres high. It has a simple opening, topped with a shell roof mimicking the roof of the National Assembly, and with the emblem of the city council fixed on one side and the coat of arms of Botswana the other. Its presence in the Main Mall is significantly dwarfed by the immediate buildings which are five and six storeys high. The heritage value and meaning of the arch is described as a landmark to mark Botswana's 10th year Independence anniversary, '... a symbolic gate linking the City Hall and the Mall, with an axial vista stretching all the way back to the Sir Seretse Khama (SSK) Monument,'⁴³ yet this vista is not evident because the intended grandeur of the Government Enclave was unrealised when the city was built. In fact, the Pula⁴⁴ Arch is hardly mentioned in heritage studies or the press as a significant or commemorative monument. Its role as a symbolic marker in the city has been significantly down played both in terms of meaning and design. Indeed, one could go to the extent to argue that it has lost its intended meaning and prominence. This monument has not received the same status as other intentional monuments and is only mentioned in the *Gaborone City Development Plan* as a landmark, yet it was clearly intended as a significant monument to mark a historic event. The failure of this monument to achieve the intended meaning and significance is also evident from the lack of documentation on its design. In the absence of documentation regarding

⁴² For architecture in Ghana and the meaning of the Independence arch see; Lloyd G. Adu Amoah, 'China, Architecture and Ghana's Spaces: Concrete Signs of chinese Imperium?', *Journal of Asian and Africa Studies*, 51 (2016); Aditei Puplampu, 'The Independence/Freedom and Justice Arch in Ghana: An Uncontested Embodiment of Disparate Sentiments, "National Identity" And "Freedom"', (University of Cincinnati, 15th November 2008).

⁴³ Ministry of Lands and Housing 'Gaborone City Development Plan 1997-2021', p 85.

⁴⁴ 'Pula' is means 'rain' in English. This word is often used in gatherings as a slogan to underline the importance of rain in the livelihoods of farmers because Botswana receives less rain as compared to neighbouring countries.

the construction of the Pula Arch it could be interpreted as an unsuccessful symbolic marker of Botswana's independence, adding to the ongoing pursuit for new national monuments in the city.



Figure 4.8 and 4.9: These two Monuments commemorate World War and the soldiers who died in Lesoma village (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)



Figure 4.10: The plaza in front of the National Assembly was used for independence celebrations in 1966 (Source: The Botswana Daily News)



Figure 4.11: The Independence Arch is one of the monuments in the capital core (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)



Figure 4.12: The statue of Sir Seretse Khama in front of the National assembly (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

In 1986 during the commemoration of Botswana's 20th anniversary of Independence a monument of the first president Sir Seretse Khama was unveiled in front of the National Assembly building (figure 4.12). The statue was designed and made by the British sculptor Norman Pearce.⁴⁵ Elevated on a stone boulder, the statue is made of bronze and it depicts the former president buttoning up his suit. According to Alec Campbell 'when the Seretse Khama statue was planned in 1985, the War Memorial stood in a prominent position,'⁴⁶ however, it was decided that the new monument would be aligned with the city axis to reinforce its symbolic meaning, while the War Memorial would be relocated a few metres to the south to make way for the new monument. The statue initially overlooked the Main Mall with its back towards the National Assembly but it was rotated to face the National Assembly in 2009 at the request of the current sitting president, Dr Ian Khama Seretse Khama, the son of Seretse Khama. The meaning of this monument was presented during its unveiling by the then president Sir Ketumile Masire. According to Peter Fawcus, the president's speech focused on articulating the meaning of the statue as the commemoration of the

⁴⁵ Sandy Grant, 'The Statue of Sir Seretse Khama', *Mmegi*, (12 August 2015).

⁴⁶ BOLESWA Journal of Theology, Religion and Philosophy: BJTRP., Volume 1, Issue 2

founding father of the nation. Such interpretation denoted the role Khama played in nation building and promoting national unity. Fawcus recounted how the commemoration speech also covered the famous national principles Seretse Khama passed to Botswana and he writes 'No man anywhere could be more truthfully described as the father of a nation...' ⁴⁷ Such principles include the commitment to creating a unified and multi-racial nation, democracy, self-reliance, development ⁴⁸ and one of the most important messages was the need to rediscover our history and heritage, as previously stated in chapter 3.

The monument was formally designated a national monument by the Botswana National Museum Art and Gallery because of its association with this important national figure and the nation's history. This is in line with the current heritage designation process which focuses on heritage value associated with national icons and national narratives. ⁴⁹ Recent scholarship has also called for the construction of more national symbols. As historian, Neil Parsons, has commented '...Gaborone, as an almost entirely postcolonial city, is lacking in statues, even by comparison with Maseru, which boasts a bronze statue of Moshoeshe I, the founder of the Lesotho Nation.' ⁵⁰ These sentiments have also been echoed by Gaone Setlhabi who recently suggested that a museum dedicated to presidential memory and national icons should be built, to preserve and evoke the collective memory of national icons and conjure up national sentiments. ⁵¹

In 1996 the government put forward proposals to construct yet another monument in the centre of the Mall to commemorate the three *dikgosi* -

⁴⁷ Peter Fawcus, 'Botswana Revisited', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 19 (1987).

⁴⁸ Republic of Botswana, 'National Development Plan 1976-1981', ed. by Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (Gaborone, Botswana: The Government Printer, 1977). Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Republic of Botswana, p. 15; Seretse Khama, 'Republic of Botswana Born Today: Former Protectorate of Bechuanaland Archives Independence, President Sir Seretse Khama Optimistic About the Future', *The Times Supplement on the Republic of Botswana*, (September 30 1996).

⁴⁹ Dichaba, 'From Monuments to Cultural Landscapes: Rethinking Heritage Management in Botswana'; Interview with Anonymous P1, 'Interview with Anonymous P1'; Gaone Keletso Setlhabi, 'Evoking Memory: A Curatorial Perspective on Botswana's Presidential Heritage', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 48 (2016).

⁵⁰ N. Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32:4 (March 2007), 667-82. p680

⁵¹ Setlhabi, 'Evoking Memory: A Curatorial Perspective on Botswana's Presidential Heritage'.

Khama III of the Bangwato, Sebele I of the Bakwena and Bathoen I of the Bangwaketse who travelled to London in 1895 for diplomatic negotiations with the British government. Once again, the meaning of this monument was presented as a preservation of the public memory (as part of the constructed historical narrative of the founders of the nation) of the founders of the nation, and it is key to understand the construction of the identity of the nation.⁵² Ornulf Gullbrandsen contends that the intention of this monument 'amounted to no less than a state act of establishing the principal national monument.'⁵³ For others, the monument is used as a political and cultural representation of Tswana cultural identity; by the way it constructs historical narratives which reinforce⁵⁴ the idea of nationhood at the expense of the 'other' minority ethnic groups in the country.⁵⁵

The proposal to erect the monument in the middle of the Main Mall was eventually refused planning permission in 2001.⁵⁶ This refusal was rather contentious, because as we have seen the Mall has been, designated a historic core and it was recommended that new monuments narrating the history of the nation should be built there. The monument was eventually built in the new Central Business District located on the eastern side of the Government Enclave. The design competition of the monument was won by a North Korean company, Mansudae, known for building similar monuments in Africa such as the Heroes Arch in Zimbabwe and the Independence Memorial Museum in Namibia. The statue depicts the towering figures of the three chiefs at a height of eight metres, stood on a plinth facing towards the north, away from important buildings such as the High Court on the opposite side. The large size of the individual figures which stand in a large fenced off site. Consequently, this monument has been criticised as a cultural aesthetic

⁵² There is no consensus amongst scholars as to who founded the nation of Botswana. Some scholars argue that the nation of Botswana was constructed as a result of colonialism based on the assimilation of the Tswana speaking ethnic groups. The narrative of the general public is that the nation was founded by the three *dikgosi*.

⁵³ Ornulf Gulbrandsen, *The State and the Social: State Formation in Botswana and Its Precolonial and Colonial Genealogies*, (United States: Berghahn Books, 2012). p31

⁵⁴ Barry Morton and Jeff Ramsay, 'The Invention and Perpetuation of Botswana's National Mythology, 1885-1966', (Unkown).

⁵⁵ Other minority tribes argued that the monument is not representative of diverse cultural groups which characterise the nation.

⁵⁶ Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana'.

import,⁵⁷ because such monuments are now widely found in postcolonial African cities and towns. According to news reports, local sculptors had made submissions which were rejected in favour of the North Korean company. The monument was built at a total cost of P 21 million (pulas) and was unveiled by President Festus Mogae in a ceremony in 2005. Speaking about the significance of this monument Mogae's speech underlined the role that the three *dikgosi* played within the colonial period to negotiate Botswana's protection against other foreign colonial powers. In a newspaper report one government official emphasised the meaning and significance of the monument as '...being patronised appropriately for the purpose that it was meant: and that is the promotion of tourism and nation identity.'⁵⁸ Consequently, it has been widely accepted, given that the three *dikgosi* travelled to London to request that the British government grant Botswana 'protection' against the Boers. However, the London trip was made after Botswana was granted protection in 1885, and hence this national myth and monument has been contested on two fronts. First, the scholars argued that the narrative amounts to a nationalism myth, because the three *dikgosi* travelled to London for a completely different agenda.⁵⁹ Some suggest that the reason was to ask for protection against John Cecil Rhodes' intention to integrate Botswana into South Africa.

The 'official' myth is still maintained by the government and its listing description stated that the three *dikgosi* petitioned to Queen Victoria and as a result Botswana was declared a Protectorate. The second more significant contestation was that the perpetuation of this national myth was employed to present the three *dikgosi* as icons of the nation. However, according to Parsons, the monument was criticised by the representatives of minority ethnic group activists who argued that it perpetuated the single identity of the Tswana speaking groups in a way that minorities were not represented.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Bashi Letsididi, 'North Korea Built Three Dikgosi Monument', *Sunday Standard*, (March 2014).

⁵⁸ Keto Segwai, 'Botswana: Three Dikgosi in Waiting', *Mmegi*, (28 July 2006).

⁵⁹ Morton and Ramsay, 'The Invention and Perpetuation of Botswana's National Mythology, 1885-1966'.

⁶⁰ Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana'.

The pursuit for new monuments in the Main Mall is one of the ways the government attempted to create a common single national identity premised on what Homi Bhabha has famously termed 'the narration of a nation.' If we follow his theoretical suggestion that "Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only realise their horizon in the mind's eye,"⁶¹ then Gaborone's monuments reveal that certain histories and national stories are privileged, while the existing built heritage is overlooked. The choice of location of these monuments along the city axis suggests that such monuments should be viewed as part of the urban landscape rather as individual pieces in the city. These monuments are also ephemeral and are prone to losing their significance and meaning as we saw with the Pula Arch. Currently the three *dikgosi* statue is the most visited attraction in the city as it is the most recent monument. It has, however, been fenced off and has is under security protection making it inaccessible to the public outside of working hours. The creation of these new monuments is a missed opportunity to explore the meaning and significance of the Capital Core. The trouble with such an approach is that it overlooks the current architectural value of the Capital Core and how it frames and organises cultural spaces in the city, which is something we now turn to.

The Mall as a Place of Culture and Identity

Pedestrian friendly shopping malls became popular in the 1950s, and were part of the modernist response to declining downtowns in America. In Europe, pedestrian shopping malls were viewed as a solution for curbing urban congestion during its post-war reconstruction. New urban centres were designed free of vehicles while in old medieval centres traffic access was blocked to encourage pedestrian movement. Combining the layout of the central mall with the long political vistas of the city hall and national assembly building is, however, more akin to Kim Dovey's observation of the aesthetics of the pedestrian mall. According to Dovey, the formal quality of open-air

⁶¹ Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 1.

pedestrian malls is the multiplicity of meaning and function, serving as political and cultural centres, as well as being appropriated as market place. The popularity of this form of public space "led to its use for military parades and to the naming of spaces of centralised power in London and Washington as malls."⁶² In Gaborone the Main Mall demonstrates two layers of meanings; it was designed as a centrepiece within the urban core and it has now evolved into a national and cultural space through the appropriation of space by vendors and other everyday spatial practices. Archival evidence reveals that the structure and layout appeal of the pedestrian mall was to achieve an aesthetically pleasing urban core and a successful urban space,⁶³ to create a sense of centre for commercial activities.

The Main Mall is not the only shopping centre in Gaborone. Several local centres which cater for a more localised and neighbourhood level have been built, and over the last decade there has been an explosion of out-of-city shopping malls in Gaborone that cater for an emerging culture of consumption mainly influenced by the development of similar shopping malls in the West and particularly in South Africa. The first of these shopping malls open in the south-western part of the city in 2002. This was quickly followed by three more malls offering shoppers a one-stop shopping experience, all indoors, and with plenty of parking provided. These malls became popular and several South African franchises opened new shops, which mean that people who used to travel to South Africa for shopping could do so locally. The new shopping malls are privately owned and do not allow informal vending activities. Spaces where such activities could take place have also been turned into internal streets, as compared to the external public space that characterise the Main Mall. These malls sell new goods that can be found anywhere in the world whereas the Main Mall sells both new and traditionally-inspired goods, as one of the newspapers emphasised,

The Mall gives patrons a unique experience of an increasingly dichotomous city, with, on one hand, modern-day trappings and

⁶² Kim Dovey, *Framing Places : Mediating Power in Built Form*, (London: Routledge, , 1999).

⁶³ King, Anthony D. (1996) *Re-presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital, and Culture in the Twenty-First Century Metropolis*. Basingstoke: Macmillan

*aspirations of a developing nation keen to catch up to Western ways and on the other **wilful traditional Botswana**.*⁶⁴

As previously highlighted, none of the buildings in the Main Mall are listed, moreover the historic centre designation does not grant any form of legal protection or building control regulation of the area. Consequently, most buildings have been extended or renovated over the years without any strict regulation on character. In the absence of any systematic record of how this area has changed, older photographs and drawings demonstrate that the architecture in the Main Mall was characterised by the mid-1960s to late 1970s modernist blocks, set in contrast to the predominately single storey residential areas (figure 4.13). These buildings were comprised two to five storey blocks with a face rhythm of concrete columns and expressed beams as well as brick infill. Several sun shading devices along the longer facades included protruding concrete vertical fins and perforated breeze blocks (Figure 4.14 and 4.15). These blocks are linked by shaded pedestrian walkways on the shop fronts which defined a threshold and spill out area into the public spaces beyond. The current built form is characterised by a mixture of newly aluminium-clad or repainted building blocks. The new shiny-clad buildings contrast starkly with the older mid-1960s blocks easily identifiable by their painted concrete and brick facades (Figure 4.16). A few buildings have preserved their modernist character and are mostly blocks used for government offices and foreign embassy offices. These include the Post Office building and the Zambian Embassy. Building heights now range from two to eleven storeys. All buildings are still accessed from the central pedestrian space while parking is kept on the periphery towards the road. The most distinct preserved feature is the covered pedestrian walkways defined by cantilevered slab roofs projecting over the pavement. These walkways have multiple functions, hosting street vendors, facilitating pedestrian traffic and providing spaces for seating. The ground floor in many of these blocks is still used as retail space for clothing shops, supermarkets, restaurants and cafes,

⁶⁴ Gothataone Moeng, 'Gaborone Main Mall Still a Hive of Activity', *Mmegi*, (2010).

while upper floors are still office space and hotels, except for a few blocks occupied by the embassies and banks.

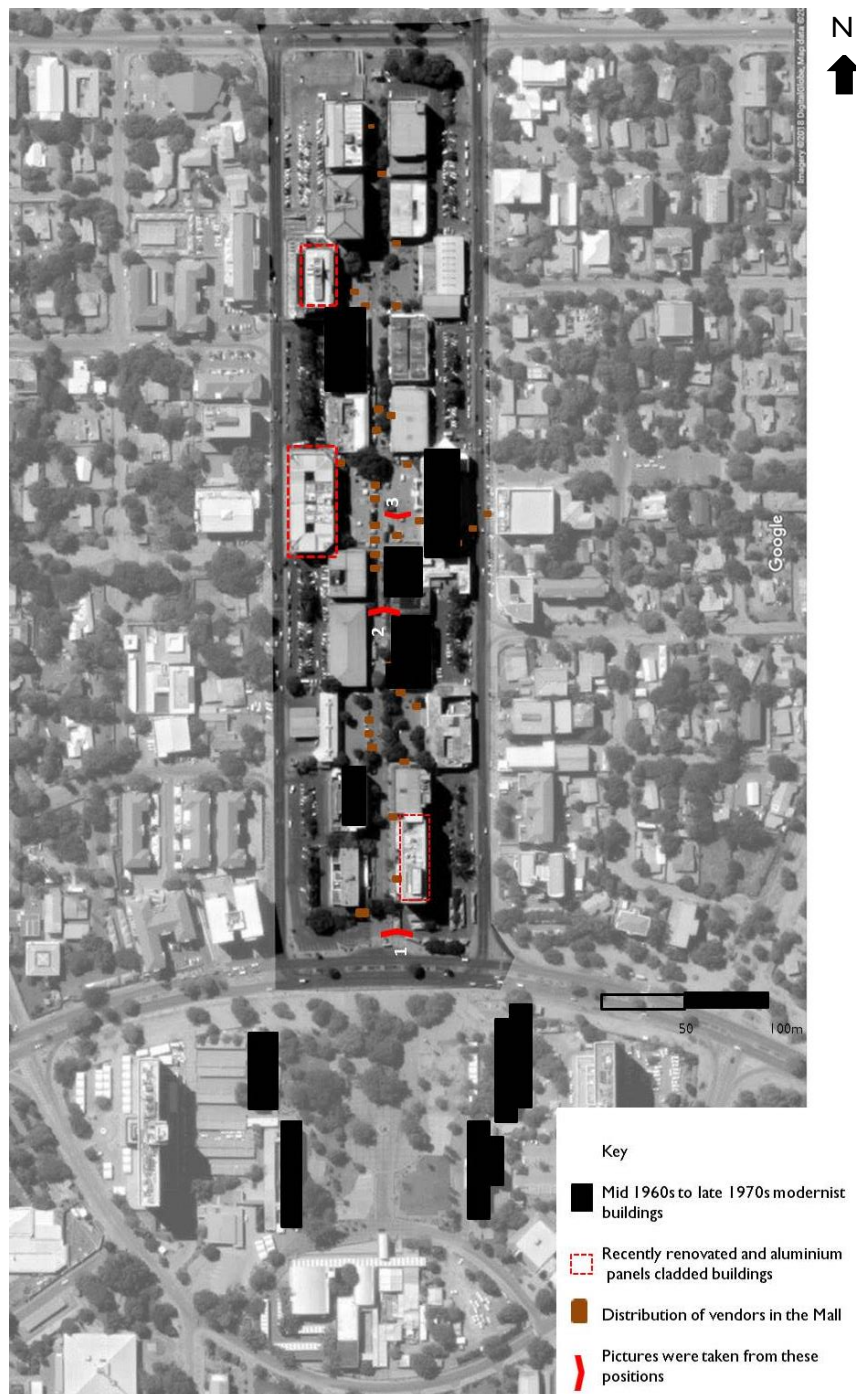


Figure 4.13: This map shows listed buildings and the newly renovated buildings. The distribution of vendors is also indicated. (Source: Edited by author from google maps.)



Figure 4.14 and 4.15: The mid-1960s architecture as shown in the post office building and the pedestrian ways in front elevations of the shopping mall. Places where these pictures were taken are demonstrated in the plan (1 and 2). (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)



Figure 4.16: Newly refurbished buildings are dressed in aluminium cladding (source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

The Main Mall can be divided into three main urban spaces. The building blocks define the internal space, the public squares and pedestrian walkways, link these spaces together. The main square is centrally located and is defined by the President hotel which was designed in the 1960s by PWD architects. The front of this building has a covered walkway at ground level, characteristic of many buildings in the mall. Opposite are two bank buildings set above the main square on an elevated platform overlooking the square below. This square is used for cultural performances and temporary markets, mainly selling traditional clothing, artefacts and fabrics (Figure 4.14). During lunchtimes, vendors erect temporary marquees to sell food to the public. The squares towards Independence Avenue road and Khama Crescent road are much smaller and host a variety of vendors selling groceries, sweets, fast food, photographs and clothing.

The character of the Main Mall has attracted recent initiative by the Gaborone City Council to develop the area into a cultural space. The regeneration project was awarded to a local landscape firm, RPM Landscape Architecture and Environment in 2008. According to the lead designer, Richard Arthey, the design was built on already existing activity in the Mall.

The design brief called for a cultural regeneration project aimed at encouraging tourism in the area and the design response was conceptualised to reflect Botswana's national culture and identity. It was therefore to be replete with traditional motifs and cultural representations. The use of traditional and cultural references here was meant to evoke a sense of ethnic tribal familiarity with the city dwellers, as well as an attempt to draw inspiration from some form of common collective identity. For the City Council, the proposal is a response to the promotion of cultural heritage preservation, yet it was evident that it did not entail the conservation of any existing buildings or the identification of any buildings of architectural or historical significance. As Richard Arthey suggested 'the design is intended to capture Botswana's cultures, norms and aspirations.'⁶⁵

In his design, Arthey focused on redeveloping the open pedestrian thoroughfares. The three squares would be transformed through culturally themed-functions and activities. These squares were given Setswana names, the two smaller squares named - Mmualebe and Mmelegikoma and were designed to organise vending activities with space for stalls, larger crafts events and a market. The central square – Matlakgwana - was designed as a gathering space with an amphitheatre to cater for traditional games, music performances and cultural celebrations. New landscape features with explicit Tswana cultural codes such as sayings, traditional board games and cultural motifs were designed to integrate the street surface. A new monument was to be erected towards the end of the Mall on the side leading to the National Assembly while the Pula Arch would be preserved. In an interview, Arthey explained that the project was to address issues of regeneration, or as he puts it, it was to be 'a facelift' and to address issues of culture and identity in the redevelopment of the open spaces as opposed to addressing buildings. This project was not realised but it would have been in line with the pursuit to rebrand the city and represent a new sense of identity as outlined in the Gaborone Development Plan whereby "...the incorporation of different

⁶⁵ Richard Interview with Arthey, ed. by Katlego Mwale (29th June 2017).

cultural perspectives in the design of buildings and public spaces”⁶⁶ is recommended. In other words, the explicit use of Tswana culturally-inspired codes in the Mall is viewed as a preferable representation of culture and identity.

The appropriations of place through the everyday spatial practices

In contrast to the government’s pursuit for new national monuments, the Main Mall is a centre for urban and cultural activity, integrating and juxtaposing both formal economic activities with informal and other social practices. This sharply contrasts with the view that the Main Mall lacks in character and identity. Its architectural layout and character provides a backdrop where a variety of social activities can occur. Its value therefore lies in its location: in the heart of the city, it’s historic and design value, its layout and the urban social practices at its centre. These social practices include cultural exchange, markets, art and social gathering. Music performances along the main squares and pedestrian walkways contribute to a sense of place. From its inception, this space was used for cultural markets, performances and other social activities. In recent time it has been frequented by tourists buying souvenirs and other cultural artefacts sold by the street vendors and collectively have become a marketing point for tourism purposes.⁶⁷ Images of the social practices and cultural spectacles in the Mall are often used by the Ministry of Wildlife and Tourism in Botswana to market Gaborone as a city of culture and heritage. Interestingly in their website, the ministry focuses on these social activities rather than the buildings. This suggests that any attempt to define heritage values and cultural significance in the Mall should take cognizant of these activities and their appropriation of space.

⁶⁶ Botswana Government, 'Development in Botswana', ed. by Botswana National Archives (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, BNB 2121), (p. 92); Ministry of Lands and Housing 'Gaborone City Development Plan 1997-2021'.

⁶⁷ The Ministry of tourism uses the cultural markets as a marketing point of the city’s tourism potential. See for example the official website Ministry of Tourism. www.botswanaturism.co.bw/destination/gaborone

For accommodation, vendors erect temporary structures made of steel, canvas, and marquees along the main squares in the morning which are then dismantled in the evenings (figure 4.17). Some of the practices also weave into the existing built structures, occupying spaces between buildings, the main squares; public footpaths thus activating spaces that would have been rather empty (figure 4.17, 4.18, 4.19 and 4.20). The appropriation of space through the everyday practices and other social activities is as a symbolic representation of the everyday life practices and by extension everyday heritage. A conservation approach which accommodates vendors and other cultural activities will be best suited in this case. For example, the architectural features such as the covered pedestrian walkways (which are slowly disappearing) can be reinstated and in some instances extended to accommodate both pedestrian paths and vendors. A redefinition of cultural significance will also entail this 'bottom-up' appropriation of space, where the relationship between the built spaces and the everyday spatial practices constitutes an important part of this contemporary cultural significance.



Figure 4.17: The central squares in the Main Mall are used as cultural markets. (Source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)



Key

- Mid 1960s to late 1970s modernist buildings
- Recently renovated and aluminium panels clad buildings
- Distribution of vendors in the Mall



Figure 4.18: The plan shows the appropriation of space by vendors. Figure 4.16 is taken at position 1, figure 4.18 is taken at number 2 and figure 4.19 is taken at number 3. (Source: google maps edited by author)



Figure 4.19: The central square appropriated by vendors with temporary structures. (Source: taken by author in 2016)



Figure 4.20: Pedestrian walkways are also appropriated by vendors. (Source: taken by author in 2016)

However, planning controls in Gaborone view informal social activities and trading as misuse of urban space since this space is not designed and zoned for street vending. Covered walkways were initially designed as a climatic response to Botswana's hot and wet weather and they also serve as a threshold between the buildings and the public squares. The 'unintended' appropriation of covered walkways by vendors has caused conflict between vendors and the City Council

authorities. Street vending in Gaborone is a regulated activity under the Town Council Hawking and Street Vending Regulation of 1985.⁶⁸ This provision allows vendors to apply for vending licences to sell their goods in predetermined public areas that may not necessarily be of their choice. For vendors selling cultural artefacts and traditional attire, the Main Mall is an ideal place because of the business from tourists looking for cultural souvenirs. Designated areas by the council authorities can be a disadvantage as they were less trafficked.⁶⁹ Scholars have investigated how street vending culture has become an important economic activity for unemployed people in many cities.⁷⁰ Open spaces such as city squares are appropriated for vending activities, which for some, marks a complete divergence from the intention of modern planning aimed at creating order.⁷¹ This 'bottom-up' appropriation of space challenges the current desire for monumental spaces in the Main Mall. It suggests that the relationship between the built structures and the appropriation of space through other everyday spatial practices is important to understand the contemporary cultural significance of the Main Mall.

The National Assembly as a national monument

Although the majority of the buildings completed before independence were in a typically modernist architectural style, two of these buildings have made it to the national heritage list, namely the National Assembly and the City Hall. The listing description of the National Assembly explicitly links the significance and meaning of the building to the development of democracy and the representation of national identity. It states the significance as:

⁶⁸ Joseph Coper Molefe, 'Beyond Modernist Planning: Understanding Urban Street Vending in Botswana', in *The struggle to belong: dealing with diversity in 21st century urban setting*, (Amsterdam, Netherlands, July 2011).

⁶⁹ Keletso Thobega, 'Aesthetics of Modern Planning and Streets Vendors', *Sunday Standard*, (30th January 2014).

⁷⁰ Molefe, 'Beyond Modernist Planning: Understanding Urban Street Vending in Botswana'.

⁷¹ Byron A. Brown and Goaletsa Rammidi, 'Manifestations of Service Culture among Street Vendors in Botswana', *International Journal of Business and Management*, 9 (2014); Aloysius Clemence Moshia, 'The Use and Misuse of Urban Public Open Spaces in Botswana: Case Study, Gaborone Botswana', pp. 1-6.

“A symbol of the country’s democratic system and development of Botswana. The building’s façade is included in many official documents and has become a national icon.”⁷²

However, the listing description does not detail what is considered architecturally significant in terms of building fabric, given that the current building is neither as originally built in 1966, nor is of exemplary architecture in terms of style and character. According to the museum representative, any building can be declared a national monument depending on its association to national histories, of which it was argued that despite the building falling outside the cut-off date (building built prior to 1st June 1902) for designation as national heritage, it is considered a symbol of Botswana’s independence, democracy, and a landmark.⁷³

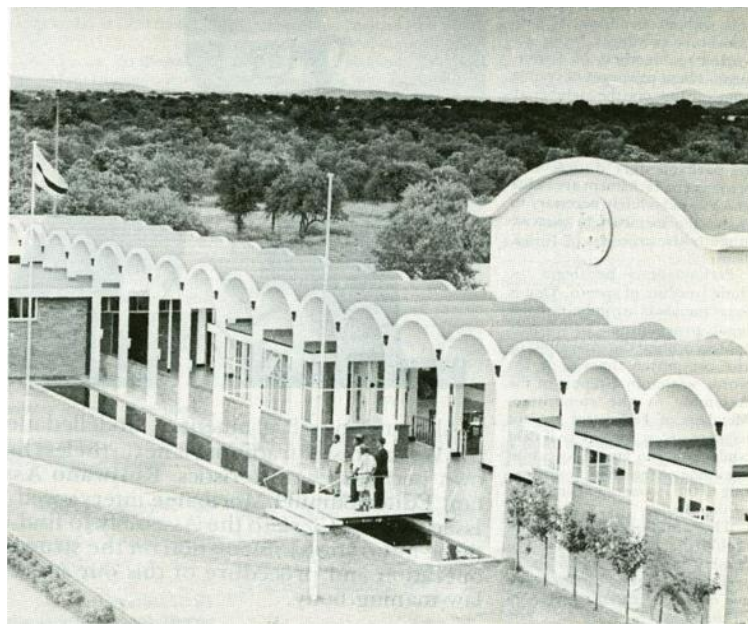


Figure 4.21: The National Assembly in 1966. The building was a much smaller version as compared to the current building (Source: Kutlwano Magazine online)

⁷² Government of Botswana, 'Chapter 59:03 Monuments and Relics: Subsidiary Legislation', (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 2006).

⁷³ Interview with Museum specialist I(V), by Katlego Mwale (September 2016)



Figure 4.22: The National Assembly in 1966 (Source: Kutlwano Magazine online)

The National Assembly building (past, present and proposed) can thus be interpreted within the context of the development of the political democratic system where the attempts to integrate a modern and traditional political system has its physical manifestation in built form. Arguably the historical significance and value of the National Assembly building lies in the meaning associated with this building as a sign of Botswana's independence, influenced by the desire to retain the visual appearance of the building that is imbedded in the memory of many residents (figure 4.21 and 4.22). The 1993 building extension did not significantly alter the visual quality of the old building. An enlarged replica of the old main assembly was built, as well as other features and rituals derived from Westminster Parliament, such as the clock tower and a second chamber.⁷⁴

The National Assembly was the single most expensive building to be completed by independence, emphasising its intended significance.⁷⁵ Situated at the focal point of the city, it was designed by an architectural practice from South Africa, Rinaldi Macdonald Crosby & Partners.⁷⁶ They designed several buildings in southern Africa; including the Eskom building in Braamfontein in

⁷⁴ Lekwalo Interview with Mosienyane, by Katlego Mwale (September, 2015).

⁷⁵ Eric Walker, 'Botswana', in *The Arup Journal*, (London: Ove Arup & Partners Consulting Engineers, 1967).p3.

⁷⁶ Ibid.p3

Johannesburg and their design approach was heavily influenced by 1960s modernist architecture.

Located at the termination of the city axis, the 1966 National Assembly comprised a rectangular 24-metre-long and 10-metre-wide assembly hall a concrete shell roof, ancillary spaces and an external walkway with colonnades covered by 18 small concrete shell roofs used as a forecourt to the main hall and linking to the members' wing. A pond also ran along the length of the walkway. Internally the main hall was austere, with the seating layout following that of the House of Commons in Westminster - locating the ruling party and the opposition party on opposite sides with a main table to the centre and the speaker of the house behind it. Space for a public gallery was provided for in cantilevered balconies on opposite sides overlooking the main hall. The scale of the building was more modest than originally envisaged in the city plan. Of importance to the Capital Committee was that the building should be a focal point for Gaborone and planning minutes recorded that members had argued, 'a proper Legislative Council building should enhance the prestige of the council and the new town.'⁷⁷ Extending this notion of grandeur, another planning correspondence states that:

*it would enhance the beauty and dignity of the capital if the Legislative Council faced downwards ...an approach avenue is placed to run down the rise. The impression of grandeur would greatly improve to anyone on approach.*⁷⁸

It was recommended that the Parliament should be separated from other government blocks and be located to 'ensure some uniformity, without monotony and yet preserve symmetry.'⁷⁹ However, this symmetry was not translated into the building. Instead the planning minutes suggest that issues of architectural style or character were not discussed apart from the

⁷⁷ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Minutes of the Planning Committee No. 5', in *Town Planning Gaborone*, file ref no: S 73.2.1, (Gaborone, Botswana: Botswana National Archives, 1959).p11

⁷⁸ Town Planning Gaborone Township, A Letter to the Member for Local Government Social Services and Commerce, Office of Divisional Engineering, 27 April 1962, File no: S74/1, Botswana National Archives

⁷⁹ Bechuanaland Protectorate, 'Implementation of Watts Report', in *Development of Capital 2*, file reference no: CO 1048-53, National Archives (London: National Archives, 1963-1965).

consideration of the layout within the government precinct. The National Assembly was located at the highest point on the end of a smaller processional path with open Heroes square in the front commemorating World War II. This space was initially used for processions during Independence Day celebrations, presidential inaugurations and was later the statue of the first president.

Both the elected members of parliament and representatives from the House of Chiefs initially used the main chamber. However, during the time leading to independence, there were growing calls from the chiefs to gain formal recognition in the political system and in the development of the new constitution. This was partially modelled on the Westminster system but did not retain the bicameral house system. According to J. H. Proctor, initial attempts to give the House of Chiefs the same status as the House of Lords was rejected by the politicians over fears that giving traditional governance systems the same power as modern governance would impede modernisation of the governance and result in a fragmented national identity. It was also implied that integrating tribal leadership in politics would render the project of a unified nation unattainable either or fragmented due to the diverse ethnic groups that characterised the country.⁸⁰ While traditional leaders pushed for greater representation and participation in politics through a bicameral system,⁸¹ politicians supported a lesser advisory role and chamber. As the new constitution took shape just in time for independence in 1966, it was decided that the House of Chiefs would assume an advisory role to the National Assembly of Bills and issues related to culture and tribal affairs. This meant that 'adjustments were made which had the effect of drawing the House of Chiefs into closer associations with the Assembly.'⁸² Such political transformation implied that the House of Chiefs, which comprised eight members from the eight main Tswana speaking ethnic groups, four elected

⁸⁰ Munyae M. Mulinge, 'Botswana, Africa's Haven of Ethnic Peace and Harmony: Status and Future Prospects', *African Journal of Sociology*, 4 (2008).

⁸¹ Fawcus, 'Botswana Revisited'; J. H. Proctor, 'The House of Chiefs and the Political Development of Botswana', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 6 (1968).

⁸² Proctor, 'The House of Chiefs and the Political Development of Botswana'. p68-69

sub-chiefs from former Crownlands and three specially elected members⁸³ would have its own chamber next to the National Assembly building which had been designed and completed a year earlier without this consideration in mind.

In 1993, a two-storey office block was added to the back of the National Assembly and the House of Chiefs chamber was built next to the main hall,⁸⁴ in response to the growing calls for a distinct chamber for traditional leaders. This ensured the visibility of the House of Chiefs within the political system and city; it holds no real political power. Although chieftainship is hereditary, the minister under the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development retains the power to recognise or derecognise the nominated chief.⁸⁵

The House of Chiefs chamber is a rectangular hall with a concrete shell roof and is much smaller in size and height compared to the main hall, symbolising the less powerful role the house plays.⁸⁶ Smaller external corridors running on the sides of the buildings, with courtyards in between the blocks, link the whole complex. Having a new chamber for the House of Chiefs meant that the role of chiefs within the Legislature has been imprinted upon the National Assembly complex. However, the political role of the chiefs and ethnic cultural representation of minority tribes has remained politically contested. For example, representation in the House of Chiefs has been criticised for favouring the eight Tswana speaking ethnic groups. In recent years the membership in the House of Chiefs has been increased from 15 to 37 members following constitutional amendments in 2005 because of pressure from minority groups. However, the Tswana speaking ethnic groups still retain representation as the majority ethnic group as prescribed by the constitution while other minority tribes have elected representations that differ from the Tswana hereditary chiefs. This political system has caused

⁸³Mulinge, 'Botswana, Africa's Haven of Ethnic Peace and Harmony: Status and Future Prospects'; Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, 'Minority Tribes in Botswana: The Politics of Recognition', in *Minority Rights International*, (December 2008), pp. 2-16.

⁸⁴ Lekwalo Interview with Mosienyane, by Katlego Mwale (September, 2015).

⁸⁵ Chapter 41.04, Bogosi Act

⁸⁶ Philip Norton, 'How Many Bicameral Legislatures Are There?', *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 10 (2004).

outrage in the past with members of other tribes calling for recognition of their culture and equal representation in the House of Chiefs.⁸⁷

In 1993 the government of Botswana sought to extend the National Assembly building to accommodate the increasing number of parliament members from 40 to 76. The design brief called for 'a scaled-up version' of the existing building,⁸⁸ and was carried out by Mosienyane and Partners International. The larger hall basically doubled the size of the assembly to a 30.5 m long and 21.5-metre-wide chamber (figure 4.23). The roof followed the earlier vaulted concrete roof form but increased the height of the chamber to accommodate more spaces in the public gallery while high level clerestory windows were added to illuminate the space at either side. Nine shells in front of the new structure subsequently extended the colonnade. A new barrel-vaulted portico, articulating the entrance to the colonnade was added, and a 20-metre clock tower was built behind it. The portico entrance displays a suspended stainless-steel world globe with the map of Botswana highlighted.

⁸⁷Walker, 'Botswana'.

⁸⁸ Simon Nevill, 'New Chamber, National Assembly Gaborone, Botswana', in *Arup Journal*, (London: Arup, 1996), pp. 42-43.

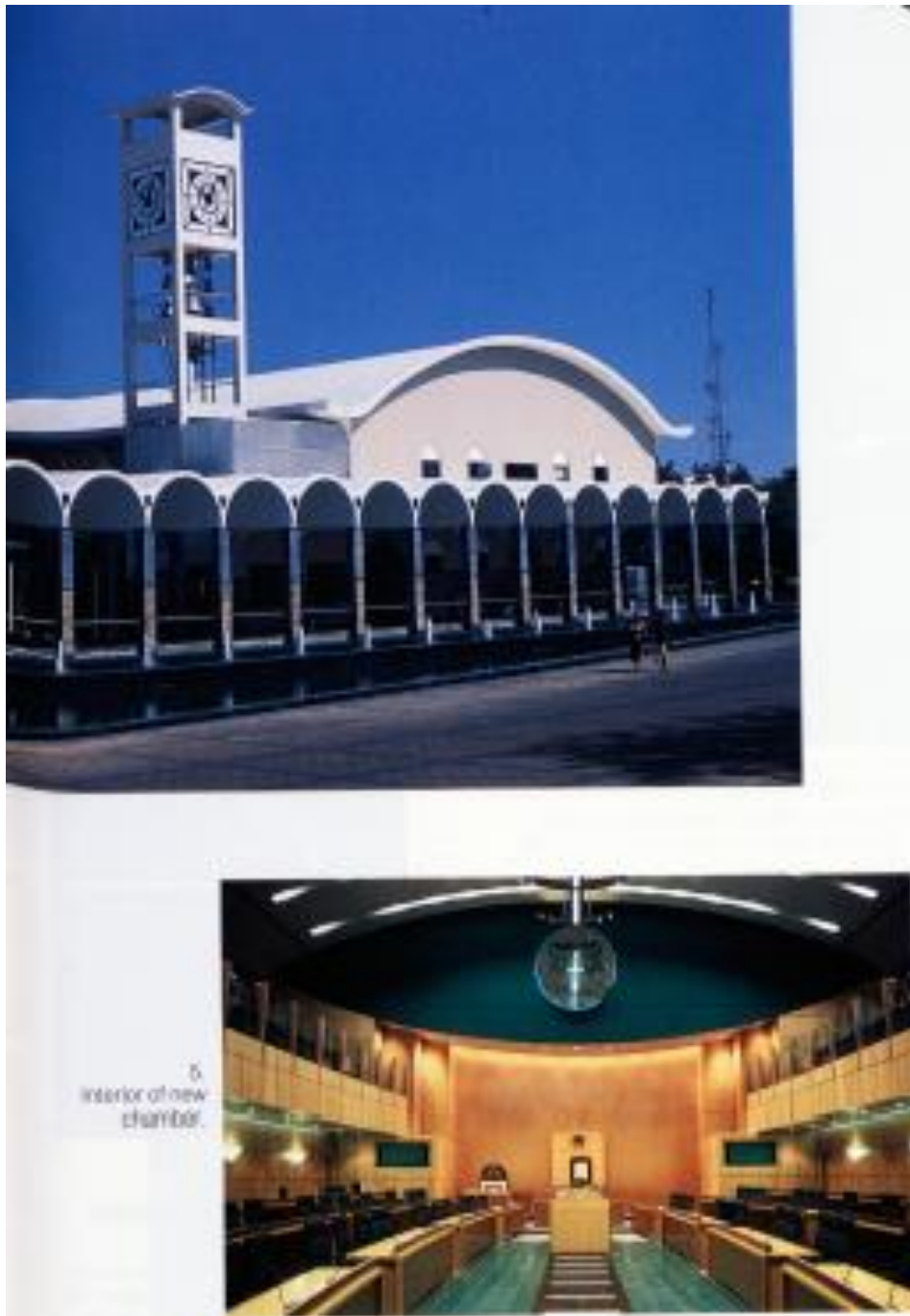


Figure 4.23: The recent extension added a bell tower and simply replicated the earlier building (source: Arup Journal, New General Chamber, National Assembly, p. 43)



Figure 4.24: The national Assembly building on approach (source: taken by author in Gaborone 2016)

In an interview, Mosienyane explains that the clock tower was built at the request of the client who wanted a miniature imitation of Big Ben of Westminster, and other Westminster inspired features like the seating layout (Figure 4.24). Speaking on the significance and meaning of maintaining the same image of the initial building, the architect explained that the client wanted a replica assembly hall replete with what he calls ‘neo-colonial architecture and symbols.’ The new tower also suggests an attempt to give the National Assembly a sense of height and a termination focal point on the approach along the main approach axis. Other forms of practices and symbols derived from the Westminster system are retained which include the attire for the speaker of the National Assembly e.g. a black robe and wig. The attire for the Chairman of the House of Chiefs includes a robe with inserts of leopard print. Leopard skin is traditionally robed over the chief during his or her installation by the sitting chief of another tribe.

In 1998 a design competition for a further extension of the National Assembly was conducted. The brief called for the provision of new offices, conference rooms and other supporting facilities and with existing National Assembly building preserved.⁸⁹ The result of the design competition was that three companies were shortlisted, but unfortunately I was unable to gain access to the design entries comments of the jurors and interviews with all the shortlisted architectural practices were denied.⁹⁰ However, a design entry from collaboration between Noero Architects (a South African architectural practice) and Mosienyane and Partners International (a local architectural practice) was awarded second place and is the only one accessible by the public. The design shows an L-shaped block behind the National Assembly with the new office block orientated in relation to the axis running from the City Hall and through the Main Mall as the sketches indicate (Figure 4.25). The new extension is much higher than the existing building and was intended to house a conference centre with the office of the president on the top floor, offering 360-degree view of the city. In an interview, Jo Noero explained that the design was influenced by context, climate, program and the availability of materials (figure 4.26, 4.27 and 4.28).

At ground floor, towards the existing building, the new extension was to be elevated on columns to articulate a connection to the existing building. The only inference to culture is not made explicitly but implicitly in relation to the central courtyard which is likened to the *kgotla* suggested by his design collaborator. Their approach was not to draw too much on culture but respond to a sense of place where the new addition would not only respect the existing building but create a focal point. In this regard, there was a clear hesitation that the idea of an open courtyard could be likened to the idea of a *kgotla* and would be translated to the city to carry the same meaning. In other words, their approach was not the direct translation of a traditional spatial

⁸⁹ Interview with Mosienyane, by Katlego Mwale (September, 2015).; Nevill, 'New Chamber, National Assembly Gaborone, Botswana'.

⁹⁰ See Methodology for example. Information of the design entries has not been kept by the Department of Local Government. There is a general lack of archiving architectural drawings in Botswana. I was also unable to track the other entries and interviews with the architectural practices that were declined.

form and identity. The new extension was not realised due to lack of funds, but it might be extended in the future.

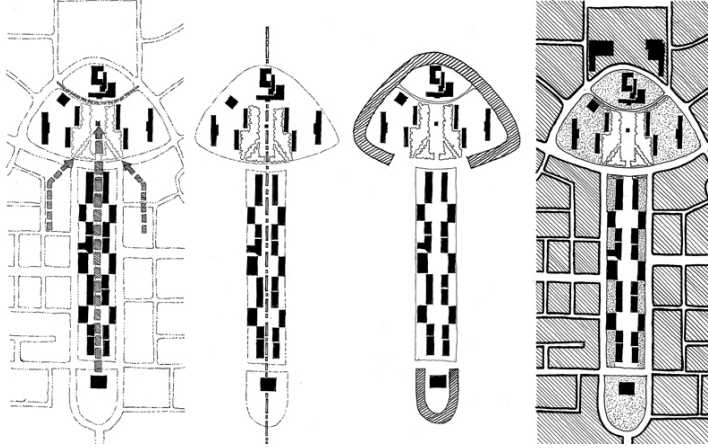


Figure 4.25: The Design emphasised improving the vista between the two seats of power, the National Assembly and the City Hall as the sketch indicates (Source: Jo Noero Architects)

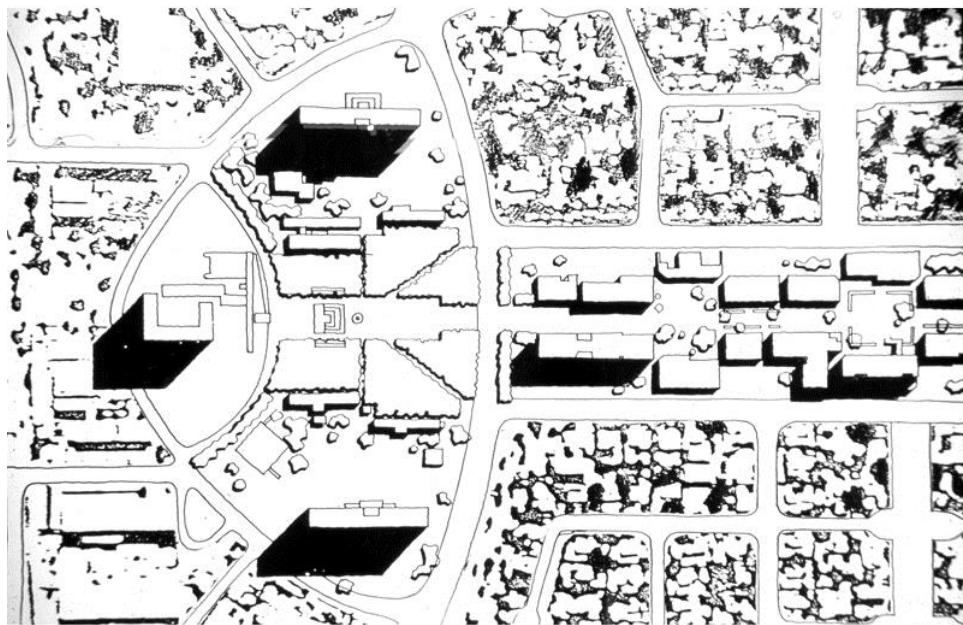


Figure 4.26: The proposal added a new block at the rear and maintained the National Assembly building (Source: Jo Noero Architects)

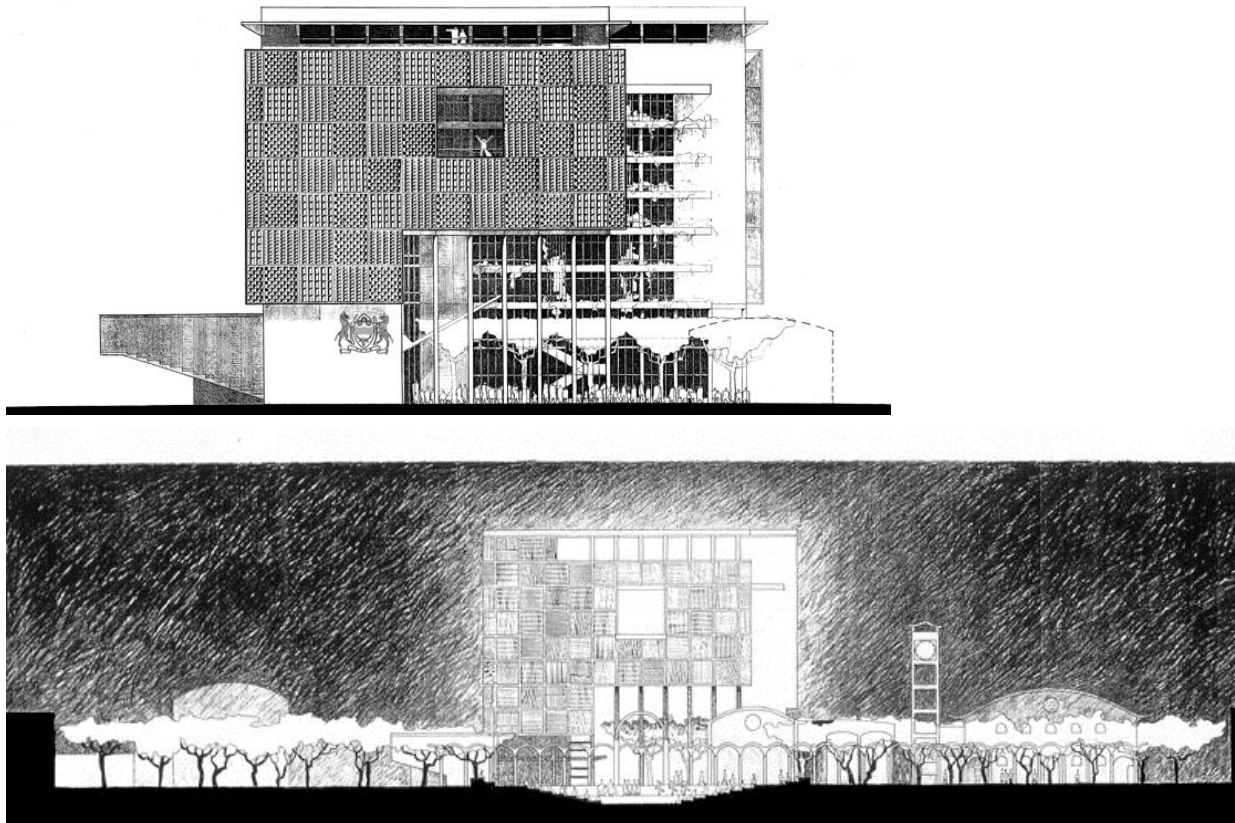


Figure 4.27 and 4.28: Proposals for the National Assembly (Source: Jo Noero Architects)



Figure 4.29: The new bank notes show the National Assembly building. (Source: taken by author in 2017)



Figure 4.30: The National Assembly forms an important part of public memory as shown in the older coins. (Source: <https://en.numista.com/catalogue/pieces23188.html>)



Figure 4.31: Older postal stamps with the National Assembly building (Source: http://www.bechuanalandphilately.com/Botswana_Commemoratives_1966_1992.html)

The National Assembly has become a symbol of Botswana's independence and identity. Independence celebrations in 1966 took place in Heroes' Square later known as the National Assembly gardens. This building was featured on banknotes, coins and independence memorabilia such as postage stamps (figures 4.29, 4.30 and 4.31). It is the single recent modernist building that has achieved the status of a national monument, while other buildings of a similar age are listed as 'recent historic buildings' (for example the City Hall is a recent historic building.) Its architectural presence has been significantly subverted not only through its extension but also in the gradual development of much higher office blocks in the Government Enclave such as the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs. Moreover, the National Assembly is the most inaccessible heritage building as it requires written permission to visit and take photographs. As part of my research

inquiry I had obtained a permit to visit the building, but due to a university students' strike in the country, I was not allowed to enter. The public is allowed access during parliamentary debate sessions and during state funerals with the main assembly hall used for paying respect to the deceased as for example the late former president, Sir Ketumile Masire, who lay in state for a day. This event was broadcast on Botswana Television and streamed live on YouTube.

The Museum and cultural representation

The National Museum in Gaborone was built after independence, following a campaign, particularly from Alec Campbell who was personally involved in the collection and preservation of cultural artefacts related to the African continent.⁹¹ The Museum building was financed through funds raised from international donors and by 1967, before the building works commenced, the Museum was incorporated under the act of Parliament and a Board of Trustees established.⁹² The rationale for setting up the museum as an educational and cultural institution was articulated as follows,

*The intention is to build up a Museum and Art Gallery which will eventually be able to take its place among the museums of the world, providing a centre for research, particularly in the fields of Natural History and archaeology, a repository for the preservation of museums material and an institution of cultural education for both child and adult.*⁹³

⁹¹ Robert MacKenzie, 'The Development of Museums in Botswana: Dilemmas and Tensions in a Front-Line State', in *The Politics of the Past*, ed. by Peter Gathercole and David Lowenthal (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), pp. 205-13.

⁹² Doreen Nteta, 'The Museum Service in Botswana', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 5 (1973). Alec Campbell, 'The National Museum and Art Gallery: Remembering Its Beginnings and Transfer to Government', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 44 (2012). Alec Campbell was an employee in the Department of Wildlife and wrote in 2008 that "The ideas of establishing a museum in Botswana came up in 1966 when Botswana's freedom to see her own way forward was lying just around the corner. I felt sad that the country was going into independence without a museum. Therefore, In May that year, while I was still with the Ministry of Local Government, I wrote in my private capacity to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, suggesting that the administration should make plans to create a Museum."

⁹³Museum Annual report 1967 quoted in Campbell, 'The National Museum and Art Gallery: Remembering Its Beginnings and Transfer to Government', p.208.

The national museum philosophy was at this time influenced by wider contemporary interests in ancient monuments, archaeological and prehistoric sites in southern Africa. The exhibition and museum collections focused on three themes - natural history, prehistory and ethnography. Display objects ranged from prehistoric artefacts, paintings of important natural landscapes, stuffed animals displayed in glass cases, traditional basketry and paintings depicting traditional lifestyles. The role of the museum has however evolved from building museum collections and exhibitions to undertaking research activities and publications under the journal *Botswana Notes and Records*, now currently administered by the Botswana Society. Under a partnership with the Botswana Society, the National Museum has held research conferences and seminars. In 1970 the role of the museum as a cultural institution was extended by the government to the custodianship and listing of national monuments and heritage sites.⁹⁴ During this period, the museum interest still reflected the influence of archaeological and prehistoric studies, which was also mirrored by the listing framework which focused on the country's ancient sites and monuments (see chapter 2). In this context, the museum as a cultural institution is the storehouse for all things historic and cultural as well as the production of cultural knowledge and cultural representation. In 1994 the museum built the equivalent of an open-air museum in the middle of the museum courtyard as part of the exhibition and subsequent book *Visit the Traditional House at the National Museum* in 1995.

The main museum building is modest; but it is located opposite the City Hall and is part of the Capital Core designation. Due to limited funds, the building was designed to be built over a number of years as and when funding was secured.⁹⁵ As one of the contributors of the museum, Doreen Nteta argued, it was deemed unjustifiable to build a 'nineteenth-century museum' complete with an expensive building and displays because of the more immediate needs of education and the general lack of trained museology staff and funds.⁹⁶ The museum building is organised around a central courtyard with

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Doreen Nteta, 'The Museum Service in Botswana', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 5 (1973).

exhibition rooms accessed from the perimeter cloister. An octagonal gallery room towards the entrance houses art and sculptures exhibitions, while offices are in the north of the site. The courtyard is a contrast to the museum building, as it now comprises the architectural depiction of a traditional village layout complete with re-created replicas of two traditional huts and a *kgotla*. The official publication sets out the importance of exhibiting traditional huts to inform cultural identity representation⁹⁷ and the preservation of traditional skills:

*The traditional house at the Museum is an example showing traditional building skills which are still alive in Botswana, mainly in rural areas. Traditional buildings skills are deeply rooted in the social and cultural character of every nation.*⁹⁸

One of the huts forming this assemblage is a representation of a vernacular Bakgatla hut (figure 4.32), while the other hut is a representation of the Bambhukushu vernacular hut (figure 4.33). These huts do not carry any exhibition material but are to be viewed as part of the artefacts in the landscape, or as the publication suggests, the huts embody vernacular architectural skills which are at risk of disappearing and “by observing and studying these skills, we learn about Botswana’s culture, history and traditions and society as a whole.”⁹⁹ Furthermore the book emphasises the need to understand the social organisation of a typical Tswana homestead (figure 4.34), yet the construction process of these huts does not necessarily follow the authentic construction process and hence can be interpreted as an identity-making practice.

The vernacular Bambhukushu hut¹⁰⁰ was built out of reeds and thatch, while the vernacular Bakgatla hut is built out of mud bricks with walls decorated with traditional *lekgapho* motifs and a forecourt in the front defined

⁹⁷ Interview with anonymous I

⁹⁸ Lule Baeletsi and others, *Visit the Traditional House at the National Museum*, (Gaborone, Botswana: The National Museum Art and Gallery, 1995), p. 2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p2

¹⁰⁰ This hut has been dilapidated due to termites and has not yet been rebuilt. The museum is also undergoing a major revamp of the exhibition and has been closed since 2016.

by low decorated mud walls. According to one of the interviewed museum representatives the huts were not constructed in any authentic manner but the construction was based on interpretation of traditional construction techniques from members of the Bakgatla and the Bambukushu.¹⁰¹ Like the regeneration proposal project in the Main Mall the traditional huts are part of a politics identity-production, rather than a more academic heritage project for the city. In this context, the huts are utilised as cultural signs to the visitor, to inclusively represent the identities of different ethnic groups, which stands as a contrast to other buildings in the city considered as a reflection of modernity. This contrast was made clear during the interviews with the museum representatives who equated the traditional hut to Botswana's architectural heritage. Yet it is evident that the huts amount to cultural identity representation as they are constructed out of context and do not reflect the layout of a traditional village. As such the replicas are selective representations devoid of context and meaning. This loss of meaning is highlighted by the fact that this assemblage is currently not promoted as one of the significant features of the museum. The Bakgatla vernacular hut has been turned into an office for the Botswana Society and is not open as part of the exhibition.

¹⁰¹ P 13, 'Interview with National Museum Representative', by Katlego Mwale (Gaborone, 2015).



Figure 4.32: The traditional hut in the National Museum showing the vernacular architecture from the Bakgatla tribe (Source: taken by author in 2015)



Figure 4.33: Bambukushu traditional vernacular was built to represent the diversity of ethnic cultural identities in Botswana (Source: <http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/9549670@N05/tags/traditionalarchitecture/>)

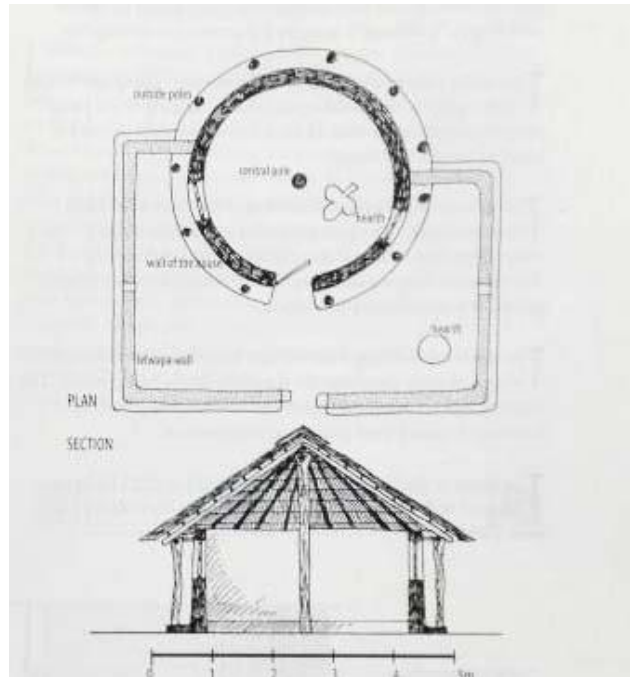


Figure 4.34: An illustration of a vernacular traditional hut in the publication by the National Museum (Source: Visit the Traditional Hut at the National Museum, p5)

The politics of identity and framing heritage in the city

Any definition of national heritage in the city must address the challenge that Gaborone is considered a ‘new city’ and the majority of the built space constitutes modern architecture (often considered bland), apart from the few colonial heritage buildings located in the older part of the city - ‘the village.’ Much of this architecture is viewed in the 1970 master plan as lacking in architectural merit (as compared to other similar examples in the world) and historical value.¹⁰² By contrast other than as a planned post-independence capital city to the government desire for new monuments, the central space in the Main Mall has been filled with different functions such as cultural performances, vendors selling cultural food, artefacts and goods which have drawn both local and international tourists looking for cultural souvenirs in the area. These temporary cultural markets are one of the ways that the

¹⁰² Hugh Wilson, Lewis Womersley, and Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick, 'Gaborone: Planning Proposals', (Gaborone: Republic of Botswana, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, August 1971), pp. 1-88.

residents negotiate their sense of national identity through the everyday social practices and as a way of earning a living. In this light it is argued that the redefinition of cultural significance in the Main Mall should consider the multiple ways in which space is appropriated through the everyday spatial practices.

Nevertheless, the pursuit of cultural and national identity in the city suggest that there is an on-going desire to define what constitutes heritage in the city, currently imagined in terms of building new monuments which carry the idea of a homogenous identity of the nation. In this context we see a clear difference between built heritage in the city which lies in its design and planning tradition of the Capital core, which locates the two precincts of power on the opposite sites and the new post-independence city characterise by “intentional monuments” and the contrived heritage or “ethnic cultural signs.” However, the intentional monuments fail as architectural heritage even though they are designated as such. Their inadequacy and contingent meaning and significance in the city are evident. This ‘top-down’ interpretation of heritage in the city means that there is a missed opportunity to explore the architectural value of the Capital Core and how heritage values may be more sustainably framed. To define architectural heritage values requires one to cast an eye on the architectural and formal qualities of the Main Mall as an urban heritage space. The pedestrian walkways and squares framed by buildings on either side have created an important and accessible public space which hosts multiple functions such as cultural markets and performances. In terms of the architectural significance the Capital Core, is the focal point and the oldest part of the city. It is also successful in terms of its urban spatial structure which organises political power spaces and public spaces in the city. However, this character of the city remains unappreciated and there is still unrealised proposal to turn the Main Mall into an “identity-branded” space. The problem with a branded interpretation, also evident in the creation of the open-air exhibition, is that vernacular architecture is also “interpreted” as evidence of “architectural heritage.” Such an interpretation can also be contextualised within the current understanding of heritage where ethnic

culture (and by extension cultural identity representation) has come to mean heritage in Botswana as Parson has argued.¹⁰³

The challenge to designate heritage in the city is lack of robust designation framework from a value-based approach which would identify different values ascribed to the city's architecture. More importantly, several buildings which can be identified as part of the country's modern architectural heritage are still to be identified as heritage, such as the Post Office building and President Hotel. This will mean that the heritage protection framework should be opened up to include other buildings which are not necessarily associated with national figures and histories as is currently common practice. It will also entail the consideration of the bottom-up appropriation of space. In this light this new ways of using space would be accommodated rather than discouraged. The lack of political and cultural interest has also meant that the attempts to protect modern architectural heritage are limited to academic circles. For example, the recent attempt to save modern architecture building in the University of Botswana by the academic staff did not gain any support from the public. As such, there is a need to document and write histories of these buildings.

The pursuit for cultural identity and the representation of the nation has enabled both the creation of new government initiated "intentional monuments" and the use of "cultural" signification as demonstrated in the unfulfilled case of the Main Mall and the museum open-air exhibition. In this context the concept of identity is clearly dynamic and a product of postcolonial subjectivity as has been revealed through the case studies. Here the political subjectivity of identity is evoked, which was clearly rejected in the planning of the city as part of its mid-20th century planning process. However, what is perhaps more important are the remaining mid-1960s modernist architectural buildings in the Main Mall and the architectural character of covered pedestrian walkways which stand in contrast to the idea that the architecture of the city should have "culturally-inspired" motifs.

¹⁰³ Neil Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32 (2006).

By tracing the narrative of heritage and identity in the city this chapter has shown the contingent nature of heritage and the production of new monuments, which I have argued amount to the politics of identity. From the unfulfilled regeneration project in the Main Mall and the simulation of an open-air museum in the National Museum, we can observe a pursuit for culturally- and identity-charged heritage practices. This chapter suggested that these practices are the result of the post-independence pursuit for “intentional monuments,” which by extension, is also driven by the postcolonial subjective “interpretation” premised on the attempts to represent culture in space (suggesting overlooking the definition of heritage values in the city). In the end, these spaces do not critically engage with heritage designation and they do not address identity presentation sufficiently because of the top-down process by which they are conceived. It is argued that they do not critically engage with the ‘bottom-up’ appropriation of space through other spatial practices which form the contemporary image of the Main Mall. Moreover, the politics of identity have particularly gathered momentum in tribal spaces, an idea which we now turn to in the next two chapters.

5 Heritage, culture and a sense of continuity with the past in Mochudi tribal space

In 2002, the Ministry of Local Government in Botswana announced its intention to build new administration offices within the traditional historic cores (the *kgotla* in Setswana) of all major Tswana tribal villages as part of the modernisation project of the district administrative centres. The first of such administrative offices was completed in Kanye village in the *kgotla* in 2008,¹ while plans to build similar offices in Mochudi date from 2003 with the relocation and demolition of property within the *kgotla* vicinity.² However, the project in Mochudi created a lot of resistance from some members of the community and was reportedly stopped due to residents refusing to make way for the construction of the new offices. They were concerned over the destruction of their historic character and heritage within the *kgotla*.

The previous chapter examined the attempts to represent national identities in Gaborone's capital core. This chapter explores the contestation and negotiation of cultural identity in Mochudi, and focuses on the development of the *kgotla* (past, present and proposed). Through semi-structured interviews, observation, analysis of historical survey, heritage reports, plans and proposals, the chapter explores the value and meaning of the historic core

¹ I was involved in a similar project as an architectural intern in 2008, of which I took interest in tribal spaces then.

² Mochudi Kgotla offices were planned as part of the National Development Plan (NDP) no. 10

and its heritage buildings. It begins with an overview of heritage practices and the spatial composition of the tribal space to illustrate the contrast between the city capital core and the village historic core. From there it explores it explores the negotiation of identity through the examination of the relationship between historic spatial practices and their current symbolic use in cultural and social practices and thus their significance as heritage. Although the tribal historic core in Mochudi is arguably one of the best-preserved examples of typical Tswana tribal space,³ evidence suggests that the conservation and regeneration efforts have resulted in divergent visions and imaginations.

The proposals to redevelop the tribal core by the tribal community into an open-air living heritage museum and a culturally-themed office block by the government are reviewed to illustrate how identity is politicised as the representation of culture through the interpretation of tangible heritage. The chapter argues that heritage in Mochudi is not simply about preserving relics of the past, but rather it addresses preserving the symbolic spatial meaning of the tribal space⁴ and the need to maintain a sense of place, identity and continuity with the past. In contrast, the culturally coded buildings proposed by the government are a result of a narrow interpretation of culture and identity by overlooking the existing spatial relations, use and cultural meaning of the tribal space. The case study illuminates post-colonial interpretations of cultural heritage and raises important questions on the role of tribal identities and the socio-spatial consequences of these on the conservation and preservation of fragile cultural heritage in tribal spaces. This delicate intersection between culture, identity and tangible and intangible heritage which has so far received less attention is also explored as part of the broader theme on culture and identity politics, to contribute to developing insights into architecture and identity in Botswana.

³ This is with exception to the *kgotla* in Kanye.

⁴ The interpretation of the meaning of the tribal space is studied both historically from the cultural and traditional architectural location of the setting and to the current value of place. The chapter highlights the social cultural use and meaning of the *kgotla*.

Negotiating identity, presenting the past and a sense of cultural continuity

The notion of ‘negotiated identities’, as suggested in post-colonial theory, posits that identities are socially constructed within the competing discourses of “becoming” and “being”. In this regard identities are never complete, but are in a continuous process of being articulated and reframed, as identities are ambivalent.⁵ This conceptualisation of identity is useful in understanding the politics of identity in tribal spaces where, colonial heritage does not necessarily imply the identity of the ‘other’, but is part of the historical and cultural layering of place as evidence of interaction with other cultures. Mochudi, like the majority of older tribal capitals in Botswana was not planned by architects or planners, but was rather organised based on the established socio-cultural practices and traditions (see chapter 2).⁶ However the influence of colonialism, urbanisation and modernisation in the village illustrates a mixture of modern, vernacular and colonial architecture within the typical layout of a traditional village as previously discussed. Thus, when compared to the capital city, the tribal village consists of a unique mixture of architectural heritage reflecting different identities and traditions, colonial and pre- and post-colonial architectural forms.

Since the 1970s Mochudi has experienced rapid urbanisation and modernising development, due to post-independence economic growth.⁷ Although modernisation is inevitable in every society,⁸ and it is important to improving the rural economy and local livelihoods, such developments in

⁵ Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), pp. 1-17. This perspective is also derived from psychoanalysis and is used by post-colonial theorists such as Stuart Hall, Gayatri Spivak and Franz Fanon in the seminal text *Black Skins White Masks*

⁶ Kgatleng District Council, 'Mochudi Planning Area Development Plan', (Mochudi, Botswana: Kgatleng District Council, October 2008), (p. 75); S. Grant, 'Conserving the Historic Past- Botswana's Settlements and Buildings', *Botswana Notes ad Records, JSTOR*, 27 (1995); Amos Rapoport, 'The Nature of Cities and Their Capital Expressions', in *Capital Cities/Les Capitales: Perspectives Internationales/ International Perspectives*, ed. by John H. Taylor, Jean G. Lengelle, and Andrew Caroline (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), pp. 31-60 (p. 75); Issac. Schapera, *Picturing a Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁷ Robson M. K. Silitshena, 'Urbanization in Botswana', *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 38 (1984), 110-11.

⁸ Sources here of modernisation and strategy for rural development

Botswana are carried out through a top-down approach and often overlook the issues of cultural heritage conservation. Hence heritage development in tribal areas is often a bottom-up process undertaken by the Tribal Authorities and heritage activists in individual villages to ensure the conservation of their own cultural heritage and sense of identity.

In the 1930s the architectural character of Mochudi was described by Jean and John Comaroff in the book *Picturing A Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera* as “... dominated by the circular, adobe and thatch vernacular architecture of the period; a neat, uniform, somehow sparse style augmented often by geometric, subtly coloured wall decorations,”⁹ as shown in figure 5.1. New architectural typologies and forms such as churches, schools and stores also emerged in the village because of the encounter with early traders, Christian missionaries and colonial administrators (Figure 5.2).¹⁰ These buildings adapted typical Cape Dutch colonial architecture characterised by white rendered walls, strongly defined gable-end roofs, red-painted roofs and deep verandas.



Figure 5.1: Photograph of Mochudi in the 1930s, viewed towards Phuthadikobo hill (source: Isaac Schapera, *Picturing the Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, p.67)

⁹ Isaac Schapera, *Picturing a Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007)p. 61.

¹⁰Ibid. p 61



Figure 5.2: Cape Dutch Colonial architecture in Mochudi (source: Isaac Schapera, *Picturing the Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, p.67)

The census of 1936 indicates that the population of the Bakgatla Reserve comprised 9,795 Bakgatla, 42 Europeans and 7 Indians.¹¹ Most of the incomers were missionaries, colonial administrative staff or traders and storekeepers. During this period, the Bakgatla were largely agrarian and as such most Bakgatla kept cattle and grew crops except for those employed as migrant labourers in farms and mines in the adjacent South Africa. Farming took place in remote areas outside the main village during planting seasons with the village primarily occupied only during the winter months.¹² The village, as the main residence was a place of belonging for the wider tribal community. This ability to maintain a connection with one's tribal roots and identity through the maintenance of 'the continuum of the Cattle Post (or ploughing fields) and the village'¹³ is still practiced but to a lesser extent than before, as figure 5.3 illustrates. For example, some families have arable or

¹¹ Isaac Schapera, *A Short History of Bakgatla Ba Kgafela of Bechuanalena*, (Johannesburg, South Africa: Historical Papers, The Library, The University of Witwatersrand, 2013), p. 31.

¹² Isaac Schapera, *Picturing a Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007)p. 61. pp. 43-44.

¹³ Essy Baniassad, 'Urbanization in Rural Botswana: Modernity and Tradition, Complementarity or Contradiction?', in *Urbanization of Rural Settlements in Botswana*, (University of Botswana, 2012); James Denbow and Phenyio Thebe, C., *Culture and Customs of Botswana*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2006); Ministry of Local Government Republic of Botswana, Lands and Housing, 'Physical Planning Handbook for Botswana, Swedeplan', Department of Town and Regional Planning (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 1997), (p. 11).

grazing land, but still maintain a place of residence in the city or village. A sense of identity is thus characterised by the ability to maintain dual identities that is both at tribal and national level as argued in chapter 2.

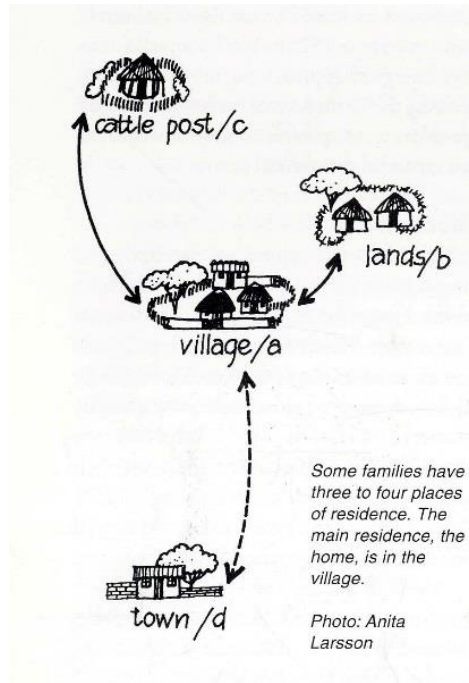


Figure 5.3: The transitional life pattern of moving between the three settlements is still practised in Botswana today with the main residence as the town or village (Source: Handbook for Botswana, Swedeplan, p15)

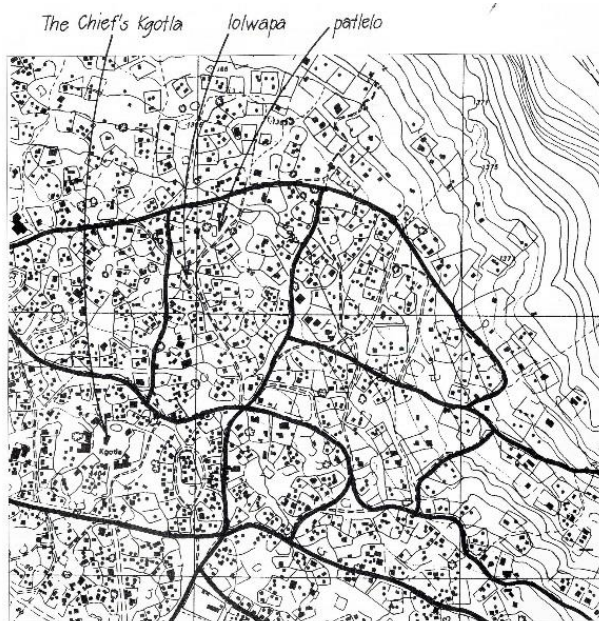


Figure 5.4: This example shows a new road layout laid in a similar village in Kanye (Source: Handbook for Botswana, Swedeplan p14)

However, Mochudi village has grown rapidly from an agricultural tribal centre to a semi-urban, district administrative centre of the Kgatleng District with its own regional museum, District Council, Land Board Authorities offices, several schools and other modern amenities such as three main shopping malls. It has been estimated that the village grew threefold from 1981 to 2001¹⁴ and will continue to grow in the coming years. This growth is due to a continuing suburbanisation process given Mochudi's proximity to Gaborone and many people commute into the capital city for work. Most of the residents are employed by the government in different sectors such as education, health care, and local authorities, or employed in the private sector. Consequently, the typical village layout has been eroded through densification to accommodate this population growth.¹⁵

Open spaces between wards are filled with new plots through an infill process encouraged by the local authorities¹⁶ and the Land Board Authorities when formal planning controls were extended to the villages in early 1990s.¹⁷ The aim of these planning controls and developments was to introduce infrastructures such as new road layouts and building controls (figure 5.4).¹⁸ New areas are planned on the village's outskirts and empty pockets for infill follow a modern grid layout; thus the urban layout reads as a complex mixture of modern grid and traditional layout. Scholars have criticised these new emerging modern grid layouts due to their erosion of sense of place and culture and for not considering existing spatial patterns. This trend is blamed on the adoption of modern planning traditions without adjustment to the existing culture, on urbanisation and on the narrow interpretation of culture.¹⁹ 'However, the limitations of these studies are demonstrated by the

¹⁴ Kgatleng Council, 'Mochudi Planning Area Development Plan(Mochudi, Botswana: Kgatleng District Council, October 2008)'.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 50.

¹⁷ Land allocation and the planning of villages were previously conducted by tribal chiefs, but has since been taken on by District Administrative Councils and Land Board Authorities.

¹⁸ See for example Republic of Botswana, 'Physical Planning Handbook for Botswana, Swedeplan', (p. 14). This handbook for planning suggests that the traditional spatial layout is being eroded because of "ignorance and influences from Europe).

¹⁹ Faustin Kalabamu and B. S. Thebe 'Effects of Urbanisation and Changes in Technology in Traditional Settlements in Botswana: The Case of Kanye', *Botswana Journal of Technology*, 14 (2005).

interpretation of these new changes through the binary of modernity versus tradition. Further, there is a clear limitation within the tendency to view culture and tradition as static rather than dynamic.²⁰

Despite these recent changes, some aspects of the traditional village structure are largely preserved in-situ, in the urban layout and morphology, particularly in the area around the main *kgotla*. In expanding the idea of an architectural historic core beyond the designed capital core in Gaborone, the *kgotla* in Mochudi unlike the capital core in the city emerged out of the specific socio-cultural traditions of laying out a traditional village, as previously mentioned in chapter 2. The *kgotla* can be defined in terms of both built and spatial occupancy terms. This idea of vernacular architecture as a space or even a 'stage' where rituals occur has been theorised by Kathleen D Arceneaux who argued that architecture of traditional communities in Africa may not be necessarily material but 'designated.'²¹ In this regard she makes a distinction between built and designated architecture. In a similar line of thought, Amos Rapoport has emphasised that the layout of traditional villages speaks of the "significance of cultural space"²² reflected in the complex layout of social status, learned from earliest times, reinforced by initiation and duplicated in seating at gatherings in the *kgotla*, a circular fenced space with a few trees which was the setting for judgement, administration, ceremonies and tribal gatherings. The adjoining Great Kraal was a place for ritual and of political importance, in which traditional ceremonies took place and the chief was buried. Each ward in a village had a smaller *kgotla* and each village had a main *kgotla* at the centre of the capital and there was a principal *kgotla* adjoining the chief's compound and kraal. According to Rappaport this

²⁰ It must be noted that apart from the study by Feras Hammami, 'Culture and Planning for Change and Continuity in Botswana', *Journal of planning education and research*, 32 (2012).

²¹ Kathleen Arceneaux, 'The Script Analogue and Its Application in Architectural Analysis: The Relationship of African Women to African Traditional Architecture', ed. by Humberto Rodriguez-Camilloni (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1989).

²² Amos Rapoport, 'The Nature of Cities and Their Capital Expressions' Amos Rapoport, 'The Nature of Cities and Their Capital Expressions', in *Capital Cities/Les Capitales: Perspectives Internationales/ International Perspectives*, ed. by John H. Taylor, Jean G. Lengelle, and Andrew Caroline (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), pp. 31-60.(p 40)

articulates a clear hierarchy of the culturally specific element - “a space.”²³ Although the purpose of this chapter is not to theorise the architecture of the *kgotla*, it recognises that this kind of analysis is useful because the *kgotla* is not only about buildings but also about the symbolic socio-cultural spatial organisation of a tribal space as a stage where the everyday life, social practices and cultural traditions occur.

The *kgotla* was built in 1870 when the village was established. It is situated in the heart of the village as a seat of the Bakgatla paramount chief. In establishing the village, the chief's ward (*kgosing* ward) was the first ward to be constructed. It is located on the foothill of Phuthadikobo hill. It is commonly believed that this hill was used to spot invaders from afar and to hide women and children during tribal wars,²⁴ although some scholars speculate that it provided an escape from the risk of flooding in the lower valley below.²⁵ The placement of the chief's ward in the centre of the village also denoted the significance of this space as a political and socio-cultural place for the entire tribal capital. From a sketch drawn by Schapera in c.1900 we can discern that the *kgotla* initially comprised royal homesteads which included the homesteads of the chief and his wives, arranged around an open space in a circular layout (see Figure 5.5 and 5.6).²⁶ This sketch is interpreted in conjunction with available photographs and Schapera's own recording which emphasise the architectural composition and character of the open space with a cluster of traditional vernacular huts.

Indicated on the sketch is also the location of fireplace areas where men or tribal leaders and elders gathered around the fire to discuss tribal matters.²⁷ Smaller wards for other members of the Bakgatla tribe followed this circular

²³ Amos Rapoport, *Human Aspects of Urban Form : Towards a Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design*, (Oxford etc. : Pergamon, 1977), p41

²⁴ Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I', (Johannesburg, South Africa, November 2010).

²⁵ Kangangwani Knight Scott, 'The Settlement Nexus of the Southern Tswana on Hilltops and Valleys in Present Day South East Botswana in the 19th Century', (University of Pretoria, June 2008).

²⁶ Isaac Schapera noted the importance of fireplace in culture. He noted “men habitually gather round a fire in the early morning and late afternoon.” Isaac Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). p 47

²⁷ Isaac Schapera and John L. Comaroff, *The Tswana*, (London: Routledge Revivals in association with the International African Institute, 2015).

layout with a 'cluster of homesteads' located beyond the main ward based on family ties.²⁸ The open space in the middle of the main *kgotla* comprised a cattle kraal used for holding cattle and at times used as a burial place for members of the royal family. A meeting space at the core of this spatial configuration at times had a temporary open pavilion made of timber logs or thatch where tribal leaders sat to address the community. The significance of this open space is that it is still used as a public meeting space, a court where the tribal chief deliberates on legal matters, a place for cultural rituals such as receiving traditional school initiates and for deliberating on political matters. In this sense, the open space in the *kgotla* is a place of 'political and cultural importance.'



Figure 5.5: The approximate location of different buildings in the *kgotla* in the 1930s is shown in a lighter grey colour. From this original layout only two preserved hut structures still exist. (Source: Drawn by author following Schapera's sketch)

²⁸ Feras Hammami, 'Culture and Planning for Change and Continuity in Botswana' *Journal of planning education and research*, 32 (2012), 262-77; I. Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, 2nd ed. edn (London: Cass, 1955).

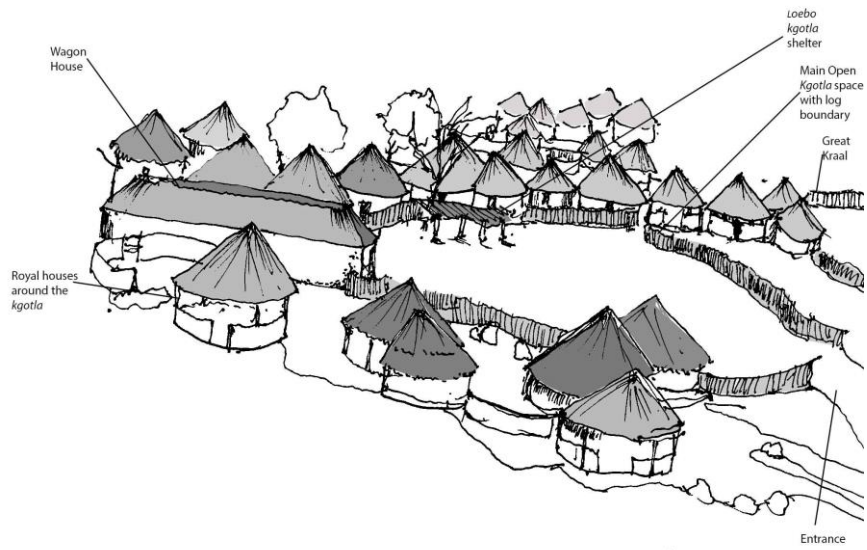


Figure 5.6: A sketch showing the *kgotla* in the 1900s with royal houses surrounding the main open space in the centre (source: redrawn by author based on the sketch by Schapera c. 1900 collected from Sandy Grant).

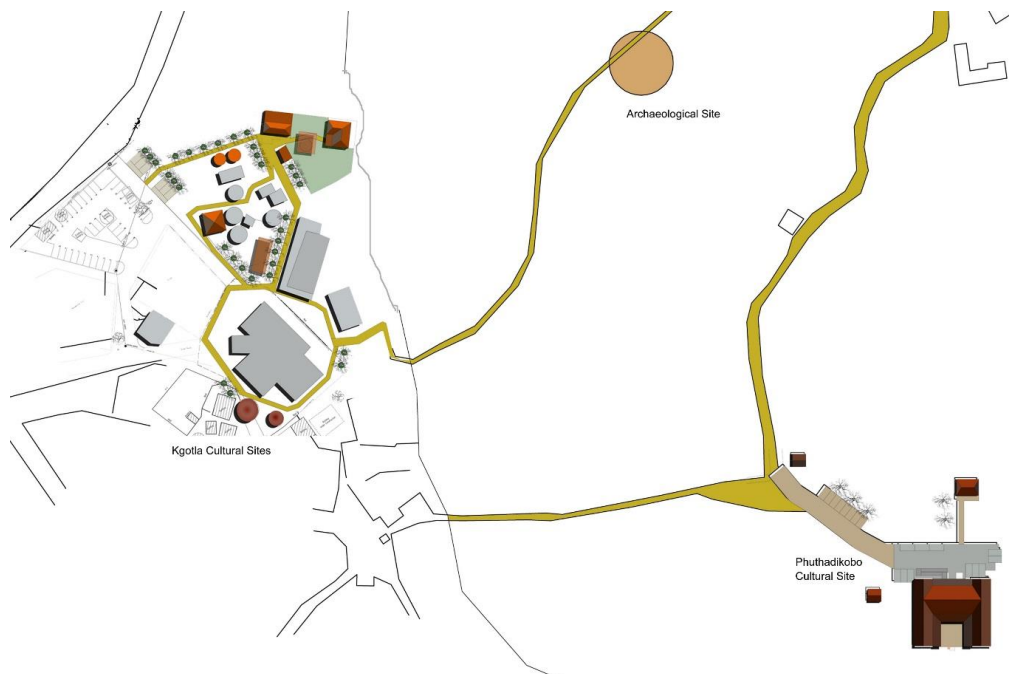


Figure 5.7: Historic core of Mochudi, (source: Nabeel Essa)

This area around the hill and *kgotla* as shown in figure 5.7 was designated as a historic centre in 2008, following lobbying from the former Phuthadiboko museum director, Sandy Grant.²⁹ Grant wanted to protect it from to protect it from further unsympathetic development by defining its boundaries in the Development Plan. According to the Plan the historic core is designated for 'preservation' and any intervention 'should address the issues of preservation, infill, restoration, adaptive reuse and tourist development.'³⁰ It was also envisioned that a separate conservation plan would be prepared for the historic core with 'significant community participation'³¹ to address and debate these issues locally. This is because all Regional Development Plans in Botswana focus on planning issues, such as land allocation and do not usually consider heritage issues when village expansion is being designed. The 'specialised' Development plan has not materialised, and consequently a significant part of the original built fabric of the *kgotla* has been lost over the years. In tracing the changes in the *kgotla* from 1871 to 2016, Grant highlighted the change of architectural character which he attributes to the 'changes in the role and function' of the *kgotla* in the contemporary Bakgatla culture.³² One of the several elements lost include the original vernacular huts - however the preserved elements of the historic core and the continuity of other aspects of traditions and culture suggest that there is a sense of continuity with the past.

Currently, the tribal historic core comprises the Phuthadikobo museum building perched on top of the Phuthadikobo hill built in 1921 as the Bakgatla National School (Figure 5.8). This building follows Cape Dutch colonial

²⁹Interview with Grant Sandy 2015, 'Former Director of Phuthadikobo Museum', ed. by Mwale Katlego (2015).

³⁰ As shown in Map 5.16 the area around the Kgotla in Mochudi, including the Phuthadikobo Museum, the Tribal Administration Offices, and the Church, is designated a special status as a Historic centre for purposes of revitalisation and preservation. A special detailed Development Plan should be prepared for this area with significant community participation. This plan should address the issues of preservation, infill, restoration, adaptive reuse and tourism.

³¹ Kgatleng District Council, 'Mochudi Planning Area Development Plan', Mochudi, Botswana: Kgatleng District Council, October 2008) (p. 12).

³² Sandy Grant, 'The Transformation of the Chief's *Kgotla* in Mochudi – 1871 to 2016', *South African Journal of Art History*, 31 (2016).

architecture and it became a national monument in September 2005.³³ This came after the enactment of the new Monuments and Relics Act in 2001 which extended the protection to historic buildings built after 1st June 1902,³⁴ owing to their architectural,³⁵ historic and social value.³⁶ The museum's listing description focuses on its historic significance, noting that the building was the first school building in the Kgatleng region.³⁷



Figure 5.8: Phuthadikobo museum on top of Phuthadikobo Hill (Source: Phuthadikobo Museum)

In terms of history, the former Bakgatla National School was the first school to be built at such scale in the country during the colonial period and was financed through community self-help.³⁸ In 1921 Isang Pilane and his

³³ Sandy Grant, 'The Phuthadikobo Museum: A Record of Involvement and Achievement, 1976-2006', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 38 (2006), p 66.

³⁴ Zeynep Aygen, *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation*, (New York: Routledge, 2003). Tsholofelo Cele Dichaba, 'From Monuments to Cultural Landscapes: Rethinking Heritage Management in Botswana', (Rice University, October, 2009).

³⁵ Interview with, 'Heritage Manager (Department of National Museum Art and Gallery), Gaborone', by Author (2015).

³⁶ Government of Botswana, 'Chapter 59:03 Monuments and Relics: Subsidiary Legislation', (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 2006).

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 9.

³⁸ Amos Pilane, 'Notes on Early Educational Efforts among the Bakgatla', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 5 (1973). Initiation regiment refers to a group of young men who have attended initiation school training as part of the rites of passage.

initiation regiment³⁹ began to clear the site on Phuthadikobo hill to build a new school, Mochudi National School, and sixteen years later a similar school building was built in the same way in Bakgatla village, Moruleng, South Africa. It was financed through community fundraising amongst the Bakgatla in Mochudi and Moruleng, while other community members offered voluntary labour.⁴⁰ The social value of the school building can be gleaned from the records describing this process. They describe men 'making bricks and slaking lime,' while long queues of women and men carried bricks up and down the Phuthadikobo Hill in human chains.⁴¹ This suggests that despite the difficulty of building on top of a steep hill, the location of the building on a prominent location was important to emphasise the significance of the building. As highlighted in Isang Pilane's speech in 1933, the location is "a picturesque hill" that will play a role in shaping the modern history of Bakgatla.⁴² Pilane also described at length his admiration of the white civilisation and having studied in Cape Town, we could deduce the inspiration for the aesthetics of the school building from his speech.⁴³ In this sense, the Cape Dutch colonial architecture takes on a different meaning much different from the identity of buildings in Cape Town. It symbolises progress, and acceptance of a western form of education and development. According to Homi Bhabha, the appropriation of colonial architecture is an act of 'mimicry' between the coloniser and the colonised. In this case, the "Other" is appropriated as his or her power is imagined.⁴⁴ This perspective helps us understand the meaning of the Colonial Cape Dutch architecture at the time it was appropriated for the Phuthadikobo building and other heritage buildings in the village.

³⁹ Sandy Grant, 'Phuthadikobo Museum Mochudi "The Conservation of the Mochudi National School: A Case Study in Botswana, Southern Africa"', in *Conservation Rehabilitation and Recyclage Congres international organize a Quebec*, ed. by Joseph Baker (Quebec: Les Presses Del L'Universite Laval, 1981).

⁴⁰ Grant, 'The Phuthadikobo Museum: A Record of Involvement and Achievement, 1976-2006'. Mantwana regiment contributed 5 pounds per head, by working in mines in South Africa.

⁴¹ Amos Pilane, 'Notes on Early Educational Efforts among the Bakgatla', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 5 (1973), 121.

⁴² Address delivered by Isang Pilane, Before the Bantu Studies Circle of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, included in full length in Schapera a short history of Bakgatla, Schapera, *A Short History of Bakgatla Ba Kgafela of Bechuanalena*, p. 52.

⁴³ Isang Pilane's speech was included in the appendices of a short paper by Isaac Schapera, *A Short History of the Bakgatla-Bagakgafela of Brchuanaland Protectorate*, (University of Cape Town: Communication from the school of Africa Studies, University of Cape Town Historical Papers, The University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1942).

⁴⁴ Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', *October*, 28 (1984).

The original building was architecturally noticeable for a building of its period and context. It has an H-shaped plan with a series of rooms along each range that were used as classrooms and are now used as exhibition rooms. Narrow window openings, since widened, lit the rooms on all the facades. A central hall with a courtyard in the back is used as a meeting room and gathering space. The rear and front of the building are lined by verandas which were common in colonial style architecture from British India to colonial Africa. A gabled roof with a red painted corrugated iron sheet finish provides the contrast to whitewashed walls (figure 5.9). A brief survey of historical buildings in Mochudi shows that many public buildings and houses in the village emulated this kind of architecture and it thus increasingly became familiar in local building traditions. This kind of architectural mimicry was not to conjure identity of the existing colonial population but began to form part of the identity of prestigious locally appropriated buildings. The majority of historic and heritage buildings in Botswana, surveyed and recorded by Herold (with a particular focus on the colonial period) demonstrate the same architectural language.

During its official opening in 1923, the building was described as a sign of 'progress.'⁴⁵ As one former student recalls, it was 'built on the splendid site on the hill, to be a torch of learning and progress.'⁴⁶ A contemporary source also commented that the building 'is a modern one in every respect and contains an excellent assembly hall. The classrooms are attractive, being airy and well lit.'⁴⁷ The building became vacant when the school moved to a bigger facility in 1974. It was then used as a District council chamber until its abandonment in 1975.⁴⁸ According to the museum director, the appropriation and transformation of the building into a museum in 1976 was well suited, since it

⁴⁵ Sandy Grant, 'A Very Remarkable School', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 8 (1976). Quoting Prince Arthur's speech; Isang Pilane also described the school in terms of modern civilisation of his community.

⁴⁶ Pilane, 'Notes on Early Educational Efforts among the Bakgatla'.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Grant, 'A Very Remarkable School', 83.

⁴⁸ Sandy Grant, 'A Past Abandoned? Some Experiences of a Regional Museum in Botswana', in *The Politics of the Past*, ed. by David Lowenthal and Peter Gathercole (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 1994), pp. 214-22 (p. 214).

is part of the cultural landscape and 'the building on its own is an exhibit.'⁴⁹ Its associations with both the national and tribal history were also instrumental in the designation as a national monument⁵⁰ and it is currently considered as an excellent example of colonial architecture.⁵¹

The first restoration done in 1976 was funded by a grant from the Dutch agency, Novib, with other sources of funding stemming from local organisations. New railings at the entrance were fitted, cracked floors were sealed and window reveals restored. The external walls were painted the external walls were painted in magnolia, slightly altering the white paint that is characteristic of the architectural style. The roof was repainted red to emphasise the Cape Dutch colonial tradition.⁵² The more recent restoration was funded by the American Embassy Fund for Cultural Preservation. Its intention is not to make drastic changes but restore the roof, interior spaces and repaint walls.⁵³ The social value of the building resides in its historic role in educating the community, while its location and Cape Dutch colonial aesthetic provided a backdrop for the building to an ongoing source of identity for residents, as a landmark for Mochudi and as an example of home-grown 'excellent' colonial architecture.'⁵⁴ (Figures 5.10 and 5.11)

⁴⁹ Grant, 'The Phuthadikobo Museum: A Record of Involvement and Achievement, 1976-2006'.

⁵⁰ Interview with the National Museum Specialist, by author (Gaborone, September 2016)

⁵¹ Government of Botswana, 'Chapter 59:03 Monuments and Relics: Subsidiary Legislation'.

⁵² An interview with Sandy Grant, 'Historian and Former Director of the Phuthadikobo Museum', by Author (2015); Grant, 'Phuthadikobo Museum Mochudi "The Conservation of the Mochudi National School: A Case Study in Botswana, Southern Africa"'; Grant, 'The Phuthadikobo Museum: A Record of Involvement and Achievement, 1976-2006'.

⁵³ Interview with Rapoo (in Mochudi Botswana), 'Museum Director', by Author (Gaborone, 2015).

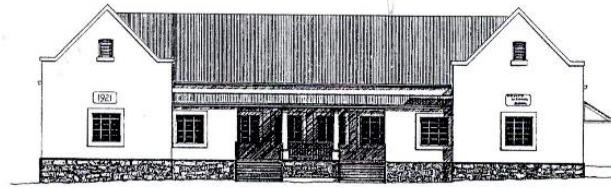
⁵⁴ Harmut Herold, *Historical Buildings in Botswana: Along the Musuem Route*, (Johannesburg, South Africa: Printcol, 2003).; Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Culttural Precinct Scoping Report I'.



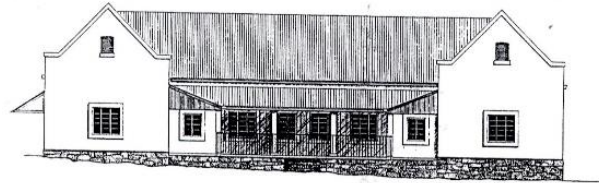
Figure 5.9: Bakgatla National School in the 1930s showing the gable-end form and veranda in the front. (Source: obtained from the private archives of Sandy Grant)



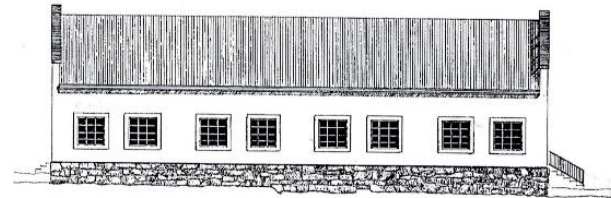
Figure 5.10: Bakgatla National School in the 1930's showing the gable-end form and veranda in the front (source: obtain from the private archives of historian, Sandy Grant) and figure 5.10 shows the restored museum (source: taken by author in 2015)



South Elevation



North Elevation



East Elevation

Figure 5.11: In a survey of architecture in Botswana during the colonial period Herold redrew the Phuthadikobo museum building shown in this drawing (source: Harmut Herold, *Historical Buildings in Botswana: Along the Museum Route*, p12)

Lower down the hill, accessed by a narrow stone path, is the *kgotla* defined by its collection of cultural buildings (figure 5.12) which include the chief's compound (*kgosi* Kgamanyane's house) with a dilapidated hut structure, the main house dating from 1872 (figure 5.13)⁵⁵ and twin grain silos both currently listed for their historic value.⁵⁶ Although it was customary for the chief to maintain his residence in the *kgotla*, since 1965 *kgosi* Linchwe II abandoned the current listed *kgosi* Kgamanyane's house to build a new residence on the other side of Phuthadikobo Hill and the successive tribal chiefs have followed this trend.⁵⁷ The abandonment of traditional practices such as polygamy and the growing sizes of houses have also meant that residences of royal wives are

⁵⁵ The age of date of the house is approximated

⁵⁶ Government of Botswana, 'Chapter 59:03 Monuments and Relics: Subsidiary Legislation'.

⁵⁷Sandy Grant, 'The Transformation of the Chief's *kgotla* in Mochudi – 1871 to 2016'. *South African Journal of Art History*, 31 (2016), 148-66

no longer found in the main *kgotla*. However, preserving the house of the chief as part of the relic of this place has cultural meaning for the Bakgatla community which is relevant to the socio-cultural hierarchy values of traditional society imprinted on the layout of the *kgotla* and the village and now valued as a representation of culture and traditions.⁵⁸ It is a reminder of the current central role of the chief as the custodian of culture, traditions and source of identity. This was confirmed in an interview with community members who argued that the chief's house is an essential architectural element which gives the *kgotla* its cultural meaning and historic value.⁵⁹ Indeed the architectural significance of the *kgosi* Kgamanyane's homestead in the *kgotla* has been stressed by Sandy Grant who argued that it is difficult to imagine the *kgotla* without the chief's homestead.⁶⁰ In this regard, the chief's homestead does contribute to a sense of place and cultural identity.⁶¹

A Tribal Police office building (figure 5.14) is opposite Kgamanyane's house and according to Harmunt Herold's book on *Historical Buildings in Botswana: Along the Museum Route*, the building is 'the oldest structure in Botswana'⁶² built in 1872, yet it does not form part of the national heritage list.⁶³ This building follows Cape Dutch colonial architecture and it is considered a part of tribal heritage by the community. A similar building sitting next to the Tribal offices is not listed and is currently used as the Tribal Administration office. (figure 5.15) The communal kraal is located at the entrance,⁶⁴ and its listing notes the past symbolic traditional use of the kraal for the burial of members of the royal family. Its inclusion suggests growing interest in less

⁵⁸ According to traditional spatial planning, the location of the chief's house is first determined while the rest of the wards are organised around, the main *kgotla*.

⁵⁹ Interview with community members, this was confirmed in an interview with community members who argued that maintaining the chief's house was essential in the *kgotla*. Anonymous R1, 'Interview with Residents of Mochudi', by author (2015); Anonymous R3, 'Community Members', by author (2015).

⁶⁰ Sandy Grant, 'One Man and His Heritage', *Mmegi*, (9 February 2004).

⁶¹ Sandy Grant, 'The Transformation of the Chief's *kgotla* in Mochudi – 1871 to 2016' *South African Journal of Art History*, 31 (2016), 148-66; R3, 'Community Members'.

⁶² Harmunt Herold, *Historical Buildings in Botswana: Along the Museum Route*, (Printcol, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2013)p. 18.

⁶³ It must be noted that the Tribal Police Building is considered by the community as part of the built heritage

⁶⁴ The listing states that: "The *kgotla* open space and a kraal where some members of the royal family are laid to rest are important. Both locales signify the symbolic and cosmology." Other essential relics include one of the grain silos.

monumental architectural spaces and an appreciation for the cultural landscapes associated with intangible cultural heritage, and notes that 'the locale signifies the symbolism of ancestral belief system and cosmology'.⁶⁵

Two traditional hut structures (figure 5.16) owned and preserved by the Phuthadikobo museum are located next to the foundation slab of an unfinished *kgotla* arena, and are presented as examples of traditional Bakgatla vernacular architecture.⁶⁶ These traditional huts are the last surviving part of the earlier 1872 character of 'thatched vernacular architecture...a neat, fairly uniform, somewhat sparse style..., subtly coloured wall decoration'⁶⁷ as described by Comaroff and Comaroff. As such the huts are representative of what has been lost in the tribal space. Other buildings which are not necessarily of heritage value but part of the *kgotla* include a recent office built for *kgosi* Kgafela Kgafela's law practice. The Dutch Reformed Church (figure 5.17) located along the road leaving the *kgotla* was built in 1877 and is listed for its historic value.⁶⁸ This building also follows the Cape Dutch colonial architecture. The remnants of the *kgotla* traditional structure are representative of Bakgatla architectural traditions, often noted as an impressive mode of societal and architectural organisation, defined through a series of 'enclosures with common spaces, public and private reflecting the cultural and social hierarchies of a patriarchal society through successive layering of space.'⁶⁹ The cultural significance and symbolism of the *kgotla* does not only depend on the built structures but the spatial relation of different elements which tell us a lot about social ties, hierarchy and use in cultural practices.

⁶⁵ Government of Botswana, 'Chapter 59:03 Monuments and Relics: Subsidiary Legislation'. (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 2006)

⁶⁶ The date of these structures and who built them to be confirmed with the museum director

⁶⁷ Schapera, *Picturing a Colonial Past: The African Photographs of Isaac Schapera*, p. 61.

⁶⁸ "...it is one of the oldest buildings still in use today for its function. The Dutch Reformed Church is traceable to their origin in the Transvaal." Government of Botswana, 'Chapter 59:03 Monuments and Relics: Subsidiary Legislation'. (Gaborone, Botswana: Government of Botswana, 2006)

⁶⁹ Amos Rapoport, 'The Nature of Cities and Their Capital Expressions', Amos Rapoport, 'The Nature of Cities and Their Capital Expressions', in *Capital Cities/Les Capitales: Perspectives Internationales/ International Perspectives*, ed. by John H. Taylor, Jean G. Lengelle, and Andrew Caroline (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), pp. 31-60 (p. 47).



Figure 5.12 The Kgotla now consists of the structures indicated in the figure above, from this we can see the significant transformation of the kgotla. The open space is still used for tribal gathering (Source: Nabeel Essa)



Figure 5.13: Dilapidated kgosi Kgamanyane's house (Source: Bakgatla Heritage Scoping Report)



Figure 5.14: Tribal Police office building is opposite Kgamanyane's house (source: taken by author in 2015). These buildings are part of colonial heritage.



Figure 5.15: tribal authority building (tribal authority office building is considered by the community as part of the built heritage but it is not listed), (source: Kutlwano Magazine online).



Figure 5.16: Two traditional hut structures owned and preserved by the Phuthadikobo Museum are located next to the foundation slab of an unfinished *kgotla* arena, and are presented as examples of traditional Bakgatla vernacular architecture, (source: taken by author in 2015)



Figure 5.17: DRC church building (source: taken by author 2015)

The *kgotla* as a ‘stage’ of culture and traditions

Apart from the symbolic value of the buildings in the *kgotla*, the most significant space but often less appreciated is the open space in the middle of the *kgotla* which is a ‘stage’ where cultural and traditional rituals occur.⁷⁰ Of equal importance are also the historic relics which frame this space, as previously discussed. The open space in the *kgotla* provides a setting for the representation of Bakgatla culture, traditions and intangible heritage; therefore helping towards the construction of cultural identity. Such practices include the revival of traditional initiation schools as a rite of passage, marking the transition of a teenager into adulthood, and the coronation of the tribal paramount chief. Indeed, the *kgotla* became the locus of ethnic identity representation in 2008, when Mochudi held the coronation of the paramount of *kgosi* Kgafela Kgafela II, the paramount chief of the Bakgatla, in the centre of the *kgotla*. The event attracted a national and regional following and was attended by dignitaries from South Africa, as well as tribal leaders from the Bakgatla, the Bafokeng, the Bahurusthe, the Bapedi and a minister representing

⁷⁰ For example, although Isaac Schapera’s anthropological account of Bakgatla in Mochudi provides a meticulous account of the life and cultural traditions in Mochudi and Bakgatla in general there is a significant gap in literature to relate this to architecture.

the South African government. Kgosi Kgafela was dressed in what could be described as modern clothes fashioned as traditional gear, a crown made of feathers and a leopard skin was draped over his shoulders by the President Lieutenant General, Dr Seretse Khama Ian Khama, as a symbolism of his official installation.⁷¹ Today these spaces are characterised by a combination of modern and traditional which are not necessarily binary opposites but complementary. For example, the kgotla is used in traditional ceremonies, as well as a space for gathering for ministers and government officials to address the community. Other functions include tribal Administrative offices and customary court presided over by the chief.

Initiation schools amongst Bakgatla are classified as Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) by UNESCO.⁷² In 1975 the revival of traditional initiation schools was criticised by the then president of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, for encouraging distinct tribal identities which could contribute to tribalism. In his view, such traditional practices threatened the 'Tswana cultural nationalism' which the one nation of Botswana was constructed upon.⁷⁴ Instead the Bakgatla were viewed as promoting the notion of difference⁷⁵ through such traditions, since the majority of the tribes in Botswana had abandoned initiation schools during the colonial period.⁷⁶ However, history suggests that the Bakgatla tribe have always been prolific in the revival of traditional initiation schools.⁷⁷ For example, although initiation schools were abandoned in 1902 due to the influence of Christianity, colonial rule and

⁷¹ Under the Chieftainship Act the chief is recognised by the Minister, who reserves the right to choose not to recognise someone as a chief.

⁷² UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Cultural Heritage, Paris Keletso Gaone Setlhabi, 'The Politics of Culture and the Transient Culture of Bojale : Bakgatla-Baga-Kgafela Women's Initiation in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40 (2014).

⁷³ It must be noted that other tribal communities used to practice initiation schools, but they have been long abandoned in the past.

⁷⁴ Richard Werbner, *Reasonable Radicals and Citizenship in Botswana: The Public Anthropology of Kalanga Elites*, (Indiana: Bloomington, Indiana university Press, 2004), pp. 38-40.

⁷⁵ Sandy Grant, 'The Revival Of "Bogwera" In the Kgatleng — Tswana Culture or Rampant Tribalism? A Description of the 1982 "Bogwera"', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 16 (1984); Setlhabi, 'The Politics of Culture and the Transient Culture of Bojale : Bakgatla-Baga-Kgafela Women Initiation in Botswana'.

⁷⁶ Grant, 'The Revival Of "Bogwera" In the Kgatleng — Tswana Culture or Rampant Tribalism? A Description of the 1982 "Bogwera"'.
⁷⁷ Morongwa Nancy Mosothwane, 'An Ethnographic Study of Initiation Schools among the Bakgatla Ba Ga Kgafela at Mochudi (1874-1988)', *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 15 (2001); Keletso Gaone Setlhabi, 'Bojale Drum: Material Culture in Living Contexts', *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 57 (2014).

modernity, scholars have noted that traditional initiation schools (*bogwera* for males and *bojale* for females) then became 'transient' and were often revived to correspond with the installation of a new chief or according to the interests of the current chief.⁷⁸

In the past, initiation schools were used as a way of instilling morality, forming the regiment and to instil hierarchy in the community.⁷⁹ The last revived initiation schools took place shortly after the installation of Kgosi Kgafela II in 2009 with the attendance of members of Bakgatla in both Moruleng and Mochudi. These ceremonies were used to enforce tribal unity, to assert a sense of ethnic identity and to establish a sense of continuity with the community that had become increasingly urbanised. In conjunction with urbanisation, the community had begun to identify with the wider nation and scholars have shown that these practices have become part of the 'invented traditions' since they are not performed in a strictly traditional format.⁸⁰ Nonetheless the initiation school practices continue to linger on in the present as important cultural traditions and a source of cultural identity often revived when required.

Traditionally, initiation ceremonies took place outside the village and at some point, the graduates, dressed in their traditional attire, would gather at the main *kgotla* for the regiment to be presented to the community. This shows that the cultural function of the *kgotla* as a space of tribal gathering has continued. It is still seen as important despite having undergone significant transformation over the years (Figures 5.18, 5.19 and 5.20).⁸¹

⁷⁸ Mosothwane, 'An Ethnographic Study of Initiation Schools among the Bakgatla Ba Ga Kgafela at Mochudi (1874-1988)'.

⁷⁹ Setlhabi, 'The Politics of Culture and the Transient Culture of Bojale : Bakgatla-Baga-Kgafela Women's Initiation in Botswana'.

⁸⁰ Grant, 'The Revival Of "Bogwera" In the Kgatleng — Tswana Culture or Rampant Tribalism? A Description of the 1982 "Bogwera"'.

⁸¹ The *kgotla* is used for these types of gatherings, and at one point in the year become a spectacle of cultural identity representation and was culturally and architecturally composed for this purpose.

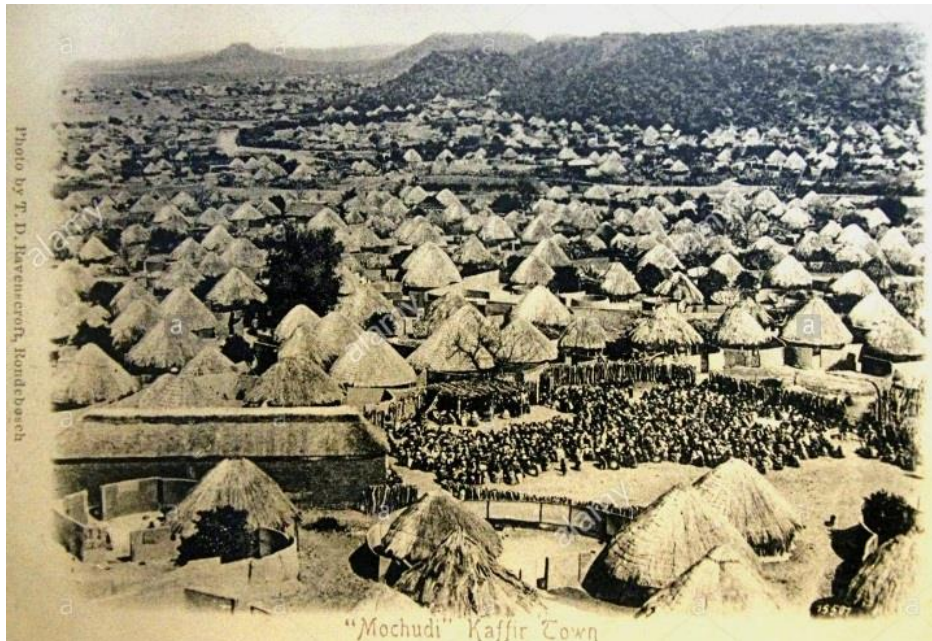
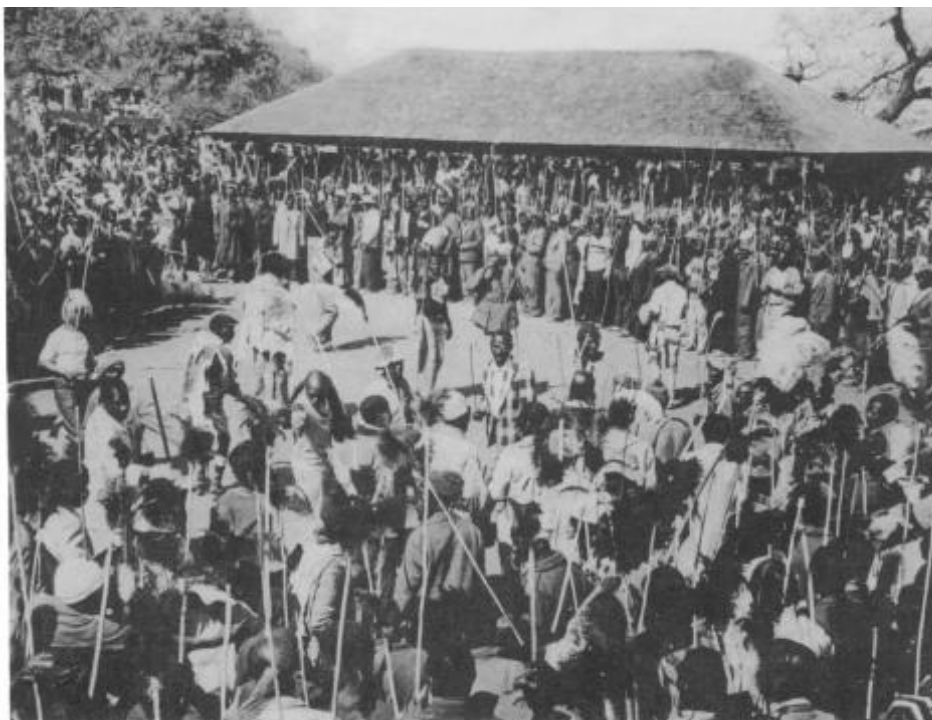


Figure 5.18: Mochudi *kgotla* in 1907 showing people gathered in *kgotla* defined by houses and other structures (Source: www.visualphotoes.com)



The new regiment (*mophato*), the Mangana, accompanied by their 'parents', debouch into the *kgotla*.
(Photo: Sandy Grant)

Figure 5.19: *kgotla* structure in 1976 was a small thatched pavilion and the open gathering space was still maintained (Source: Grant 1973, p6)



Figure 5.20: Kgotla in Mochudi with a temporary structure on top of the foundation (picture taken by author in 2015)

The earlier picture in (Figure 5.18) from 1907 shows a tree and a pergola shaped out of logs circumscribing the central space. The chief and his elders and uncles preside over the gathering community, shaded from the sun. In (figure 5.19) and (figure 5.20) taken in 1976 we notice the structure changing into some form of a thatched pavilion supported on timber poles while participants (graduates from the initiation) gathered in the middle. The changes in the built structure could be attributed to changes in building preferences, for example as of recently most *kgotla* structures around the country are thatched pavilions. In Mochudi the old structure was also dismantled following the dilapidation of its timber.⁸² This suggests that the built structures are less important than their function (figure 5.22 and 5.21), but rather the central space used for gathering and rituals, and its relationship to context, providing openness and shade is more important. However, recent architectural intervention proposals suggest that there is a deliberate reference to vernacular architecture in interpreting what the architectural identity of the *kgotla* structures should be or how they are imagined by both the community and architects. Such perspectives in

⁸² Grant, 'The Transformation of the Chief's *Kgotla* in Mochudi – 1871 to 2016'.

designing the new structures highlight the contestation over meaning. The Kgotla has now become a site of struggle over modernity, vernacular architectural styles and the need to preserve cultural heritage - a struggle which will be discussed below.

During my inquiries, I interviewed residents who viewed the *kgotla* as central to their sense of identity, through the way it maintained cultural functions such as providing a space of gathering for initiation and public addresses by the chief. For them the physical presence of the *kgotla* is perceived as the epicentre of the village and culture, a place for their chief-who is perceived as the custodian of culture and traditions even though he does not physically reside there. It provides a connection to their sense of cultural authenticity and belonging which perhaps would be eroded in its absence. The presence of some of the preserved traditional huts, *kgosi* Kgamanyane's house, tribal offices and grain silos, all currently planned for restoration, are the material remains of the traditional layout, which maintain its material authenticity given that some aspects have already undergone significant change. As one resident commented with a sense of nostalgia '... when someone asks about heritage we take them up them up the hill to see the museum and the *kgotla*. In the *kgotla* there are a couple of structures that are important such as the chief's house.'⁸³ In this sense the traces of the past, derived from the traditional and cultural organisation of the *kgotla*, are valued as representations of past customs and traditions. Hence built heritage conjures up a sense of pride in the appreciation of regional/tribal heritage. However, where the buildings and structures fall short in the construction of ethnic identity, the traditional rituals such as initiation schools and tribal gatherings have filled this gap. Here the *kgotla* has two meanings; it is a place of belonging for the Bakgatla tribal community and a sense of continuity with the past. Therefore, if the historic relics are the material reminders of past traditions, then the central space is a stage and locus for culture and traditional rituals and altogether these contribute to a sense of place (figure 5.23).

⁸³ R1, 'Interview with Residents of Mochudi'; R3, 'Community Members'.



Figure 5.21: The *kgotla* thatched pavilion during one of the community meetings (Source: CPM architects)



Figures 5.22: These pictures show the *kgotla* open thatched pavilion and the pavilion at the time it was demolished. (Source: Mmegi online).



Figure 5.23: The open space is used for cultural and political gatherings. This picture shows the *kgotla* gathering during the graduation ceremony of the initiates in 2008 (Source; The Kings Journal blog found at <https://kgosikgafelaiijournalbooks.wordpress.com/the-kings-moments/>.)

The *Kgotla* as a place of contestation: the politics of identity

A visit to the *kgotla* now conjures a different image of the cultural spectacle discussed earlier. As previously highlighted these traditions are transient,⁸⁴ with the latest initiation ceremony held in 2009. During my fieldwork in 2015 and 2016, the central part of the *kgotla* consisted of an unfinished foundation for a *kgotla* arena and some of the historic buildings were dilapidated, serving as a constant reminder of the unresolved cultural heritage designation in the *kgotla*. The current meaning of the *kgotla* is to provide a place for cultural identity representation through revived traditions, and a connection to the past (continuity with the past). It has also become a place for the contestation of identity and the meaning of heritage, between the local government, the Bakgatla Tribal Authority and the community. This is despite the *kgotla* having been designated as a conservation area. The recent proposals by the government and the community-led heritage development initiatives in

⁸⁴ Mosothwane, 'An Ethnographic Study of Initiation Schools among the Bakgatla Ba Ga Kgafela at Mochudi (1874-1988)'; Setlhabi, 'The Politics of Culture and the Transient Culture of Bojale : Bakgatla-Baga-Kgafela Women Initiation in Botswana'.

Mochudi have filled this preservation gap to some extent, but these have remained ad hoc and have failed to achieve autonomy and consensus between the tribal community and the national government which shall be illustrated. This is because here, identity is imagined by appropriating Bakgatla traditional vernacular architectural for political ends, which demonstrates a shift to revive vernacular architecture as a demonstration of identity at the expense of the existing heritage.

Re-imagining the symbol of the *kgotla*: a new cultural iconography

The 2002 proposals for the administrative and customary court offices in the *kgotla* by the local government are illustrative of this identity politics. The proposed administrative and customary court offices were to cost 5.2 million pula and to accommodate local civil servants who work in the *kgotla* alongside the tribal chief because the existing occupied colonial heritage building had begun to dilapidate. The Local Government's mandate in Mochudi (and the whole of Botswana) includes the control over the development of new projects such as buildings and infrastructure. Therefore, it is concerned with the provision of new building facilities in line with the national government policies of Rural Development,⁸⁵ while the issues of heritage development at regional level are the responsibility of Tribal Authorities, Tribal Community and the Phuthadikobo regional museum.

The proposal entailed the compulsory purchase and demolition of the existing residences and the colonial heritage buildings. It revealed divergent viewpoints from the national government, politicians and the Bakgatla community. For the national government and politicians, the project was part of the long-term vision of modernising rural infrastructure which is in line with the national strategy of improving rural livelihoods.⁸⁶ In contrast, for some of the community members the proposals overlooked the historic

⁸⁵ Sectaf Architects, 'Proposed Customary Court at Mochudi, Architectural Design Report', in *Gaborone*, (Sectaf Architects, 2008). Rural development policy

⁸⁶ Ibid.

context since it did not preserve the social, cultural and historic significance of *kgosi Kgamanyane's* house and the Tribal Police Station building. The proposal was abandoned, because of unavailability of land to build the new offices. However, it was resuscitated a year later in 2003, and during this time, compounds around the *kgotla* which include the houses of the ex-wives of the chief were eventually demolished, and a new access road was built.⁸⁷ National aspirations of progress and modernisation won out over deep-rooted ideas on maintaining ethnic cultural identity and a sense of continuity with the past within the cultural elite and community. This contestation highlighted the limitations of cultural heritage policy which focuses on buildings of national significance rather than regional or local significance. The latest unfinished and envisioned developments include an amphitheatre as a modern edifice of the *kgotla* which began in 2004, and an “open air living museum”⁸⁸ proposed in 2014.⁸⁹ These projects have not all been fully realised, but tell us a lot about the contested nature of what constitutes heritage in Mochudi and what it should look like.

The new customary court offices were designed by Sectaf Architects. They envision two single storey modern offices (Figure 5.24) following an elliptical form with thatched roofs. Its footprint was to cover the majority of the area previously used during tribal gatherings. One block was to accommodate the functions of the customary court including court spaces and offices while the other was to be a police office. A courtyard separated the two buildings and was to be used as a parade area for the police staff who work in the tribal administration. In their design report Sectaf Architects make explicit connections to culture and identity with respect to the design inspiration and response. The design is described as “post-modern African Architecture” and an “African renaissance” intent on portraying an ‘African regionalism’ by using organic forms and, materials reminiscent of the layout of a typical Bakgatla traditional village discussed earlier.⁹⁰ The notion of an “African renaissance” in

⁸⁷Grant, 'One Man and His Heritage'. 2015, 'Former Director of Phuthadikobo Museum'.

⁸⁸ Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I'.

⁸⁹ The open air living museum scheme is proposed as an alternative (by the Tribal Authorities) to the two government schemes for an office block and amphitheatre.

⁹⁰ Architects, 'Proposed Customary Court at Mochudi, Architectural Design

relation to architecture has wider theoretical implications. On the one hand, it could be interpreted to imply that the new structures constitutes a search for architectural forms that are distinctly “African” while on the other it could imply the critical engagement with aspects of culture such as the use of spaces for rituals and the meanings associated with these spaces.⁹¹ This idea has not gained currency in relation to architecture in Botswana. In this context, the appropriation of vernacular architecture was clearly applied in order to depict the identity of the community space - a poorly designed approach.

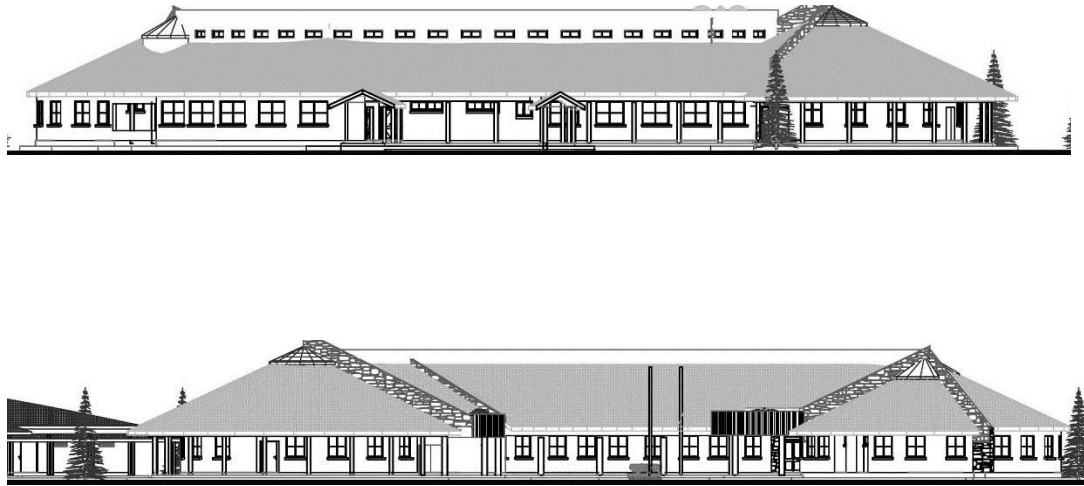


Figure 5.24: South and North Elevations of the proposed modern offices in the *kgotla* (Source: Sectaf Architects Gaborone)

Report'.

⁹¹ Sabine Marschall, 'Learning from the Africa Vernacular: A Practical Application of African Renaissance?', *South African Journal of Africa Renaissance*, 15 (2001).

A similar design approach has been demonstrated within the design of the *kgotla* arena commissioned by the Tribal Authority in 2008.⁹² The authority sought to build a much larger structure for the purposes of public gathering located in the heart of the tribal space, suited for the ‘imagination of the new Bakgatla sovereign.’⁹³ These sentiments were captured in *kgosi Kgafela II*’s developmental statements at a cultural event in South Africa. During the Bakgatla Heritage Week in 2010, he said that ‘...we have taken bold decisions to revive some of our nation’s most sacred traditional and institutions to give them new meaning and context within a modernising society.’⁹⁴ It is not clear how *kgosi Kgafela II*’s ideals of a neo-traditional society were to be interpreted in the design of the new *kgotla* structure. However, the ambition of a much larger structure can be gleaned from the existing design (Figure 5.25), and local newspaper reports.⁹⁵ One report proposed that *kgosi Kgafela II* “destroyed the old area, which was much smaller, and the communal kraal when he took over because he wanted to have more befitting structures in which to receive *mephato*⁹⁶ upon their graduation and homecoming.”⁹⁷ When the old structure was torn down to build the new one, some critics suggested that the new structure is simply nothing but ‘a cultural monument’⁹⁸ which draws inspiration selectively from vernacular architecture and traditions of a *kgotla*.

The *kgotla* arena was designed by Christian Phaladze of CPM Architects. The plan shows an L-shaped amphitheatre with elevated seating reminiscent of the seating arrangement of a Greek ancient theatre (Figure 5.26 and 5.27). References to culture and traditions were made in an interview with the lead architect, who argued that the community wanted something that could

⁹² This project was to be built just before *kgosi Kgafela Kgafela*’s coronation. It was to be financed through community donations. Newspaper reports highlighted how some of these developments were not suited for the *kgotla* given the scale. Some argued that these new structures would destroy the relationship of the *kgotla* to the context and hence destroyed the sense of place.

⁹³ *kgosi Kgafela Kgafela II* of Monkagedi Gaotlhobogwe, ‘Bakgatla Mark Heritage Week in Sa’, *Mmegi Online*, (10 February 2017); Ornluf Gulbrandsen, *The State and the Social: State Formation in Botswana and Its Precolonial and Colonial Genealogies*, (United States: Berghahn Books, 2012).

⁹⁴ Gaotlhobogwe, ‘Bakgatla Mark Heritage Week in Sa’.

⁹⁵ Unknown, ‘From a Mokgatla Journo’s Desk’, in *Kutlwano Magazine*, (Gaborone, Botswana: BOPA, December 2016).

⁹⁶ “*Mephato*” is a Setswana word which means “Regiment”-similar to army regiment

⁹⁷ Lerato Maleke, ‘The Arrested Development of Mochudi’, *Mmegi Online*, (04 February, 2003).

⁹⁸ *Ibid*.

symbolise their cultural identity and this was achieved through a synthesis of materials used in vernacular architecture (including as thatch), while in plan the articulation of space was more akin to an amphitheatre and the interpretation of socio-cultural hierarchies during tribal gatherings or customary court hearings.⁹⁹ For example, the paramount chief, other members of the royal family and government officials would preside over the tribe in a sheltered space. This interpretation of culture and traditions in the *kgotla* is rather reductive because historically *kgotla* structures have always been modest in size and scale. The significance of these areas as a place of gathering is the ability to maintain a connection to the existing buildings, framed by the existing buildings, rather than the sitting arrangement. For example, when the *kgotla* structure was built in 1998, it was an open-air pavilion supported on thin columns, maintaining a connection with the preserved traditional huts behind it and the rest of the setting. As such the proposed structure does not only misinterpret this relationship, but invented its own symbolic tradition. The new structure has not been fully realised it stands a foundation level largely because of this contestation¹⁰⁰ and reportedly lack of funds to complete it.



Figure 5.25: A rendered 3D model showing the new *kgotla* amphitheatre in relation to the setting (Source: CPM architects, Gaborone)

⁹⁹ Interview with Phaladze Christian 2016, 'Cpm Architect and Director', ed. by Mwale Katlego (2016).

¹⁰⁰ Lerato Maleke, 'The Arrested Development of Mochudi'. *Mmegi Online* 04 February, 2003

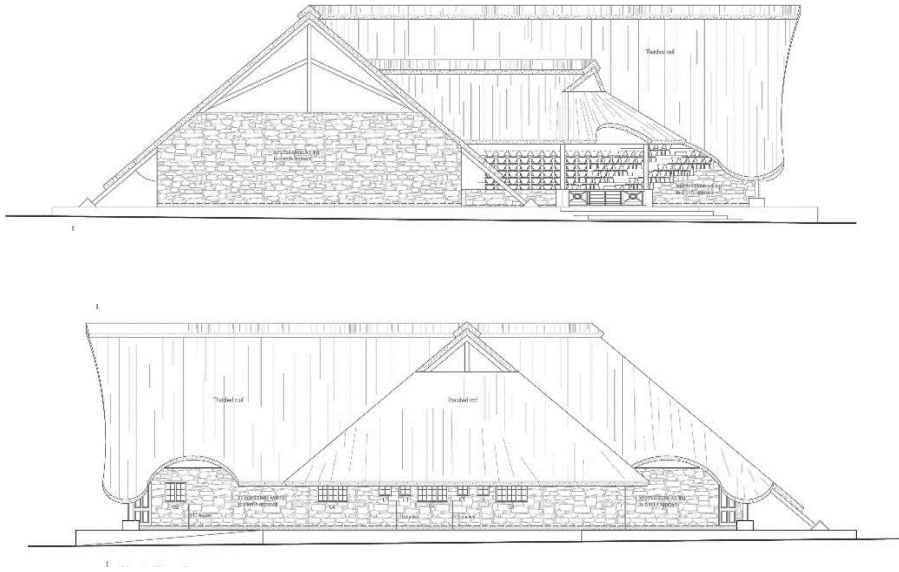


Figure 5.26: South and North elevations showing the thatched amphitheatre (Source: CPM Architects, Gaborone)

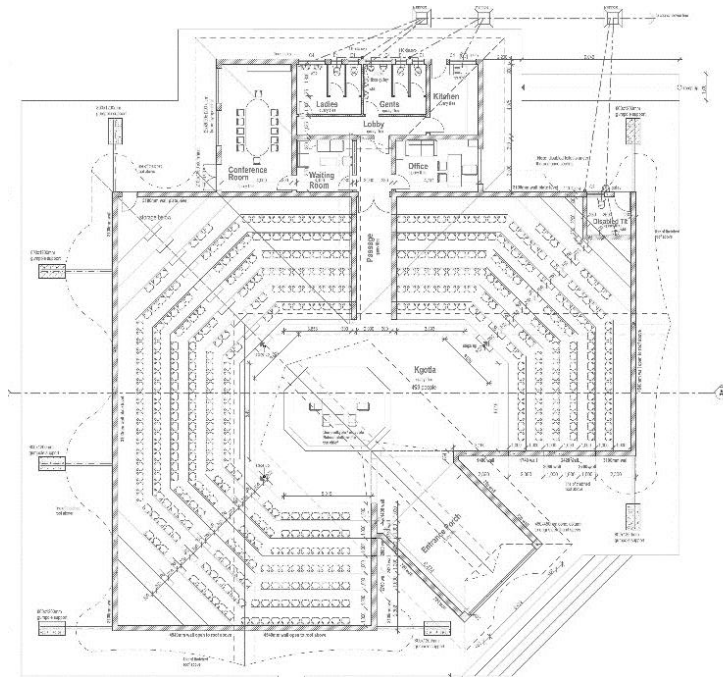


Figure 5.27: The plan of the *kgotla* amphitheatre showing the seating layout that was designed to emulate how the tribal gatherings (Source: CPM Architects, Gaborone)



Figure 5.28: The site plan shows the new amphitheatre foundation that is not completed and the demolished listed original cattle kraal and the demolished residence. (Source: redrawn by author)

Similarly, the office building was heavily contested for two reasons; the destruction of the historic character of the area and the lack of preservation of the existing historic buildings. In addition, the building can also be criticised for its reductive interpretation of culture and identity as well as for the way it has politicised identity. Here culture and heritage are reduced to the aesthetics and symbolism associated with the pursuit of cultural iconography, rather than responding to the complexity of heritage in tribal spaces. This

study does not necessarily suggest that nothing should be built in tribal space, but rather it suggests that new insertions should be cognizant of the spatial relations and the sense of space created by the different buildings in the *kgotla*. It should be done in a manner that respects the past, rather than replace it in quite an unimaginative manner.

These proposals also intended to demolish residences in the north of the *kgotla*. Listed buildings were to be demolished to make way for the new offices which include the Tribal Police Office, Tribal administration offices and part of *kgosi* Kgamanyane's compound (Figure 5.28). This prompted criticism from the press and from the Bakgatla community members given that the compound is listed for its historic value. Arguments against these schemes cited the deviation from the character of the historic core. The historic character is emphasised in terms of the scale of the building in relation to the existing fabric and the style of building. One heritage specialist emphasised this perspective by saying that 'whatever should be inserted in the *kgotla* should be sensitive to the texture of place,'¹⁰¹ (suggesting an approach more akin to regeneration or conservation of the already existing heritage buildings) and that new structures would not dominate the context. These concerns were echoed in a heritage scoping report commissioned by the community stated;

*The scale, detailing and the siting of the new large Kgotla amphitheatre has an impact on the site where what was traditionally an open and multifunctional social and institutional heart is now built up and diametrically changes the relationship with its context. This development, as well as the demolition of nearby houses and the possibility of the new tribal offices in the vicinity, all point to dire need for a site development master plan and conservation policy for this area.*¹⁰²

This criticism suggests that the architectural heritage value in the *kgotla* does not only lie in the built spaces but also in the spatial relationship to

¹⁰¹ Totem media interview, Nabeel Essa

¹⁰² Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I', (p. 69).

different parts of the local tribal landscape. Once again, the proposal remained on paper and was not realised due to concerns over the destruction of *Kgosi Kgamanyane's* house. It does however reveal that national aspirations of progress and modernisation were prioritised by the government over the deep-rooted ideas on maintaining cultural identity and a sense of continuity with the past by the community.

Alternative ideas for restoring the already existing colonial heritage buildings were continuously raised by some activists and tribal leaders - their argument being that the buildings form part of the symbolic meaning of the *kgotla* and are still central to their identity and history.¹⁰³ As previously mentioned the compound consists of a now dilapidated main house which follows the Cape Dutch colonial style house, a round hut (mix of traditional building technology and modern) and a 'rare' traditional granary. It captures a timeline of domestic vernacular architectural development through a mix of different styles, traditional and colonial.¹⁰⁴ Its survival is because it is privately owned by the community. Hence, its appreciation stems from historic value and significantly the cultural meaning in the community, given that the compound belongs to the chief, who is 'now perceived as the custodian of traditions and culture.' Arguably it is one of the few surviving relics of the past in the *kgotla*. This suggests that preserving the chief's compound has become important in preserving a sense of continuity through a 'typical traditional layout' of the *kgotla*; it is now viewed as the 'standard ingredient of the *kgotla*.'¹⁰⁵

Consequently, retaining the chief's old compound within it has gained more significance particularly at a time when the role of the tribal leaders is now a source of contention between national government and the Bakgatla tribal community.¹⁰⁶ When the houses of the ex-wives of the previous chief (*Kgosi*

¹⁰³2015, 'Former Director of Phuthadikobo Museum', Sandy Grant *One Man and his Heritage*, Mmegi Newspaper, 9/8/2004

¹⁰⁴ Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report 1'.

¹⁰⁵ 2015, 'Former Director of Phuthadikobo Museum'.

¹⁰⁶ (For example, following the Bakgatla Paramount chief is currently in exile in South Africa

Kgamanyane)¹⁰⁷ and a new access road were built, *kgosi* Molefi Kgamanyane refused compulsory purchase of his compound, arguing that the house is of historic importance.¹⁰⁸ Overlooking culture and heritage in this case is clear, but also compulsory purchase and demolition of inhabited houses erodes the balance between the 'everyday life' of the residents which occurs alongside the official, cultural and other mundane activities in the *kgotla*. The everyday ensures that the tribal space retains its sense of place and does not fall into the trap of becoming an imposed typical 'tribal/cultural heritage space' meant for tourism as in Moruleng Cultural Precinct that will be discussed in the next chapter.

The contestation also morphed into the politics between the traditional tribal leadership and the modern state. The tribal leadership refused to allow ministers to address *kgotla* meetings in Mochudi in 2014 in protest about the state meddling in cultural and heritage issues.¹⁰⁹ It also resulted in a further protest by the Bakgatla tribal community who questioned why the government could not provide alternative offices outside the *kgotla* for its employees.¹¹⁰

The explicit use of cultural references amounted to the politicisation of identity and a reductive interpretation of culture and identity. A closer examination of the proposals also shows that the design envisioned a divergent understanding of the traditions and rituals of the *kgotla*, and emphasised the role of modern governance, a very formal 'office-like' articulation of space which ignores the existing use of space for cultural and traditional ceremonies discussed earlier. It focused exclusively on the court function, which by nature deviates from the values of the *kgotla* where the chief conducts his affairs whether trials or gathering in an open public area. In this sense the openness of the *kgotla*, is seen as a socio-spatial embodiment of shared community space for political, social and cultural purposes. Here the

¹⁰⁷ Previous chief Kgamanyane who established Mochudi, and converted into Christianity thus divorced his polygamous wives and some of them relocated their residences away from the *kgotla*

¹⁰⁸ Grant, 'One Man and His Heritage '.

¹⁰⁹ Lerato Maleke, "Kgotala E, Ke Yame'-Kgosi Tells Minister', *Mmegi*, (March 2014).

¹¹⁰ Ephraim Keoreng, 'Ministres Barres from Addressing Mochudi Kgotala', *Mmegi*, (2014).

political function of the *kgotla* is to provide a platform for the parliamentarians and ministers to address the community on political matters and everyone is invited to make a contribution. Culturally, it also derives its meaning from the traditional, cultural and contemporary values, to reinforce social hierarchies and to conjure ethnic cultural identity. The use of cultural references in both cases acknowledges culture and heritage. However, both cases are also reduced to a neo-vernacular architectural approach that was assumed to also be adopted by the community.

Instead, the community advocated for the preservation of their cultural heritage in order to protect their 'cultural roots for the future generations.'¹¹¹The project was seen as a threat to ethnic identity and heritage.¹¹² As one resident comment, "*We are interested in developing our cultural heritage; however the new developments we get tend to focus on building new things only. We would like to see both old and new being developed.*"¹¹³ A divergent view came from the politicians who argued that the community's resistance was essentially a hindrance to much-needed development in the village,¹¹⁴ implying that the new court offices are a sign of modernity and progress. The new office scheme had no direct input from the Tribal Authorities, just from their representatives in the Local Government Authorities. This is because such developments in Botswana are carried out through a top-down approach as emphasised earlier, where the community have no agency or say in the conceptualisation of the scheme.

This also reflects the ongoing threat to national identity, where by tribal communities and other minorities are currently repressed over fears of tribalism. A closer look also reveals that this approach also extends to the process of applying for planning permission. Although listed buildings are protected under the Monuments and Relics Act of 2001, enforced by the Department of National Museums Monuments and Art Gallery (NMMAG),

¹¹¹ R1, 'Interview with Residents of Mochudi'. by author (2016)

¹¹² Molefi Kgamanyane.

¹¹³ R1, 'Interview with Residents of Mochudi by author (2016) '; R3, 'Interview with Community Members'.by Author (2016)

¹¹⁴ Maleke, 'The Arrested Development of Mochudi'.

the planning board does not necessarily include representations from the relevant department.¹¹⁵ According to scholars the situation is compounded further by the weakly institutionalised heritage policies,¹¹⁶ where by different tools for the protection of heritage are used by different departments and do not necessarily work coherently.¹¹⁷ For example, the planning process requires an Archaeological Impact Assessment to protect the historic buildings and this was not considered in the application for planning process. On one level, this reveals the uncoordinated and poor heritage legislative tools. According to the application for planning permit an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is also required. It was approved and most of the time the department in charge was the Botswana National Museum Art and Gallery. It seems the Department of National Museum Art and Gallery should have had this role - thus the appropriate channels were not followed.¹¹⁸

The kgotla, as a historic relic, the proposal for an 'open-air living museum'

The ongoing politics between the Bakgatla tribal leaders and the government has meant that none of the projects discussed previously have been implemented apart from the partially built *kgotla* amphitheatre. In 2011 *kgosi* Kgafela Kgafela was accused of enforcing traditionalistic ideas of power in the Kgatleng District by inventing cultural and traditional values and enforcing his own rules and ideas on morality.¹¹⁹ This included inventing traditions such as the use of 'corporal punishment', illegal control of other aspects of

¹¹⁵ Section 5 of Town and Country Planning Act gives the minister liberty to choose who sits on the planning board, as such he/she chooses representatives from different ministries such as Public Works, Land, Tourism, Health and Agriculture. This does not necessarily mean that an expert on historic buildings from the DNMMAG is always represented. See Government of Botswana, 'Chapter 32:09 Town and Country Planning Act', ed. by Government of Botswana, (p. 25).

¹¹⁶ Paul Lane, 'Future Urban Growth and Archaeological Heritage Management: Some Implications for Research Activity in Africa', *Conservation and management of archaeological sites*, 13 (2011).

¹¹⁷ Susan Osireditse Keitumetse, 'The Cultural Implications of a Cbrm I Programme for Community Tourism Development in Botswana', in *Heritage and Environment*, (Glasgow, June, 2007); Merlo S. and Mothilatshipi S. M., 'Urbanisation of Traditional Settlements in Botswana: Some Aspects of Heritage Management', in *Urbanisation of Rural Areas in Botswana*, (Gaborone, Botswana, 1-23, 2012).

¹¹⁸ Grant, 'One Man and His Heritage '.

¹¹⁹ Linguist, 'Bakgatla Royals Flogging and Fleeing', *Sunday Standard*, (09 September 2015); Christine Pörsel, 'Unity, Diversity or Separation? The Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela in the Borderlands of Southern Africa', *Historia*, 59 (2014).

everyday life such as stipulating operation times for bars and frustrating developmental initiatives in Mochudi village.¹²⁰ Kgosi Kgafela and other Bakgatla royals were taken to court over allegations of the illegal administration of corporal punishment and this led to Kgafela's suspension from the House of Chiefs.¹²¹ Kgosi Kgafela subsequently fled to South Africa on a self-imposed exile in 2012 and this case has been extensively covered in the media.

However, in 2015 the Bakgatla Tribal Authority in Mochudi working in the Bakgatla-ba Kgafela Tribal Authority in Moruleng conducted a heritage scoping project in the area around the historic core in Mochudi with the aim of developing the area into a heritage precinct. The new heritage precinct was to offer an alternative to the on-going politics since it was initiated by both the Bakgatla tribal communities in Moruleng and Mochudi. Furthermore, it was intended as an antithesis to the previous proposals in that the heritage precinct design and heritage scoping would follow a different mode of cultural production where the design team does not impose decisions about heritage on the community and hence it would involve bottom-up decision-making processes.¹²²

The design and conservation proposals were prepared by Totem Media, a South African heritage consultancy which comprised a team of heritage specialists, architects, historians, film-makers, artists and museum specialists. This new proposal was also a response to the on-going loss of fragile heritage in the tribal space. In this proposal, the historic core is imagined as an in-situ open-air living museum. The rationalisation for the open-air living museum was inspired by the already existing architectural heritage and the living cultural traditions within the village. According to the interviewed members of the project team, their approach was informed by mapping the already existing material heritage and interviewing community members to understand the significance and meaning of architectural heritage in the tribal

¹²⁰ Linguist, 'Bakgatla Royals Flogging and Fleeing'. *Sunday Standard*, (09 September 2015)

¹²¹ Under the section of Bogosi Act (Chieftainship Act), Chapter 41:01 the Minister in the Ministry of Local Government has the power to derecognise a seating tribal chief.

¹²² Gaborone Skype Interview with Gerard Francis in 2015, 'Historian and Filmmaker Involved in the Bakgatla Heritage', by author (2015).

space.¹²³ In the proposal, all heritage buildings are to be restored and presented as artefacts in the landscape, to represent a narrative of the evolution of a tribal landscape, with a focus on the representation of vernacular architecture, illuminating the symbolic value of living culture and heritage in the *kgotla*. The value of this approach was described as important to represent, “*the palimpsest of history and social narrative of the site.*”¹²⁴ Kgosi Kgamanyane’s homestead was to be an example of this narrative. Its colonial style house and vernacular hut and granary were to show the dynamic nature of the Bakgatla heritage and identity. The Tribal police building would be restored and used as an event space. Other culturally significant structures no longer in use such as the kraal and grain silos would also be part of the narrative of place. The preserved structures would be a representation of “traditional building technology, decoration and social demarcation and treatment of space.”¹²⁵ This meant that these culturally significant, yet redundant buildings become centre stage as historic relics that may be viewed by tourists as part of the heritage trail, while other buildings in use would continue to support the everyday life activities and socio-cultural practices.

This project has not been fully realised because of ongoing political disagreements between Kgosi Kgafela Kgafela and Kgosi Nyalala Pilane of Moruleng.¹²⁶ However, currently the first phase, the restoration of the Phuthadikobo museum building, is underway. The museum restoration focuses on returning the building to its former Cape Dutch colonial aesthetic. This includes repainting the external facades white and the replacement of doors and windows. The exhibition is currently rather simple, and includes traditional objects and old photographs of life in Mochudi. The new proposed exhibition would be curated to meet contemporary standards and it would be structured to explore the history of the Bakgatla, old traditional practices to

¹²³ Interview with R3, 'Community Members', by author (2015)

¹²⁴ Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report 1'.(Johannesburg, South Africa, 2010)

¹²⁵ Ibid,p20

¹²⁶ When Kgosi Kgafela Kgafela moved to South Africa he wanted to be recognised as the credible heir to the throne in Moruleng, although he is regarded as a paramount chief to the Bakgatla both in Mochudi and Moruleng. This led to a strained relationship between Kgafela and Pilane. It was also initially planned that the heritage precinct in Mochudi would be completed before the one in Moruleng, but due to these politics the Mochudi project has not yet been implemented although it is planned that it would be completed in the future.

be arranged in the different rooms forming the H-shaped plan of the museum building.

Unlike the previous proposals, the heritage precinct has a special meaning to the Bakgatla community. It was not seeking to appropriate Bakgatla vernacular architecture for the sake of providing new larger office spaces and may therefore convince the critics of new development projects that it is sensitive to identity and culture. Rather, the new precinct would be a model through which the community can claim and develop its own heritage. It opens possibilities to explore the symbolic value of the tribal space. The heritage precinct accepts the multiplicity of identities-both colonial heritage and vernacular heritage. It accepts that identities in this place are multi-layered, that the un-built stage in the *kgotla* has value and that there is the need to maintain a sense of connection to the existing buildings.

However, there is also a risk in converting the *kgotla* into a stereotypical open-air museum. This opens up criticism towards the freezing of historic relics, and the representing a sanitised idea about the past and performing cultural simulations to represent the idealised version of past traditions and culture. In contrast, the socio-cultural practices in the *kgotla* are part of the lived traditions which unfold as part of Bakgatla community life. Administrative practices like holding customary court proceedings and registration of marriages are still conducted in this space by the tribal chief. Other intentions are about preserving traditional skills for repairing vernacular buildings such as thatching and traditional decoration-*lekgapho* used on the decoration of traditional vernacular huts. These concerns were captured during interviews with community members who argued that 'our culture and some skills such as how to build a kraal are disappearing,' suggesting that there is a genuine desire to preserve vernacular traditional building skills. Such skills are transmitted from one generation to the next orally and practically.

The role of cultural Identity, beyond the appropriation of culture and the spatial consequences in tribal spaces

Identities, according to Stuart Hall's conception of identity, are not given, but politicised as part of identity politics, to define a sense of 'becoming, rather than 'being.' Hall suggests that exploring identity politics is crucial to understanding the construction of identity; particularly the question of identity. Hall posits this emergence as integral to the attempt to 're-articulate the relationship between the subjects and discursive practices.'¹²⁷ To understand such politics of space and the production of culture, Anthony King has extended this argument and suggested that one should address the 'real politics of space'¹²⁸ by putting forward the dimension of social space, rituals¹²⁹ and culture.¹³⁰ The tribal space in Mochudi invites this kind of interpretation, where reshaping and interpreting heritage is part of this 'identity politics' as demonstrated by the successive proposals previously discussed. The two proposals (respectively by the national government) and tribal authorities reveal the divergent interests for the future of heritage in the tribal historic core. The local government administrative office block building proposal points to the need to modernise the area and in doing so it destroys heritage and listed buildings, while the Bakgatla Tribal Authority open-air museum proposal exhibits the need to assert the community's identity through the restoration of heritage buildings. Although, the new customary court office was to serve a more practical need of providing infrastructure, the appropriation of vernacular architecture and cultural representation served a more political role: to ensure that the new building does not become an alien to this place as it would justify the demolition of a significant part of the tribal space. Imbued with cultural motifs the new office building was presented as a contemporary interpretation of Bakgatla culture and identity. Here culture is reduced to cultural signs and symbols. This stereotypical interpretation of the

¹²⁷ Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', (p. 2).

¹²⁸ Anthony D. King, 'Postcolonialism, Representation and the City', in *A Companion to the City*, ed. by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 658.

¹²⁹ Susan Keitumetse, 'Unesco 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage: Practical Implications for Heritage Management Approaches in Africa', *South African Archaeological Society*, 61 (December 2006).

¹³⁰ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place - Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (United States: MIT Press, 1997).

kgotla can be gleaned from the design statements with the use of thatch and organic forms illustrated in its 'semi- concentric plan' and to be 'reminiscent of the traditional *kgotla*' spatial form. Yet the new building would in an actual sense destroy the traditional layout. These proposals illustrate a process of identity-making characterised by the appropriation of often worthy architectural critical notions as "cultural renaissance" and "critical regionalism" as part of the process of identity politics. Scholars have demonstrated that critical regionalism was part of the search for 'authentic cultural and architectural expressions' because of the fears that such forms were disappearing.¹³¹ However, in this case such a critical stance is rather ironic because the proposals were to demolish and replace authentic cultural relics with a "newly-invented cultural representation." In this regard, these proposals do not fit the principles of conservation, regeneration or preservation or what the historic core is designated for, but would in the end become newly-invented cultural institutions.

Importantly, the administrative and customary court office proposals were conceived through a top-down process; Local government to Tribal authority and community, Tribal authority to community. This meant that by physically inscribing a government building in the middle of the *kgotla* the political relationship between the government and the community would change, particularly given the ongoing political struggles between the tribal community and the government. The *kgotla* would therefore physically reflect the political reality of the fact that the national government has power over tribal authorities, which also reflects the current advisory role played by House of Chiefs in the government. Furthermore, by not engaging with the community in the development of the *kgotla* in the briefing process, aspects of culture are either overlooked or subjected to narrow interpretation (which in most cases is left with the commissioned architect to address).

¹³¹ Alan Colquhoun, 'The Concept of Regionalism', in *Postcolonial Space(S)*, ed. by Gulsum Badyar Nalbantoglu and Wong Chong Thai (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), pp. 13-24; Marschall, 'Learning from the Africa Vernacular: A Practical Application of African Renaissance?'

Unlike the Gaborone Capital Core, this chapter has demonstrated that the meaning of the tribal core in Mochudi is directly linked to the cultural value of the traditional spatial form. My analysis of cultural heritage designation in Mochudi indicates that community members' interpretations value the symbolic reading of place and its significance, and its relationship to the everyday and invented traditional and cultural practices; while the national government focuses on the modernisation of tribal space. This spatial layout is defined by spaces of cultural and social significance, which derive their organisational structure from socio-cultural practices of planning a traditional village. This idea is diametrically opposed to the current perception of heritage in the historic core as buildings, as the idea of heritage in Mochudi village is currently emphasised in terms of its tangible cultural heritage through national government policy in the *Declaration of Monuments Order of 2006*. When such designations are applied in the conservation or preservation of Botswanan heritage, they often overlook the relationship between built cultural heritage and the socio-cultural values which are intrinsic in the historic context of tribal spaces. This is because tribal heritage is directly linked to the meaning of traditional spatial forms and their ancestral continuity to the past.

Heritage in the tribal core is fragile; it entails a balance of the tangible and intangible heritage. Much of the *kgotla* layout has changed due to the changes in tradition and the influence of modernity as previously highlighted. This means that the *kgotla* does not function in its traditional sense nor does it structurally/physically reflect the previous values. In fact, the majority of the *kgotla* residences in Mochudi have been relocated. In their place are traces of what the *kgotla* used to symbolise in the past that is the central role of the chief, cultures, customs and rituals of a bygone era which this space was built upon. These socio-cultural traces are now reiterated in the current heritage values and practices of the *kgotla* and the physical traces are valued as built heritage.

The tribal spaces in many historic tribal villages are now currently charged with the dual role of representing tribal identities and transforming into administrative centres. It is therefore not difficult to imagine a situation where new building will be required. However, for the tribal community the historic relics, the socio-cultural practices and the stage where these practices unfold are crucial to their identity and sense of place. It is essential not to destroy this sense of place through the creation new of cultural monuments. Rather the incorporation of the already existing fabric, and the exploration of culturally important spaces. We will now turn to this in the next chapter.

6 Recreating pre-colonial monuments and the desire for cultural monuments

Following the strained relationship between the Bakgatla royals in Mochudi and Moruleng, in 2015 the Moruleng Heritage Precinct in Moruleng village was in advance of the planned Mochudi Heritage Precinct. In the newly completed precinct, the older colonial heritage such as the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and the museum building have been restored, painted white and returned to their former Cape Dutch colonial architectural aesthetics. Between these two colonial heritage buildings is a re-creation of an Iron Age archaeological settlement; modelled on the interpretation of discovered remnants (stone-walled ruins) of a late Iron Age¹ archaeological site -now known as *kgosi* Pilane's landscape- located 20 minutes from the precinct. This re-creation is presented as a representation of a Bakgatla traditional village layout, described and valued in a strikingly similar layout to the 1870's spatial form of Mochudi discussed in the previous chapter. The difference between the two layouts is that the one in Moruleng is an architectural representation, intended on the one hand to symbolise the material culture and identity that

¹ Iron Age settlements in southern Africa are dated from c. AD 1060 to c. AD 1830. They are linked to the arrival of the Sotho, Tswana and Ndebele descendants, and are usually stone walled settlement located near hilltops for defence purposes.

the Bakgatla in Moruleng have lost due to colonisation and apartheid, and on the other to address an authentic cultural representation through a simulacrum of an iron age settlement. Signs and symbols of Bakgatla culture are found throughout this precinct including a replica of a traditional vernacular hut complete with vernacular architectural motifs, low walls in front of the museum and an amphitheatre described as a *kgotla* structure. These structures were built either to mimic traditional appearance by claiming a degree of authenticity from the interpretation of archaeological evidence and the community's living memory, or through the incorporation of cultural symbols into contemporary architecture. The interior of the colonial heritage building, now converted to a museum, has also been adorned with these cultural references and motifs. Although the precinct was meant to be a heritage conservation project, it is clearly a cultural stage-set, where the politics of identity have been debated and addressed with regards to the interpretation of heritage and the creation of cultural monuments. How can re-creations of new material culture contribute to our understanding of the politics of identity in tribal communities? Can colonial heritage denote the identity of the coloniser and not the colonised? Why is there a need for such re-creations in Moruleng and not in Mochudi?

This chapter explores identity politics in the interpretation of heritage and the pursuit of creating cultural monuments in Moruleng. It begins by exploring the historical context of the Bakgatla in Moruleng and the material constitution of the village. It explores the process of heritage interpretation and development in the Moruleng Heritage Precinct where the distinction between colonial, pre-colonial and cultural identities are made to articulate a sense of difference. Similarly, it looks at the renegotiation of the sense of postcolonial identity and traditions that the community have lost over the years. The production of material culture in the heritage precinct is analysed to examine how the different architectural representations were conceived, alongside their intended meaning in the site. It argues that the appropriation of culture and the re-creation of new cultural forms is double-sided, through the way it relates to a cultural nostalgia associated with the tribal spaces

which are currently not in existence in Moruleng. Similarly, it will argue that the desire to create tangible cultural forms of identification have resulted in (a) simulacrum (or simulacrums if you are referring to multiple images) of the tribal space.

The historical legacy of Moruleng and heritage at a glance

The current Moruleng Heritage precinct briefly described above, is a display of diversity of material culture and identities, of which some are recreations intended to illustrate an impression of a bygone cultural era that is the pre-colonial period. On the other hand, architectural manifestations and appropriations illustrate a history of the continuous occupation by pre-colonial and colonial generations and cultures. These are intended to capture an 'inclusive' history and identity of the Bakgatla culture and traditions. It selectively appropriates Bakgatla cultural forms whilst juxtaposing these with restored colonial heritage buildings. The juxtaposition of old heritage sites with newly constructed heritage structures is not new, and it has become increasingly common in post-apartheid heritage projects in South Africa and other Western Liberal democracies. The purpose of this approach according to Sabine Marschall is "to acknowledge, rather than deny, burdensome legacies and contentious episodes of the past."² However, the conservation approach in these projects is usually to restore colonial heritage buildings for weaving in the narrative of colonial injustices to the new authoritative narrative of freedom and equality. Restoring these buildings to their former colonial aesthetic may be viewed as offensive by those who experienced cultural subjugation. Therefore, there is a requirement for the new interpretative structures to be built to represent a more dominant narrative and aesthetic. The recent campaigns in South Africa advocating the complete removal of monuments and works of art venerating individuals' who represent of colonial injustices have reignited the debates on addressing colonial

² Sabine Marschall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, (Netherlands and South Africa: Brill, 2010), p. 3.

monuments. Consequently, this movement is often criticised for attempting to rewrite history, with the aim to present a singular historical understanding.

An important approach to understanding these cultural identities is to consider the historical conditions under which they were constituted and how they can contribute to our understanding of identity and heritage in Moruleng.³ The following section briefly describes the setting and history of Moruleng village, as well as a description of what the 'actual' heritage is in order to illustrate the contextual and historical differences between Mochudi and Moruleng.

Unlike Mochudi, in Moruleng village the traces of a Bakgatla traditional village layout are not evident in the spatial form of the village. There are several reasons as to why this traditional architectural structure has not endured in Moruleng. One of the reasons is the result of the legacy of colonialism; the height of apartheid in South Africa contributed to the marginalisation of Bakgatla histories and traditions, and the interruption of oral traditions, coupled with the loss of their ancestral land to European colonial powers.

In the Pilanesberg region in South Africa, the Bakgatla lost most of their land to the Boers, who conquered and defeated most of the tribes residing in the area. The Boers became the ruling power through conquest, while the Africans living in the area became their subjects. By 1852, the Boers declared an independent Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) in the western Transvaal area, which included Pilanesberg.⁴ This development resulted in Bakgatla and other African tribes becoming tenants, paying rent and providing free slave labour in return for their stay.⁵ Under the new landownership laws enforced by the Boers, communal land rights for African communities were not recognised, while European and missionary communities could privately own

³ Jonathan Alfred Noble, *African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture: White Skin, Black Masks*, (Ashgate, 2011).

⁴ Paul Maylam, *Rhodes, the Tswana and the British: Colonialism, Collaboration and the Conflict in the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1885-1899*, (United States: Greenwood press, 1980), pp. 11-45; Johan van der Merwe, 'Early Church Settlements in the Zar: A Comparison of Parish Life in the Dutch Reformed Church in Rustenburg and Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa in Kroondal, 1840-1899', (University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa, unknown), pp. 11-45).

⁵ Bernard Kachama Mbenga, 'The Participation of the Bakgatla Ba Kgafela of Rustenburg District the South African (or Anglo-Boer) War of 1899-1902', (South Africa: North-West University, Unknown), pp. 1-21.

farms and purchase land.⁶ Missionaries purchased land where African populations settled, and the communities adopted Christianity into their culture.⁷ Therefore, missionaries assumed an elite position in the social hierarchies of the ZAR, negotiating land rights where African communities settled. In 1961, the Republic of South Africa was founded and traditional chiefs came under a republican government. This was followed by the introduction of the Black Self Government Act and Black Authorities - where black communities could set up their own governing institutions - under a system of the “homelands,” that was eventually dissolved in 1994.⁸

Under the Boer government the Bakgatla, under *kgosi* Kgamanyane, provided free slave labour to the Boers commander Paul Kruger.⁹ Kgosi Kgamanyane increasingly became frustrated with this arrangement and refused Kruger’s request of providing free labour for the construction of a dam. Consequently, Kruger publicly flogged Kgamanyane in front of his subjects.¹⁰ Because of this public humiliation, Kgamanyane fled with half of his followers to Mochudi in Botswana which became the capital of the Bakgatla, while the remaining community stayed in Saulspoort (now Moruleng). The landownership legislation also meant that the remaining Bakgatla community lived on the land held under the DRC mission, bought by Henri and Jenny Gonin, who were DRC missionaries.¹¹ Missionaries made significant material investment locally by building mission stations, and as a result, this added a new material cultural layer and secured a local indigenous following.

⁶ Bernard Mbenga and Fred Morton, 'The Missionary as Land Broker: Henri Gonin, Saulspoort 269 and the Bakgatla of Rustenburg District, 1862– 1922', *South African Historical Journal*, 36 (1997), 145.

⁷ B. Mbenga and F. Morton, 'The Missionary as Land Broker: Henri Gonin, Saulspoort 269 and the Bakgatla of Rustenburg District, 1862-1922 (South Africa)', *South African Historical Journal*, (1997).

⁸ Laura Evans, 'South Africa's Bantustans and the Dynamics of 'Decolonisation': Reflections on Writing Histories of the Homelands', *South African Historical Journal*, 64 (2012).

⁹ Bernard K. Mbenga, 'Forced Labour in the Pilanesberg: The Flogging of Chief Kgamanyane by Commandant Paul Kruger, Saulspoort April 1870', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23 (March 1997); Isaac Schapera, *A Short History of the Bakgatla-Bagakgafela of Brchuanaland Protectorate*, (University of Cape Town: Communication from the school of Africa Studies, University of Cape Town Historical Papers, The University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1942).

¹⁰ Mbenga, 'Forced Labour in the Pilanesberg: The Flogging of Chief Kgamanyane by Commandant Paul Kruger, Saulspoort April 1870'.

¹¹ Mbenga and Morton, 'The Missionary as Land Broker: Henri Gonin, Saulspoort 269 and the Bakgatla of Rustenburg District, 1862– 1922'.Page 146, van der Merwe, 'Early Church Settlements in the Zar: A Comparison of Parish Life in the Dutch Reformed Church in Rustenburg and Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa in Kroondal, 1840-1899'.

The original site which became a focus for the new heritage precinct consisted of only two buildings; a dilapidated DRC church and a school building as seen in figure 6.1. The DRC church was built by Henry Gonini in 1887, where he preached and offered western education. The current DRC church was built with the assistance of the Bakgatla community who provided voluntary labour and it was officially opened in 1889.¹² Although most of the Christian teachings were against traditional, cultural practices such as rainmaking, polygamy and traditional initiation schools, the community saw value in learning how to read and write and increasingly identified with Christianity. Because of this cultural encounter with missionaries and Europeans, the spatial pattern of the densely populated sprawling traditional layout was occasionally interrupted by new building typologies and a European aesthetic. These buildings just like in Mochudi included churches, stores and schools, built in a Cape Dutch colonial architectural tradition.

The original DRC church in Moruleng was architecturally modest in comparison to its Cape Dutch predecessors; however, scholars suggest that DRC churches maintained a 'visual presence' in rural villages and towns. This iconography was a direct result of the material investment of Dutch Reformed Church missions in these communities and reflected the influence of Christian identity.¹³ However, in its construction most of the Cape Dutch architecture vernacular details have been significantly edited out, retaining only the steeped roof gable-end form and the white wash rendered walls associated with this architectural form. The side elevations façades have pointed arched windows, with buttress walls to each corner. The walls are constructed out of fired clay bricks then rendered whilst the existing roof is finished with red painted corrugated roof sheets, suggesting a more expedient approach to construction, since Cape Dutch architecture usually used thatch.

¹² Mbenga and Morton, 'The Missionary as Land Broker: Henri Gonin, Saulspoort 269 and the Bakgatla of Rustenburg District, 1862– 1922'.

¹³ G. A. Bremner, 'Pro Fide Et Patria: Anglican and Ecclesiastical Architecture in Southern and Central Africa, 1848-1903', in *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories*, ed. by Fassil Demissie (England: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 241-76.

Following the growing acceptance of western education, in 1937 *kgosi* Kgamananye sent an initiation regiment¹⁴ to build a national school in Moruleng like the one in Mochudi. This was a community effort, to foster the cross-border relations and identities between the two groups of Bakgatla. The building was constructed immediately opposite the DRC church, possibly for easy proximity to the work of the missionaries who were also instrumental in delivering education within the community. The school building is a miniature of the one in Mochudi. It has an H-shaped plan with verandas to the front and back, a feature that became ubiquitous in the region, adapted with regional variations from European and British colonial architectural traditions. In a similar architectural style to the church, the school building follows the Cape Dutch colonial tradition. The rear and front verandas have raised platforms with corrugated roofs supported by tapered columns with concrete bases. We can infer from the sources on the construction of a similar but larger building in Mochudi that the school structure was a significant achievement for the Bakgatla community.¹⁵ In the plan, the building has a central assembly hall and on the sides of it are a series of rooms, accessed through passage ways that would have been used as classrooms and office accommodation. At the back, the building opens to a courtyard, facing the DRC church.

Just like in Mochudi, this simplified architectural approach style was appropriated by the European governors, Christian missionaries and other community members in the Moruleng of the 1890s. However, the difference between the two villages is that traditional vernacular architectural skills and buildings progressively became fewer and uncommon in Moruleng. Indeed, the

¹⁴ Sandy Grant, 'Phuthadikobo Museum Mochudi: "The Conservation of the Mochudi National School: A Case Study in Botswana, Southern Africa"', in *Conservation Rehabilitation and Recyclage Congres international organize a Quebec*, ed. by Joseph Baker (Quebec: Les Presses Del L'Universite Laval, 1981).

¹⁵ Sandy Grant, 'A Very Remarkable School', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 8 (1976). Sandy Grant, A very Remarkable School; Botswana notes and records, page 92

For example, the Inspector of Education from Mafikeng colonial office commented during the official opening of the school building in Mochudi that the building "is a modern one in every respect and contains an excellent assembly hall. The classrooms are most attractive being airy and well lighted."¹⁵

lack of records, physical evidence and vernacular architectural skills architecture in Moruleng is illustrative of this point.

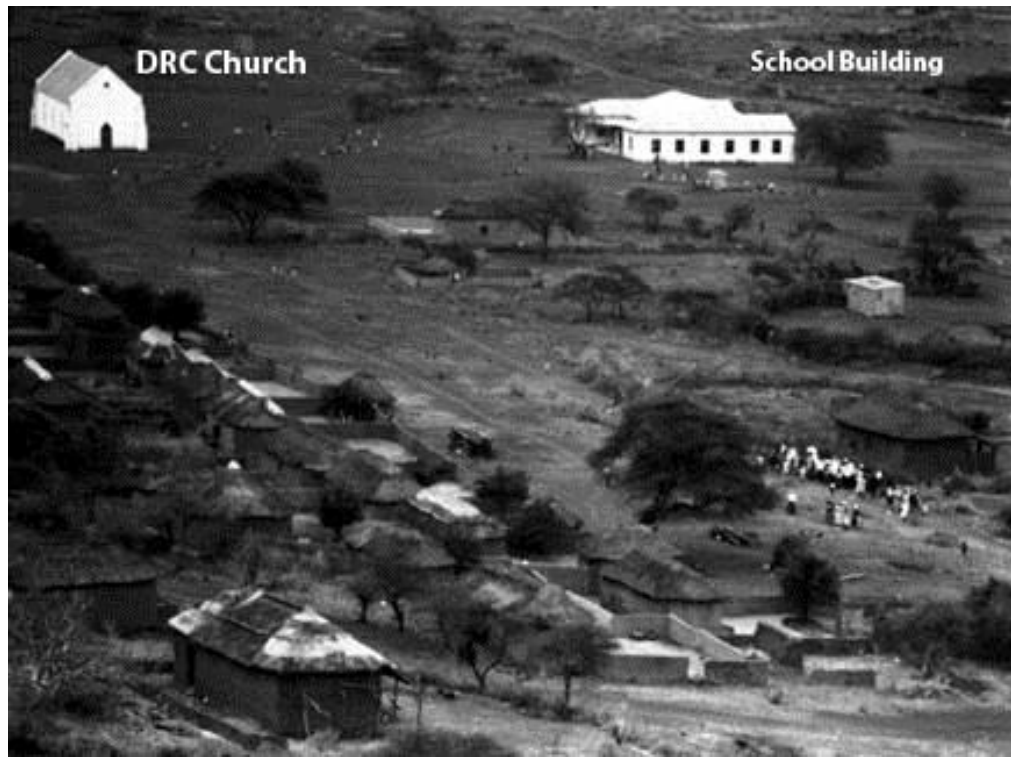


Figure 6.1: Late 1930s picture showing the DRC church and first school in Moruleng (Source: <http://www.totem-media.net>)

Community museum and the search for identity

Through the colonial and apartheid period in South Africa, the Bakgatla community maintained their tribal identity through their shared heritage, traditions and most recently the development of community museums. This also includes the revival of previously marginalised transient traditions such as the traditional initiation schools by, *kgosi* Linchwe II in 1975, and in recent years these traditions have been performed to coincide with royal celebrations.¹⁶ Cultural revival is part of the broader vision of asserting Bakgatla cultural identity through the preservation of tradition cultural

¹⁶ Keletso Gaone Setlhabi, 'The Politics of Culture and the Transient Culture of Bojale : Bakgatla-Baga-Kgafela Women & Initiation in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40 (2014), 461.

practices. This includes the conservation of heritage outside government policies and frameworks, meaning both the national governments in Botswana and South Africa. The cultural revival movement became more prominent in the post-apartheid period in South Africa, through the resurgence of traditional institutions. Previously marginalised by the colonial and apartheid governments, these are now inscribed in the 1996 Constitution of the new South Africa as local form governance.¹⁷ The Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela Traditional Authority (BBKTA) was formed as part of this changing post-apartheid political landscape, as custodians of culture and traditions.

Following the successful restoration of the Phuthadikobo community museum in Mochudi in 1976 the same approach was duplicated in Moruleng through the establishment Mphebatho museum in 1998. Both these museums are grassroots community initiatives to conserve heritage and are funded through community donations and by local government authorities. The aim of the Mphebatho museum is to promote “cultural education; tourism attraction; and explore indigenous knowledge systems,”¹⁸ by exhibiting Bakgatla history and by promoting intangible cultural heritage.

¹⁷ For the resurgence of tribal authorities and their role see Andrew Ainslie and Thembela Kepe, 'Understanding the Resurgence of Traditional Authorities in Post- Apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42 (2016).

¹⁸ <http://www.tourisminorthwest.co.za/culture/mphebatho-museum.html>



Figure 6.2: In 1998, the tribal school building was converted into a cultural museum-Mphebatho museum. The walls were painted in cultural pattern (Source: Mphebatho Museum)



Figure 6.3 and 6.4: The traditional motifs are similar to the ones found in the traditional huts in Mochudi (Source: taken by author in 2015)



Figure 6.5 Traditional decorations are usually done by women (Source: Isaac Schapera, *Picturing the Colonial Past*, page 78)

The conservation project in 1998 was carried out by Johannesburg based architect, Peter Rich. As the building was previously designed as a school it was not immediately suitable for exhibition purposes. The project involved partitioning the central hall to provide more exhibition space, creating a new service block accommodating the toilet and kitchen, and building a new roof to cover the open courtyard.¹⁹ Peter Rich's approach to architecture was heavily influenced by his work on southern African vernacular architecture and art: an approach he considers more 'Africa space-making than decoration.'²⁰ This fuses modernist influences with vernacular architecture in the manner that reflect local identities and the spatial hierarchies of traditional settlements. The influence of this approach was reflected in the conservation of the museum. The external walls of the museum were repainted with the top section kept white, and the section from the window level to plinth painted in brown abstract patterns inspired by the traditional motifs (*lekgapho*) (Figure 6.2) that were usually used on the mud walls of traditional Tswana huts and courtyards (Figure 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5). These patterns were applied using 'silicon mixture on to a painted surface'²¹ while the plinth was dressed in stone cladding. This intervention was the first to introduce vernacular architectural motifs as decorations on the colonial heritage building in quite a subtle way, which respects the past history, although not necessarily in the heavily politicised way that we shall see in the next sections.

The site came to be known as Moruleng Heritage Centre, highlighting its significance and the broader vision of preserving Bakgatla cultural identity through heritage conservation. In 2009, Kgosi Nyalala Pilane of (BBKTA) in Moruleng commissioned Totem Media-an interdisciplinary company previously involved in the heritage scoping in Mochudi -to explore the possibility of building a new museum in Moruleng. According to the architect

¹⁹ Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I', (Johannesburg, South Africa, November 2010), (p. 64).

²⁰ Tim Hall, 'Peter Rich-Learnt in Translation', in *Journal of the South African Institute of Architects*, (South Africa: South African Institute of Architects, 2011), p. 6.

²¹ Interview with Essa Nabeel, ed. by author (June 2015, Johannesburg).

Nabeel Essa, *kgosi* Pilane envisaged building a world-class museum,²² to fit the vision of developing Moruleng as a city.²³ This vision includes the recent construction of a new shopping mall, tribal administration offices and a sport stadium, financed by the BBKTA institution from the proceeds from mining and other business ventures.²⁴ This proposal was to coincide with the 2010 Fédération Internationale de Football Association FIFA World Cup in South Africa. During this period, there was a flurry of tourists into the country, and new infrastructure was being developed. Most significantly both communities in Moruleng and Mochudi were going through a period of cultural revival as shown by the revival of traditional initiation schools. The community who were ready for imitation in Moruleng had to attend initiation schools (traditional rites of passage marking the transition of a boy into manhood) in Mochudi in 2009 mainly because the paramount chief resided in Mochudi and the material culture used for these ceremonies are found in the Phuthadikobo museum.²⁵ Mochudi was regarded for its rich living culture and heritage, and this led the design team to argue that Mochudi had a diversity of identities and a complete material culture compared to Moruleng.²⁶ These findings would later inform the design approach in Moruleng.

The existing colonial heritage buildings in Moruleng were re-interpreted as a reminder of the legacy and identity representation of the coloniser, despite that the Museum building was built by the community who widely appropriated Cape Dutch colonial architecture, as noted earlier. The architect Nabeel Essa argued during an interview that colonial heritage represented the identity of the coloniser as they symbolised “the mid-point in the community’s history,”²⁷ reminiscent of colonial iconography of white-

²² Ibid.

²³ Candace King, 'Meet Moruleng City', in *Property Developer*, (South Africa: Property Developer, February 2015).

²⁴ Gavin Capps and Sonwabile Mswana, 2015, Claims from below: platinum and the politics of land in the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela traditional authority area, *Review of African Political Economy*, 42:146, 606-624,

²⁵ For example, *Bojale* drum used for the initiation of girls are held in the Phuthadikobo museum while the other one is displayed in the National Museum in Gaborone

²⁶ Having surveyed heritage in Mochudi village the team reflected on the impression they saw in the village where colonial heritage building existed alongside vernacular architecture which also influenced the approach in Moruleng.

²⁷ Interview with Essa Nabeel, by Author (June 2015, Johannesburg)

washed buildings in Cape Town.²⁸ The relationship between these buildings is interpreted by Essa as 'colonial urbanism,'²⁹ illustrative of a distinct historic character and period - that is the arrival of Christianity and western education in Moruleng. This absence of Bakgatla vernacular architecture and other cultural identification forms that the designers had witnessed and experienced in Mochudi were used to justify an approach whereby cultural forms would be appropriated for the first time in a quite intentional and deliberate fashion, as compared to the earlier use of vernacular architectural decorative motifs on the Mphebatho museum. Indeed, the initial use of architectural motifs on the Mphebatho museum was criticised by Essa as he interpreted it as a superficial adornment of cultural references on the existing structure. In other words, the way in which these cultural motifs were applied did not critically engage with the socio-cultural dimensions of the tribal community beyond their formal architectural dimensions. The new precinct was to address the question of identity and cultural representation, and this would mark a shift or turning point in how cultural and architectural identity representations in tribal spaces may be re-imagined and interpreted. The aim of the Moruleng Cultural Precinct is described as follows:

*Telling Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela history is important, as it will give the people of Moruleng a voice. For far too long African communities have been misrepresented and marginalised in the construct of South African history. Even in the democratic era certain histories are given prominence, while others, equally interesting and significant, and are still largely unknown.*³⁰

Located along the main village spine on the proposed Moruleng Boulevard, which connects the precinct to the civic centre, commercial hub and stadium, Moruleng Heritage Precinct was framed as a cultural heritage conservation project. It was to be developed alongside the interpretation of the Burra

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Totem Media, 'Two Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Cultural Precincts: Moruleng and Mochudi', ed. by collected from Phuthadikobo Museum (Moruleng Totem Media, 2015), pp. 1-20 (p. 4).

Charter.³¹ It focused on developing the site into a cultural complex, linking the two colonial heritage buildings: the DRC church and the Mphebatho museum. On entering the site, you encounter a new small pavilion encasing one of the exhibits: a Bakgatla traditional mud grain silo which marks the entrance.³² In the middle of the site are the restored colonial heritage buildings; the Mphebatho museum in the foreground dedicated to exhibiting Bakgatla history and the traditional tribal knowledge system, and the DRC church with a new bell tower to the rear. New service insertions such as the washroom and a ramp are built out of brick and reference cultural forms of decoration. The space between the DRC church and the museum houses an organic structure formed by a combination of scalloped low stone walls, pavements and a constructed cattle kraal. This layout was modelled partially on the archaeological interpretation of the Iron Age pre-colonial settlement linked to the Bakgatla history as part of the quest for 'authentic' cultural representation, as noted in the introduction. According to the information board on site, the visitor is also meant to meander through the layout following a conceptual and yet imaginary cattle path that animals in the pre-colonial times would follow into the settlement.³³ To add another layer of cultural interest, an indigenous and medicinal planting, was added as part of the landscape strategy to emphasise the importance of the cultural practice of traditional doctors and their medicine in Bakgatla cultural traditions.

This new spatial layout was meant to be both functional and symbolic. It links the DRC church and museum, informing how one moves from the museum to the new exhibition within the church. It is also meant to represent the Bakgatla pre-colonial identity symbolising its 'highly organised society'³⁴ with regards to architectural achievement. The low stone walls continue out as fragments around the site, leading to a completed traditional

³¹ 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report 1', (Johannesburg, South africa: Totem Media, November 2010), (p. 4).

³³ The cattle path is a theory used by archaeologists to study the pre-colonial settlement remains of the Sotho-Tswana in southern Africa. See for example Shaw Badenhorst, 'The Central Cattle Pattern During the Iron Age of Southern Africa: A Critique of Its Spatial Features', *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 64 (2009); T. N. Huffman, 'Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the African Iron Age', *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.*, 11 (1982).

³⁴ Ibid.

hut and culminating in an open air new amphitheatre, with a light steel structure and a lattice roof. This structure functions as a gathering and performance space, and according to the design report it is a modern interpretation of the 'kgotla.'³⁵

The result was meant to be a complex layering of histories, identities and narratives to be achieved through the synthesis of research input from community participation and a multidisciplinary team.³⁶ Despite this, in reality the precinct can be seen through three narratives. Firstly, it suggests the making of a cultural stage set (Figure 6.6 and 6.7), where new material culture that was never present on the site is introduced and new narratives added. Secondly, there is an impetus to monumentalise aspects of culture, which in the case of tribal communities particularly is intangible heritage. Thirdly the precinct attempts to redress aspects of the Bakgatla culture and traditions that were previously subjugated by engaging with the different aspects of cultural representations in designing new structures. Consequently, discourses on the cultural authenticity of the new elements were debated through the conceptualisation of the precinct. These reflected wider debates on how colonial heritage is interpreted and appropriated and how culture in tribal spaces, particularly in relation to cases of communities whose culture and heritage were impacted by colonialism is re-imagined, which we shall deal with next.

³⁵ Nabeel Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement', (collected Nabeel Essa in Johannesburg, 2015, 2015).

³⁶ Nabeel Essa, 'Moruleng Cultural Precinct, 499 Moruleng Boulevard, Moruleng', in *Corobrik SAIA Awards*, (South Africa: South Africa Institute of architects, 2015/2016), pp. 54-55; Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement'; Bea Roberts, 'Honouring Old and New: The Moruleng Cultural Precinct', in *ARCHSA: Journal of the South African Institute of Architects*, (South Africa 2017: The South African Institute of Architects, April/March), pp. 25-30.



Figure 6.6: A Panoramic view of the Precinct showing the combination of the reconstructed Iron Age settlement and colonial heritage buildings (Source: Nabeel Essa)

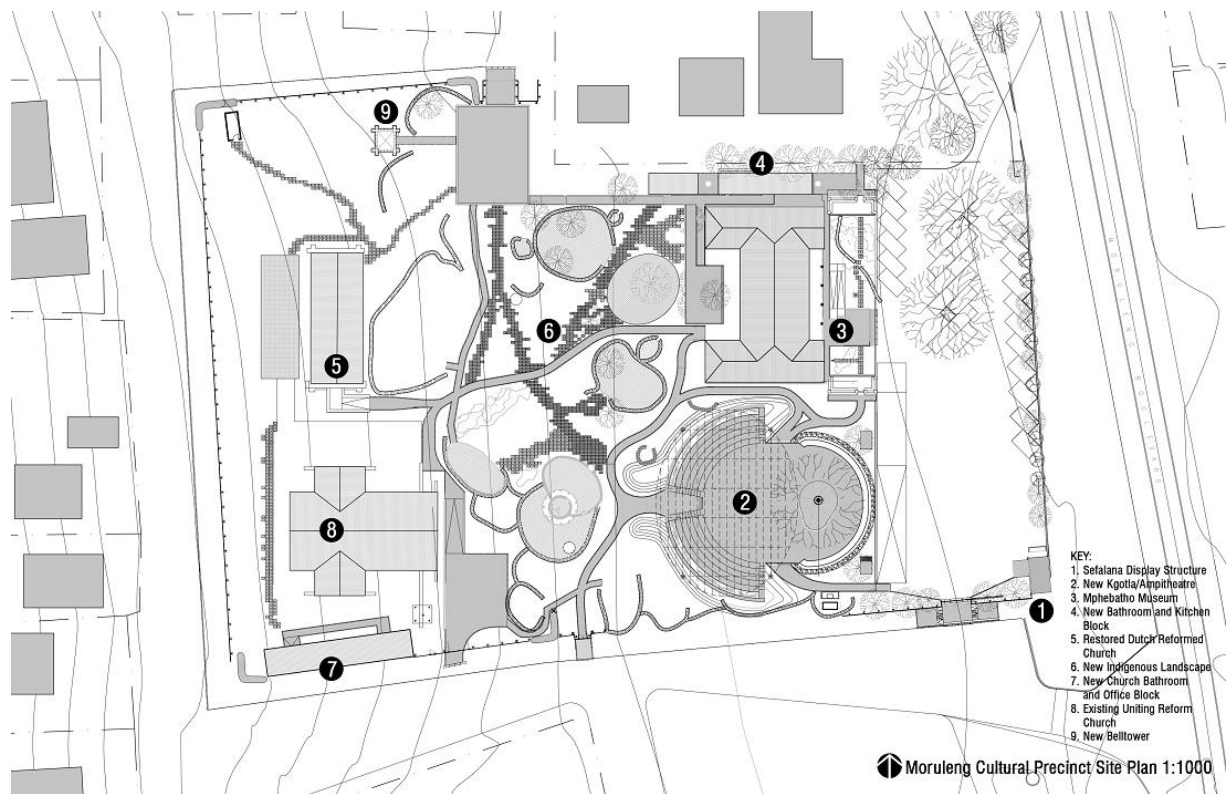


Figure 6.7: Site Plan of the Moruleng Heritage Precinct (Source: Nabeel Essa)

Debates on heritage interpretation: What is colonial heritage and colonial identity?

Taking a closer look at the justification process reveals a concern with the ongoing and wider debates surrounding the interpretation of colonial architecture and decolonised interpretations of colonial heritage and cultures of tribal communities. These debates were explored during interviews with the design team members. The debates on decolonisation revolved around debates on whether colonial heritage buildings represented colonial identity and how such material culture associated with both negative and positive history would be interpreted as part of the heritage landscape.

Despite their visual dominance the DRC church and museum were viewed as problematic by the design team, even though the DRC and the museum were the only actual surviving material culture. The conservation policy of the DRC and museum building was developed along the lines of the Burra Charter, and it emphasised the restoration of their architectural significance rather substantial alteration. The charter sets out the parameters for the conservation, which highlights the historic, aesthetic and social values of the buildings. The significance of the museum is not described as "aesthetically iconic" in comparison to the DRC church; however it is a good example of an "H-typology school building of its time."³⁷ Architectural and historical significance is also attributed to the rear and front verandas common to Cape Dutch colonial vernacular architecture. It derives further significance and meaning from being built as a community project by the Bakgatla initiation regiment in 1937 and is also protected under the South African Heritage Act. The DRC church is described in the scoping reports as having 'great aesthetic value in the simplicity of its shape in the landscape and the visual iconic strength of its form.'³⁸ Although it is also interpreted as the 'ultimate symbol of the colonisation of the mind and hearts.'³⁹ Further, it is also part of the

³⁸ Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I'.

³⁹ Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement'.

settlement and consequently, the community's historical and cultural process. Elements deemed significant in contributing to the architectural integrity of the museum were restored, including painting the iron corrugated roof red. Similarly, the white-washed walls were also reinstated. Previous additions to the church were also revised, notably the spatial relationship between the museum and the DRC church, exemplified through the removal of the toilet block on the rear veranda and removing the partition in the central hall that was added in 1998. The 1998 conservation was completely reversed, because, according to the architect, it did not engage critically with the issues of culture and identity representation.

This implies that the intervention stood between the two identity representations: colonial and tribal. This perceived lack of clear identity representation allowed the architect to make a case for reinstating the Cape Dutch colonial aesthetics. Despite this interpretation, the 1998 intervention was in fact a valid and subtle re-inscription of cultural decorations used in vernacular architecture.

The Old DRC church had fallen into disrepair due to continuous disuse over the years. Elements contributing to the architectural integrity were lost such as the bell tower, the roof, and the walls and windows were severely damaged (figure 6.8). The external walls were plastered and painted white, new windows and doors were reinstated designed to conform to the form of the previous windows although different materials were used. The roof was also replaced with new roof trusses and corrugated iron sheets. In contrast to the restored exterior, the interior wall plaster has been stripped back, exposing the brick wall and roof trusses (figure 6.9 and 6.10). According to the project team, this will allow the building to 'express the palimpsest of its history, its decay and abandonment and make for a richly textured exhibition space.'⁴⁰ This approach reflects the nuanced readings of the external fabric as aesthetically significant while the interior could be creatively reinterpreted to inspire other critical readings of the building fabric and history, through the

⁴⁰Ibid.

preservation of its patina and inspiring an exhibition narrative. The exhibition focuses on the role of Christian missionaries in the community showing both negative and positive impacts. Free-standing boards are used for the exhibition, allowing the space to remain adaptable for other functions.



Figure 6.8: Dilapidated DRC church before restoration (Source: Lee Burger, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela: Design Proposal' (University of Pretoria, November 2006, p 18)



Figure 6.9: Interior on the newly restored DRC church, described as: "The Dutch Reform Church restoration into an exhibition and event space plays with textures of the original brick left unplastered against new insertions. Source: taken by author in 2015)



Figure 6.10: The DRC church has been restored, repainted white with a red roof (Source: Nabeel Essa)

It could be argued that the conservation strategy emphasises the need to maintain the visibility of the church and museum rather than the alternative which would have been a complete alternation of these buildings. This is despite the initial interpretation of these buildings as representative of 'colonial urbanism.'⁴¹ However, the interior spaces have been creatively altered to develop further interpretations, meanings and symbolisms. For example, the preservation of the patina in the interior of the church is described in the South African Institute of Architects (SAIA) awards as, 'removing a great deal of the building's colonial power and references, which makes it somehow way more humble and vulnerable.'⁴² This appropriation, as opposed to a complete alteration of the colonial heritage buildings, provides an opportunity to interpret the buildings' history through heritage values and meanings. This approach acknowledges that Christianity became an integral part of Bakgatla culture and belief system, suggesting that the Christian

⁴¹ Interview with Essa, by Author (June 2015, Johannesburg)

⁴²Nabeel Essa, 'Moruleng Cultural Precinct, 499 Moruleng Boulevard, Moruleng'. *Corobrick SAIA Awards (2015/2016)*pp. 54-55

identity associated with the DRC church is integral to understanding Bakgatla postcolonial identity.⁴³

Furthermore, this interpretation suggests that the consideration of values and meanings that the community associate with the buildings should go beyond 'colonial' aesthetics and most importantly the politics of identity. Here, the restoration approach suggests that despite the interpretation of these buildings as representative of colonial identity, the architect and the project team are aware of the social, historic and aesthetic value of them. This decision was influenced by the requirement to comply with the Burra Charter and the heritage designation.⁴⁴

As briefly mentioned earlier, these buildings were not constructed as a symbol of colonialism. The Cape Dutch architectural aesthetics were appropriated from the southern African region, but invested in by the Bakgatla community. Nonetheless for the design professionals who have worked extensively in South Africa, the buildings conjure up the image of Cape Town landscape, characterised as 'colonial iconography'.⁴⁵ At the same time, the loss of the Bakgatla land to the colonising powers plays a larger role in the narrative of the site and the interpretation of these buildings. For example, the recent article on the Moruleng Heritage Precinct published in the Journal of South African Institute of Architects begins by stating that;

Just under 200 years ago, kgosi Pilane-the chief of a Tswana group called the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela-settled his people at Maasobudule on the Elands River an area today known as Pilanesberg.... the Voortrekkers arrived in Pilanesberg and started laying claim to the land in that region...Life wasn't easy for the African communities

⁴³ Interview with Croucamp in Johannesburg, 'Historian for Moruleng Heritage Precinct',. by author (June 2015).

⁴⁴ The Burra Charter makes reference to the conservation policy and strategy for the two colonial heritage buildings, the DRC church and museum building.

⁴⁵ Interview with Essa , by author (June 2015, Johannesburg)

*in the Transavaal. Besides the fact that they were losing too much of their land to white settlers...*⁴⁶

The appropriation cultural motifs and the representation of culture

The desire for more visible Bakgatla cultural forms, like the ones found in Mochudi, resulted in the inclusion of cultural symbols in the exhibition and the interior of the museum, as well as the appropriation of cultural forms in the design of new structures. References to culture and identity in new structures were made overt both in terms of materials and the selective choice of culturally symbolic forms like the *kgotla* structure.

In the museum, it was previously argued by the design team that by restoring, rather than altering the museum, the conservation approach goes further to critically engage with the “colonial aesthetic and identity structures” in the way the exhibition and the interior is addressed. The interior is presented as a striking contrast to the white-washed Cape Dutch colonial aesthetics on the exterior. The interior spaces are overtly dressed in earthy colours and finishes reminiscent of vernacular huts. According to the architect, this approach implicitly acknowledges the Bakgatla vernacular architecture aesthetics and it was employed to inscribe the ‘absent’ Bakgatla cultural identity.⁴⁷

In the museum, the first exhibition room focuses on traditional knowledge systems, cultural values and beliefs. These include rainmaking practices, traditional medicinal plants, traditional pottery and traditional initiation schools. The exhibition wall panel on one section is painted in a brown and features the abstracted and appropriated *lekgapho* patterning texture as a

⁴⁶ Bea Roberts, 'Honouring Old and New: The Moruleng Cultural Precinct', in *ARCHSA: Journal of the South African Institute of Architects*, (South Africa 2017: The South African Institute of Architects, April/March), pp. 25-30. (p. 27).

⁴⁷ S. Grant and E. Grant, *Decorated Homes in Botswana*, (Cape Town , South Africa: Ceda Press, 1995).

backdrop to several "organic forms and textures that relate to the Bakgatla mythology and storytelling."⁴⁸ As previously highlighted *lekgapho* patterning is traditionally used on the floors and walls of a traditional hut. It is usually crafted by women using a mixture of different clay oxides and cow dung, and periodically reapplied whenever it wears out.⁴⁹ The design team's (architect, historian) interpretation of this decorative tradition was considered an interesting inclusion and use of Bakgatla architectural decorative tradition. This was highlighted in the design report as a form of vernacular art still practiced by other Tswana ethnic groups that usually speaks of the role of the woman the 'architect, builder and artistic designer.'⁵⁰ In this case *lekgapho* is employed to highlight the significance and meaning of this cultural practice by showing images of women as part of the museum display. This theme continues in the entrance of the museum where the Traditional *lekgapho* patterning is also appropriated in wall paper in the entrance and in a short wall forming the forecourt of the museum (figure 6.11 and 6.12).

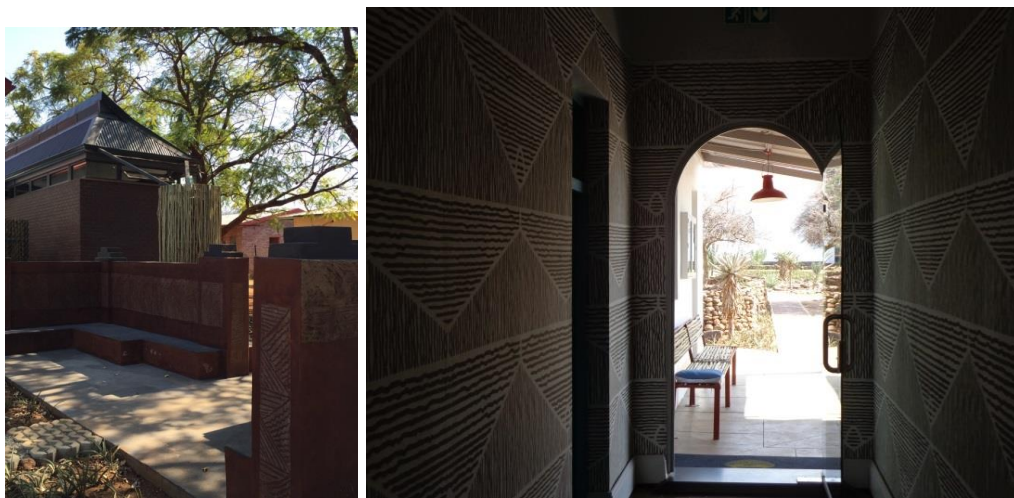


Figure 6.11 and 6.12: The external walls are decorated in *lekgapho* patterns and the interior corridor of the museum uses a wall paper with *lekgapho* references (Source: Nabeel Essa)

⁴⁸ Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement'.

⁴⁹ James Denbow and Phenyio Thebe, C., *Culture and Customs of Botswana*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), p. 97.

⁵⁰Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement'.



Figure 6.13 and 6.14: The first exhibition room uses *lekgapho* on the exhibition wall installation and the external walls (Source: taken by author in 2015)

A further appropriation of cultural forms is found in a centrepiece installation in the room - a carved wooden wall display (figure 6.13), presented as an abstract of the pre-colonial wall settlements duplicated in the courtyard. The wall installation holds multiple screens that play videos of Bakgatla community members narrating stories of Bakgatla culture, drawing from the African cultural practice of storytelling (figure 6.15).⁵¹ The end of this wall holds a model showing the landscape of Moruleng with the Mmammitlwa Mountains in the background and cattle grazing on the plains beyond, emphasising the role of cattle in Bakgatla culture. Moving beyond the wall installations is a collection of artefacts which include traditional pottery and traditional medicinal plants. These installations focus on different aspects of Bakgatla culture and traditions.

⁵¹ Oral traditions are commonly found in African traditions such as storey telling.



Figure 6.15: This exhibition wall is meant to symbolise the culture of farming. It is said to symbolise 'ploughing and the role of women in growing food and sustaining life. (Source: taken by author in 2015)



Figure 6.16: This second room focuses on the history of the Bakgatla in South African History (Source: taken by author in 2015)

The second room of the exhibition focuses on the origins of the Bakgatla currently framed as fragments of history. This room is rather toned down in comparison to the culturally adorned interior and exhibition displays in the first room. Steel mounted information displays address different subject matters on Bakgatla history. These include the lineage of Bakgatla royals, apartheid history and the role of Bakgatla in the African National Congress political party. Several images are sourced from different archives in southern Africa and abroad

including University of Witwatersrand archives and the Royal Anthropological Institute archives in London are displayed alongside text frames (Figure 6.16).

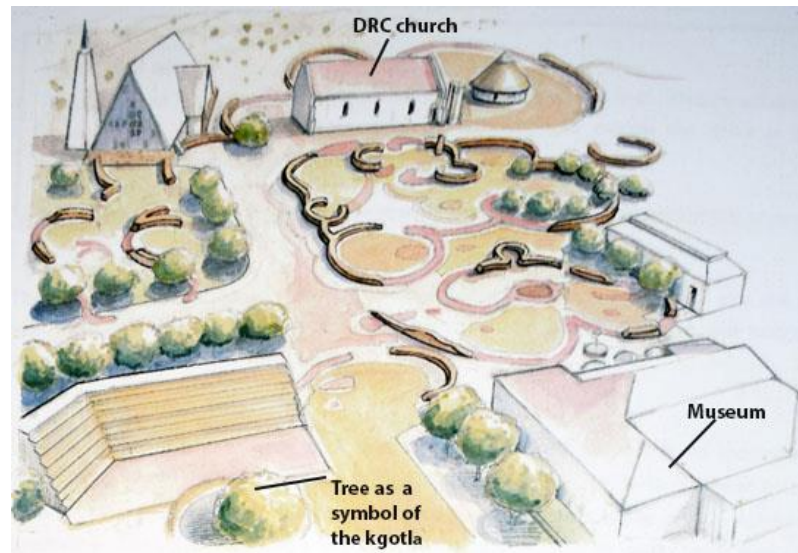


Figure 6.17: The sketch of the *kgotla* and the precinct showing the idea of the tree as a symbol of the *kgotla* (Source: Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I, p 42)



Figure 6.18: The amphitheatre roof uses patterns derived from the *lekgapho* pattern (Source: taken by author in 2015)

As noted earlier, the appropriation of cultural forms also extends to the new amphitheatre structure, now interpreted as a representation of a *kgotla* structure. The first conceptual sketch shows the *kgotla* as a series of steps, located behind the museum, next to an existing tree - interpreted as the 'extension of the existing *kgotla* tree'⁵² (figure 6.17). In this regard, the tree is interpreted as a symbol of a *kgotla* under which village elders would meet to discuss community affairs, while the steps suggest a sitting area for the audience. The resultant *kgotla* structure is located on the edge of the precinct. The amphitheatre seating is built with a pergola roof (figure 6.18) and the patterned roofing lattice provides shading and draws its architectural elements from traditional decorative motifs –*lekgapho*.

Although the new *kgotla* structure does not function in the traditional sense within the heritage precinct, it is designed as stage for hosting cultural performances.⁵³ According to Nabeel Essa, the amphitheatre is 'a modern adaptation of the traditional *kgotla*', designed and detailed to 'continually draw influence from the Bakgatla traditional material culture with a contemporary interpretation and material twist.'⁵⁴ The appropriation of the *kgotla* form is a continuous negotiation of the Bakgatla identity, and in Homi Bhabha's words, "it is a production of the image of identity and transformation of the subject in assuming that image."⁵⁵ The architecture of the amphitheatre is transformed with reference to Bakgatla culture through the synthesis of different aspects of culture in attempt to produce an architecture which engages with culture or at least the past culture through materiality and fits with place. This is done by drawing on symbolism and values of the *kgotla* as a political and social place in the Tswana culture. By asserting this view, the project report emphasises that the appropriation of the *kgotla* reinforces 'the cultural brand that even manifests in the shadow patterns cast.'⁵⁶ Materially, the structure is transformed to invoke a traditional village feel and aesthetic by using

⁵² Nabeel Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement'. (collected Nabeel Essa in Johannesburg, 2015)

⁵³ Bea Roberts, 'Honouring Old and New: The Moruleng Cultural Precinct', in *ARCHSA: Journal of the South African Institute of Architects*, (South Africa 2017: The South African Institute of Architects, April/March), pp. 25-30.

⁵⁴ Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement'.

⁵⁵ Huddart David Paul and David Paul Huddart, *Homi K. Bhabha*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

⁵⁶ Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement'.

patterned thin logs on the roof as a mark of Tswana cultural identity. Despite this, the structure is as also a reinvention and an appropriation of cultural space, a stage-set which unlike the *kgotla* has no spatial and functional relationship to the context. The new *kgotla* structure, unlike the proposals in Mochudi, is a hybrid interpretation of culture. As opposed to an enlarged vernacular hut, the *kgotla* structure is more practical and lighter.⁵⁷ It is part of the identity-making practice. Indeed, Lowenthal also argued in relation to representing the past that 'the past is everywhere,' to the extent that 'history' has come to mean 'heritage.'⁵⁸

As we have seen, in Mochudi the function of the *kgotla* is embedded in everyday cultural practices. It is used for cultural and political gatherings and is therefore part of the living cultural heritage and social organisational structure. The appropriation of this culture in Moruleng is different and is driven by two reasons. The first is the pursuit to interpret Bakgatla culture as sophisticated rather than primitive. Secondly, there is an ambition to incorporate Bakgatla vernacular architecture into contemporary architecture, driven by the desire for tangible forms of cultural representation. Furthermore, the current reinterpretation of Bakgatla material culture is also reflected throughout the development of the exhibition. For example, according to one of the curators, Gavin Oliver, producing the art exhibition works involved very modern methods because traditional methods were not considered appropriate, as such practices including traditional blacksmith forging knowledge no longer exist within the community. In this regard, the wall display is a tangible form of cultural representation, and weaves into the narrative that a '*a culture that was proud of its past, but not stuck in it, that this was a culture willing to take its history and move forward into the future.*'⁵⁹ This is supposed to illustrate the idea Bakgatla culture is dynamic.

⁵⁷ Postcolonial literature has argued that we need to delve beyond hybridity as synthesis of different aspects of culture but rather we need to explore the contradictory and discursive ways such spaces are conceptualised and why these are produced. Felipe Hernández, *Bhabha for Architects*, (New York: Routledge, 2010); Jonathan A. Noble, 'Architecture, Hybridities and post-Apartheid Design', *South African Journal of Art History*, 23 (2008).

⁵⁸ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country - Revisited*, (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 9.

⁵⁹ Totem Media, 'Bakgata-Ba-Kgafela, Exhibition Production Example'.

Recent studies from museums known as *The New Museology* have emphasised that we need to examine different museums representations when constructing and debating decisions about culture, history, identity politics and narratives on inclusion and exclusion.⁶⁰ For example, museums may be staged to reflect the 'grand histories of nation-state'; however within the expanding epistemological knowledge on the new museology, curators have shifted their focus to explore other narratives such as 'everyday themes, experiences and memories.'⁶¹ Mphe batho museum was intended to present an inclusive exhibition of the Bakgatla history and culture and employ other ways of exhibiting this history. The curatorial team argued that the exhibition curatorial process was driven by inferring the traditional aesthetics through the materials used and not necessarily relying on existing objects. Within this approach lies the conviction that the so called 'primitive' culture is 'proud of its past, but not stuck in it, that this was a culture willing to take its history and move forward into the future,'⁶² and can be interpreted in contemporary ways. This curatorial strategy emphasised the need to challenge colonial museum practice whereby cultural objects were presented as 'a collection of curiosities'⁶³ and where artefacts and carvings are encased in glass boxes. Furthermore, it was claimed that this history would be presented in a manner that visitors can form their own stories, suggesting a shift from traditional museum curatorial systems. Despite this objective the multicultural museum are always organised according to themes.⁶⁴ Perhaps the importance and contribution of the rural and tribal museum is the 'expression of other kinds of identities than the national, homogenous and bounded.'⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Sharon Macdonald, *A Companion to Museum Studies*, (Malden, MA ; Oxford : Blackwell, 2006).

⁶¹ Rosmarie Beier-de Haan, 'Re-Staging Histories and Identities', in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. by Macdonald Sharon (Australia: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 186-96 (p. 187).

⁶² Nabeel Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement'. (collected Nabeel Essa in Johannesburg, 2015)

⁶³ The scoping report suggested that "Colonial modes often reduce complex cultures to a collection of curiosities that are used as icons for a simple singular identity, much like the way a naturalist would collect and represent animal specimens. Social and political context would be obscured and elements of material culture would be abstracted and represented as examples of primitive beliefs and practices-even when they were romanticised and valued as art." See media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I', (p. 30).

⁶⁴ Scholars have argued that museums do not necessarily abandon the display methods see for example Beier-de Haan, 'Re-Staging Histories and Identities'.

⁶⁵ Sharon J. Macdonald, 'Museums, National, Postnational and Transcultural Identities', *Museum and Society*, 1 (2003), 10.

It was initially planned that local artists and crafters who draw their inspiration from traditions and culture were to be invited as a form of community participation.⁶⁶ This did not materialise, but the curators explained that the process of developing the exhibition displays involved a lot of 'fine grained syntheses of cultural art, the Bakgatla architectural vernacular aesthetic and oral histories rather than relying on glassed cased objects.'⁶⁷ These newly crafted exhibits are not a faithful reproduction of the traditional crafts, despite the initial curatorial intention. For example, *lekgapho* used on the courtyard wall is one of the few surviving practices, yet for the exhibition, a specialist construction company was employed to create them. This demonstrates that because the company's reinvented techniques were favoured over traditional methods, there was a missed opportunity to promote the original historical craft.

Reflecting on similar architectural precedents, the architect notes his appreciation for the Constitutional Court. Essa is referring to the symbolic spatial layering of the interior spaces in the Constitution court in Johannesburg, a site previously used as a prison complex during the British colonial and apartheid years. The Constitution court building interiors are inscribed with memories, histories and identities and its decorative and structural program appropriates African cultural influences such as the symbolism of the column as a *kgotla* tree.⁶⁸ Various forms of art, paintings and hand-crafted elements are included in the fabric of the building as part of the narrative of developing an inclusive representation of cultures and national identity.⁶⁹ The architect also appreciates the manner in which absent identities are 'reinvented' while circumventing any suggestion of monumentality

⁶⁶ Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I', (p. 31).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Frederico Freschi, 'Postapartheid Publics and the Politics of ornament: Nationalism, Identity and the Rhetoric of Community in the Decorative Program of the New Constitutional Court, Johannesburg', *Africa today, Visual Experience in Urban Africa*, Indiana University Press, 54 (2007); Paul Sanders, 'Defining a Relevant Architecture in South Africa', *Arq*, 4 (2000).

⁶⁹ Paul Sanders, 'Defining a Relevant Architecture in South Africa'. *Arq*, 4 (2000), 67-80

associated with public buildings.⁷⁰ The difference between this building and the Constitution Court is that the cultural references are not generalised but derived from Bakgatla living culture still evident in Mochudi, -as a way justifying their authenticity and relevance. It also implies that for these cultural identities to be preserved, they need to be reinvented or reimagined. This approach was praised in the SAIA awards report as a good example of 'counter narrative to many museums and memorials, both pre- and post-1994, that set forth far more singular and less accepting views of our country's past and future.'⁷¹ These involved on one level reinvention and appropriation, on another duplication and reconstruction of history. This will be discussed further in the next sections.

Pre-colonial and Cultural nostalgias, the politics of cultural authenticity

One of the significant additions to the precinct, as previously noted, is the Iron Age settlement pattern. Leaving the museum, visitors are said to “begin a spatial conceptual journey”⁷² into 'pre-colonial history' by entering the open-air landscape pattern articulated in a series of short stone walls. The visitor is to follow a conceptual path - the same path used by cattle during the pre-colonial times. The central cattle path is theorised by archaeologists as a way to study the spatial layout of the pre-colonial settlements in southern Africa. According to this theory the cattle path explains the spatial societal organisation based on cultural norms such as the cultural practice of dowry (*lobola*) paid using cattle, kinship and patrilineal societal organisation.⁷³

⁷⁰ Nabeel Essa, 'Moruleng Cultural Precinct, 499 Moruleng Boulevard, Moruleng', Corobrik SAIA Awards 2015/2016, pp. 54-55

⁷¹ Essa, 'Moruleng Cultural Precinct, 499 Moruleng Boulevard, Moruleng'.

⁷² Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report 1'.

⁷³ Badenhorst, 'The Central Cattle Pattern During the Iron Age of Southern Africa: A Critique of Its Spatial Features'.



Figure 6.19: The recreated layout of the pre-colonial settlement selectively creates certain aspects of the archaeological regarded as symbolic. (Source: Nabeel Essa)



Figure 6.20: The walls are built to portray an impression of a dry stone traditional wall construction (Source: Nabeel Essa)

This spatial layout consists of different spaces such as the cattle kraal, royal huts, and boundaries of a homestead and it traverses the whole site to reach a traditional hut (figure 6.19). Although this landscape was built based on the archaeological interpretation of an Iron Age pre-colonial settlement that was surveyed and measured by the archaeologist Francois Coetzee, in reality the current layout is a selective re-creation of symbolic aspects of a pre-colonial settlement. For example, according to Francios Coetzee the archaeological site was the first Bakgatla's capital under *kgosi* Pilane I, dated around the 1800

as compared to the recreated version, the original site is extensive and measures approximately 800m in length and 70m in width, a scale that is demonstrative of the 'mega-sites' as characterised in archaeological literature. In the archaeological site, it was discovered that the layout had a distinctive five ward system with the central enclave comprising the royal quarters. According to the archaeological study, the royal quarters had the 'biggest huts, midden material, material dump and everything is bigger compared to the outlying areas.'⁷⁴

In contrast to the original, the re-creation in the Moruleng Heritage Precinct is much smaller in size around 25% of the original. Only the aspects of the layout considered symbolic such as the cattle kraal, cattle path, *kgotla*, midden,⁷⁵ homestead and copper-smelting area were built, but scaled (in miniature) to fit the space between the church and museum.⁷⁶ Thus the landscape layout is an artificial insertion intended to symbolise Bakgatla pre-colonial architectural history and to inscribe a pre-colonial identity on the site. The appropriation of the cattle pattern model to explain the spatial experience of the layout reflects on one hand the nostalgia associated with traditional village spatial layouts (like the one in Mochudi), which no longer exists in Moruleng. As the report emphasised;

*...Bakgatla settlements are beautiful and mesmerising in and of themselves. They are also a wonderful opportunity to explore the symbolic spaces that gave meaning to the Iron Age communities of the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela ancestors.*⁷⁷

On the other hand, it highlights the desire to create culturally authentic tangible forms of identification. This desire for authentic representation of pre-colonial architectural forms influenced the actual construction of the stone walls in the recreated pre-colonial landscape. These walls are built to convey the traditional appearance of the Bakgatla dry stonewalling technique,

⁷⁴ Skype Interview with Coetzee, by author (June 2016).

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Nabeel Essa, 'Moruleng Heritage Design Statement', (collected Nabeel Essa in Johannesburg, 2015)

⁷⁷ 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report 1', (Johannesburg, South Africa: Totem Media, November 2010). (p. 42).

yet they also raise questions on cultural authenticity. The question of authenticity was explored during interviews with the archaeologists and the architect. Two lines of thought emerged; one being the construction techniques, the other alluding to the claim that the landscape derives its authenticity from the existing archaeological settlement, as previously emphasised.

According to the archaeologist, the dry stone wall technique adopted by the Bakgatla utilised small stones in the core of the wall with larger stones kept to the exterior, and as a result it does not require any bonding material (figure 6.20). Moreover, the construction of the re-created stone walls landscape in Moruleng Precinct does not follow any prescribed traditional technique, but it is built purely for visual aesthetic purposes, to evoke the appearance of a traditional dry-stone wall. The archaeologist explained that the core the wall is built around employed cement for bonding and steel rods with cement joints are that are set behind the face of outer stones. 'The idea is that, the visitor should not see that it is actual cement walling ...'⁷⁸ and yet cement is needed to prolong the durability of the wall.

It was also argued that although the re-creation diverged from an authentic construction technique, its degree of authenticity is derived from the fact that the layout is linked to authentic Bakgatla history and origins. The intention behind this pre-colonial cultural appropriation is meant to be symbolic, meaningful and a visual representation of pre-colonial identity. The architect notes that the idea of duplicating the central part of the landscape (royal quarters) occurred to him during one of his research visits to *Kgosi Pilane's* Iron Age landscape, located a short distance from the heritage precinct inside Pilanesberg Game Park.

However due to the association of the same design team with the project in Mochudi, it could also be concluded that the desire for tangible forms of identification associated with the Bakgatla cultural identity reflects a nostalgia

⁷⁸Skype Interview with Coetzee, ed. by author (June 2016)

for village-like aesthetics and atmosphere lost in the mists of time. As one of the project historians noted during an interview:

*'...the fact is that we have very little material culture that remained in Moruleng. In Mochudi you can find walk and stumble on stone walling site and people were building these things up to recently.'*⁷⁹

Similar views in the promotional material for the precinct and heritage report underlined this beauty of the village-like layout in the following manner:

*'...to immerse in Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela culture as it was back then'*⁸⁰

In a similar vein, the traditional hut structure is presented as a representation of a traditional vernacular hut. At first sight, the hut is similar to the traditional huts widely found in villages in Botswana. It was conceived through a process of consultation with the archaeologist, architect and input from elderly members of the community who represented a collective living memory. Although there was an initial insistence to construct the hut authentically, the inclusion of the community's views on how a pre-colonial structure would have been built meant that there would be a divergence between the archaeological evidence and the community's living memory.

⁷⁹ Johannesburg, 'Historian for Moruleng Heritage Precinct'.

⁸⁰ Totem Media, 'Two Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Cultural Precincts: Moruleng and Mochudi'.p5



Figure 6.21: The hut was built as a metaphor and a representation of a traditional hut. It does not use any traditional techniques (Source: taken by author in 2015)

Archaeological evidence shows that a hut in the Iron Age settlement had foundations built on larger and upright stones. The walls were built using branches and plastered with dagga or mud while the thatched roof rested on external logs acting as columns. The current vernacular hut significantly diverged from the pre-colonial construction techniques, and a larger doorway was added and a window included (Figure 6.21). Contrary to this, the traditional huts in the archaeological settlement would have much lower doorways than as-built, no windows and a sliding door has been evidenced by the remains of a slate for the door to slide on. However, this was seen as improbable by the community based on their own interpretation of vernacular architecture.⁸¹ The front walls defining the series of spaces between public and private in a homestead would have been built of wood, while in the reconstruction the walls are built out of bricks and plastered to evoke a vernacular architecture, more akin to the preserved vernacular huts in Mochudi. According to the archaeologist the current hut is more of a 'metaphor' and it combines to a certain degree findings from archaeological

⁸¹ Interview with Francios by Author: Johannesburg (June 2015), 'Historian for Moruleng Heritage Precinct'.

research and eccentric features derived from the community's collective and living memory

The contested nature of the hut underlies the comments by David Lowenthal, that the 'past is a foreign country,' and to this we can add is also a *contested past* and *negotiated*, 'even though it is all around us.'⁸² This is true in Moruleng where the interpretation of the hut by the community, based on the community's collective memory was valued over archaeological evidence. Hence it was decided to build a structure that conforms to the community's idea of their vernacular architecture on living memory since the Iron Age site is around 200 years old.⁸³ These kinds of building skills that existed 200 to 300 years ago have been prioritised, even though the community have long lost such skills. Yet their interpretation to build all the new insertions the community had to rely on specialist companies to evoke their vernacular architecture.

The appropriation of history as heritage has also been observed by Lowenthal who argued that the desire for heritage is prevalent in most communities because of how 'the loss of ancestral land and migration 'sharpens nostalgia' which leads to the 'quests for roots that reflect this trauma.'⁸⁴ In this respect he argues 'history' has come to mean 'heritage,'⁸⁵ a view that is now significantly used to interpret the pre-colonial landscape in Moruleng. The counter argument to is that introducing pre-colonial identity through introducing new re-creations is important to conjure up the community's pride in vernacular architecture, even though such architectural tradition did not endure in Moruleng. Here the line between history and heritage has been blurred to articulate a sense of difference between colonial

⁸² Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country - Revisited*.

⁸³ Francois P. Coetzee and Dr. Kusel, 'Phase 2 Archaeological Assessment of Late Iron Age Structures on the Farm Ledig 909 Jq (Quality Vacatio Club and Golf Course, North West Province', (South Africa, August, 2008).

⁸⁴ David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁸⁵ Ibid; N. Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32:4 (March 2007).

and pre-colonial identities, as a way to address the postcolonial construction of identity in Moruleng.

Whose identity? Identity politics and the negotiation of meaning and representations

According to David Harvey, the interpretation of heritage has a long historical tradition of transforming to reflect the present 'cultural power'.¹⁸⁶ This perspective is common in postcolonial societies, where heritage is subjectively driven by the need to define a new sense of identity. In Moruleng this process involves the shift to present an inclusive interpretation of heritage - a process termed the 'democratisation of heritage'¹⁸⁷ by Pierre Nora. An inclusive interpretation of heritage in the case of the Moruleng Heritage Precinct is defined in two ways through the reconceptualisation and redefinition of heritage meaning and values, in relation to colonial, pre-colonial and cultural identities. Firstly, is the inclusive interpretation of heritage and identity. This perspective means that for the design team there was a strong need to interpret the colonial heritage as a representation of colonial identity, even though for the community such buildings are part of their heritage landscape. This position was articulated during interviews with the design team that the colonial heritage buildings implicitly represent colonial identity both in terms of their architecture and their meaning. As the project manager emphasised; 'in the case of Moruleng, there was deliberate attempt to engage with colonial identity and the impact of Christianity and colonialism'¹⁸⁸ which the DRC church and Mphebatho museum were assumed to represent.

A counter perspective is that the Mphebatho museum building was not necessarily built as an identity or power-radiating monument, but it is part of

¹⁸⁶ C. D. Harvey, 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', in *Cultural Heritage*, ed. by L Smith (Milton Park, Abington, Oxon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 25-39. Harvey used the examples

¹⁸⁷ Nora Pierre, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Memoire', *Representations, Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory*, (Spring, 1989).

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Horowitz in Johannesburg by author (June 2015).

the community's achievement in terms of building and historical legacy. In this context, colonial heritage denotes buildings which appropriated Cape Dutch colonial architectural style as was widely done in the region. Another point of contention was the Christian identity and values with regards to the content of the exhibition. The DRC church suggests a strong connection to Christian identity. Indeed, the opening of the precinct coincided with the 150th anniversary of the DRC church building in Moruleng. The constant juxtaposition of traditional artefacts and Christian values that is explored in the precinct and exhibition is considered irreconcilable by some community members who identify as Christians. The cultural precinct to some is representative of the Christian religion despite the fact that traditional exhibits such as traditional medicine are displayed in the museum, (which was said to have been condemned and discouraged by the Christian faith) contradicting their faith, as well as their identity.

Secondly, there was the insistence on dynamic interpretations of heritage and history where aspects of the past were resurrected to inform the new spaces and structures. This pursuit for an inclusive interpretation also meant the reassessment of heritage, as well as a re-examination of identity and culture. This move was premised on the need to inscribe absent Bakgatla cultural identities in the new precinct. This involved the re-creation of new material culture ostensibly presented as heritage. New architectural elements such as the iron age settlement that were never on the site have been effectively decontextualized as they have been recreated from elsewhere.

To the visitor, these new additions can create a sense of illusion and even the simulacrum, of a pre-colonial settlement, even though several boards mounted in the landscape state that the re-creations were not created in an authentic fashion. Grand statements which imagine the landscape as a representation of the Bakgatla's first capital and its significance are also made. According to the semiotician theorist Umberto Eco, the culture of life-size re-creations based on fake histories in America is influenced by the culture of

consumerism where the lines between fake and real are blurred.⁸⁹ This approach, according to Eco, requires a scenario whereby reconstructions of 'the past must be preserved, celebrated in full scale authentic copy; a philosophy immorality as duplication.'⁹⁰

In Moruleng the re-creations are not necessarily a full-scale copy and have been significantly scaled down because of the pragmatic issues of scale and authentic construction techniques. Nonetheless by basing these reconstructions on the interpretation of archaeological evidence, there is an implicit claim to authenticity. Furthermore, the inclusion of multiple Bakgatla identities as part of the narrative of the site was considered important to re-inscribe identities that were impacted upon by colonialism. When considered in the context of postcolonial studies, the idea of authenticity and duplication of history takes on a 'non-essentialist'⁹¹ perspective, which opposes the idea of a 'grand theory or narrative' when assessing the issues of culture and identity. Cultural authenticity is particularly problematic in postcolonial studies. Scholars have noted that it is important however to delve into the questions of why history is being reconstructed or duplicated. This perspective responds to the argument that we do not reproduce history for the sake of it. It is particularly important in understanding the duplication of pre-colonial identities in Moruleng. Here the idea of authenticity resonated with the architect's view, who reflected that the reconstruction of history was problematic, but that it was necessary to subvert the already existing representation of the past. The landscape is mobilised as a sign, from which the past is interpreted to inform in terms of present the postcolonial identity construction, and the desire for tangible forms of culture. In this case new cultural forms have been invented, for example the case of amphitheatre which is openly presented as the *kgotla* structure.

⁸⁹ Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality : Essays*, (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), pp. 6-7.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Jonathan Rutherford, 'A Place Called Home: Identity and the Cultural Politics of Difference', in *Identity : Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), pp. 9-27.

In summary, this chapter has explored the role of identity politics and it illustrates that the construction of postcolonial identity in Moruleng entails the revaluation and re-examination of the meaning of heritage buildings beyond their architectural ontology and in terms of their wider meaning and significance. This analysis has shown that heritage is subjected to multiple interpretations – the same building can evoke colonial identity as well as form part of the community’s heritage. Such interpretations can be conflicting, particularly in postcolonial Africa where debates on the relevance of colonial heritage were recently reignited in 2010. Stuart Hall acknowledges that discussions on identity should take into consideration how the contemporary politics of identity influence our search for common identity. This approach involves the reflection of “historical developments and practices,”⁹² affecting how communities may represent themselves, and looking at how they were previously represented. In post-apartheid South Africa, the process of identity construction touches on all the above aspects, in the sense that previously marginalised identities and practices are interpreted as part of heritage conservation, narrative and memory.

⁹² Colin Michael Hall and others, *Tourism and Postcolonialism [Electronic Resource] : Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, (London: Routledge, 2004); Noble, 'Architecture, Hybridities and post-Apartheid Design'; Rutherford, 'A Place Called Home: Identity and the Cultural Politics of Difference'.

7 The politics of Identity and the consequence?

Considering the key findings discussed in chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 the main aim of this study is to reflect upon the politics of identity in the case studies by sketching a trajectory and the impact of identity politics on architecture and heritage. It reflects on the conceptual framework formulated in chapter one and the theoretical insights emerging from the site-specific case studies examples. The discussion is divided into four main thematic areas occurring throughout the case studies. It begins by highlighting the theoretical perspective on 'the politics of identity' and it illustrates how notions of identity whether national, colonial, pre-colonial or tribal are dynamic and subject to negotiation and contestation. Next, 'the pursuit for tangible forms of identity and its impact' re-examines the consequence of identity politics on the built environment, and uses the key findings presented in the case studies to illustrate the connection between different imaginations. 'Evoking history as heritage and past identities' revisits the theme of the appropriation of histories as 'heritage' and this prompts questions on whether new heritage sites are being invented and how these ideas or inventions are reflected architecturally. Having discussed the different ways in which identity is politicised, in conclusion, the chapter discusses the contribution of architecture and heritage in tracing and examining discourses on identity.

The politics of identity

According to literature, architecture is often tied to the politics of identity and representation. Studies drawing theoretical perspectives from theories of nationalism in the late 1980s have illustrated how architecture is linked to the construction of national identity and nationalism. These discussions have been challenged and extended by scholars drawing theoretical insights from cultural theory and post-colonial theory, to highlight how the construction of collective identities is contested and negotiated underpinned by the politics of race, nation, and the creation of a sense of belonging. The argument central to these studies is that the nation is not homogenous, and despite attempts to forge a collective identity other forms of alternative identifications emerge within the national space. Most importantly recent studies have begun to look at how everyday life and socio-cultural experiences have become part of the negotiation of sense of identity. Consequently, to understand how the politics of identity relates to place we need to delve beyond the stylistic interpretation of the architecture and rather to examine the context under which such identities are constituted; and whether it is through the subjective interpretation of heritage.

Recent heritage literature has explored the relationship between the politics of identity and heritage and has advocated for what has been termed the 'pluralisation' of heritage.¹ Within these studies what remain under-explored is how these notions of identity impact on the conservation of heritage beyond the discussions of what is and what is not heritage. For example, what approaches would be considered appropriate for heritage conservation for such identity-charged heritage places, and how some meanings are prioritised over others. Therefore this study is rooted in the

¹ G. J. Ashworth, B. Graham, and J. E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*, (London: Pluto Press, 2007); R. Harrison, *Heritage Critical Approaches*, (2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013); D. C. Harvey, 'Heritage Pasts and Presents: Temporality, Meaning and Scope of Heritage Studies', in *Cultural Heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies: History and Concepts*, ed. by L. Smith (Britain: Routledge, 2007), pp. 25-44; John E. Tunbridge, 'Plural and Multicultural Heritages', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. by Brian J. Graham and Peter Howard (Routledge: Routledge, Ashgate, 2008).

discussion of architecture and the material culture of place² to extend this existing heritage literature it has crossed several disciplines such as (including architecture and heritage) to explore the politics of identity. By focusing on place-specific case studies and histories it has traced identity politics, both urban planning and the transformation of heritage, in both national and tribal spaces. To understand how identities are constructed, this study follows the suggestion by Stuart Hall that identities 'are never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation.'³

I. Contested interpretations and negotiation of space

As stated above, the first theme is concerned with different perspectives on how identities are contextualised according to contested subject positions which include: the challenges of nationhood and the construction of national identity, the definition of colonial heritage versus colonial identity, the challenges to the interpretation of heritage and meaning. The case study of envisioning Gaborone as a capital city for the new nation illuminates the challenges of nationhood and the creation of collective identities. As Lawrence Vale has argued:

'Decolonization affected the urban design of capitals much more directly by inspiring about a dozen entirely new cities after 1960, as well as the construction of many smaller capitol complexes in existing capital cities. In many cases, rulers

² The advantage of architecture as a field of study has been emphasised by historians for example, Zeynep Celick has argued that "Architecture and urbanism have an obvious advantage over other cultural formations in shedding light on social relations and power structures: they constitute an essential part of the human experience and their experiential qualities make them accessible to everybody. They express cultural values, but they are also firmly grounded in material and daily life." Zeynep Celik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontationsalgiers under French Rule*, (United States: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, 1997), p. 2. This study has an architectural historian bias.

³ Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), pp. 1-17 (p. 4).

*of newly independent nation-states viewed urban design as a mechanism to shore up their rule.*⁴

Previous studies on urban planning, architecture and heritage have portrayed the planning of Gaborone as a political and pragmatic process where the modern city form was imposed on the new nation by the departing political powers, and hence its lack of 'African motifs' or local cultural influences in its form is blamed on this purported cultural imposition. What these debates seemed to have overlooked is that the process of envisioning the capital city involved more actors, the local political elite, who aspired for a modern city, free of the labyrinthine roads and pathways which characterised the organic spatial layout of traditional villages, while the colonial administrators desired a well ordered city that would reflect the functions of the government. Although this local political elite did not necessarily spell out a particular form of the city, their desire for a modern capital was expressed through the binary of what was viewed as representative of modernity versus traditional city. Gaborone was built from scratch on a so called 'neutral' site, and the new capital city was to be the image of the new nation and to embody the political values of a 'non-racial city' which I have argued denoted the attempts to create an egalitarian city. However, the three planning proposals that were developed illustrated the divergent interpretations of an egalitarian city and national identity. These ideas of an egalitarian and monumental city failed to translate into reality, and in the end the city plan was an amalgamation of different planning visions to form the central pedestrian core derived from the AA plan. These planning proposals of Gaborone also afforded a lens to explore the politics of identity in envisioning the capital city which has so far remained absent in urban history discourse.

In the case study of Moruleng we saw how colonial heritage can be interpreted as both a representation of 'colonial identity' and part of the historic landscape. Yet it was illustrated that the architectural style of Cape Dutch colonial architectural style was appropriated by the local community of

⁴ Lawrence J. Vale, 'The Urban Design of Twentieth Century Capitals', in *Planning Twentieth Century Capitals*, ed. by David L. A. Gordon (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 15-37 (p. 25).

the time, as the buildings that house the Mphebotho Museum and the Phuthadikobo Museum both demonstrate. In Moruleng the interpretation of colonial heritage as colonial identity was influenced by two aspects. First, it is drawn from the narratives of history and or the subjugation associated with colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, a perspective that was emphasised by both heritage professionals and architects. Secondly this interpretation was also subjective, and privileged the professionals' interpretation of what is colonial identity, derived from their own interpretation of what colonial style buildings symbolised in South Africa. One architect likened the aesthetics of these buildings to 'colonial urbanism' like the landscape in Cape Town⁵ and the impact of Christianity on the Bakgatla culture. This interpretation is not necessarily shared by the tribal community whose decision to conserve these buildings suggests the preservation of built heritage is more important. Despite this interpretation of these buildings as representative of colonial identity their restoration rather than complete alteration suggests the acceptance that the tribal community's culture is characterised by the co-existence of culturally rooted values and Christian values.

In the case study of Mochudi the idea of what constitutes heritage is heavily contested between the community and the national government. For the tribal community, the historic relics within the *kgotla* contribute to its sense of place and are also a reminder of past cultural and tribal traditions associated with the architecture of a traditional village layout. The buildings and structures (the kraal, granary) which do not serve their original functions can possibly act as artefacts, representative of past cultural traditions and lifestyles of the Bakgatla. I have argued in this case study that the heritage value of this place should not be based on a reductive interpretation of culture and heritage. This reductive interpretation of culture and heritage is illustrated in the new buildings proposed by the national government where the organic form and use of thatch in these proposals is equated to traditional structures, vernacular architecture and the preservation of heritage. In reality, these structures are proposed to replace extant architecturally significant heritage

⁵ Interview with Essa Nabeel, ed. by Mwale Katlego (June 2015, Johannesburg).

buildings, and the spatial composition and sense of place that they claim to draw inspiration from. I have also argued that heritage in the *kgotla* is also spatial; it is 'a stage for gathering' defined by the different aspects of the *kgotla*. The proposals to demolish the chief's house are also seen as a threat to the tribal community's sense of identity, and therefore by resisting any kind of development in the *kgotla* whilst arguing for the conservation of heritage, the community attempts to protect their heritage and culture. The continued use of the *kgotla* in living traditional and cultural practices has retained its meaning and significance, and as Laurajane Smith reminds us 'heritage is a symbolic representation of identity. 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.'⁶

2. Evoking history as heritage and evoking past identities

According to David Lowenthal, 'heritage' has 'outpaced' other forms of the past such as tradition, memory and myth, to the extent that 'what was once termed history or tradition is now heritage'.⁷ Lowenthal suggest that the reasons for appropriating histories and traditions as heritage is attributed to the nostalgia related with the places that have been lost and it is because 'heritage magnifies self-esteem and bolsters communal ardour'.⁸ Similarly, in instances where heritage does not exist, the tangible forms of identity are created and invented. Amongst these creations are monuments which Hilde Heynen has termed 'intentional monuments',⁹ in the context of questioning whether modern buildings in Brussels could ever become national

⁶ L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, (2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006).Page 30

⁷ David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1998).The same observation has been made by historian Neil Parsons in relation to cultural heritage in Botswana, that culture has now been appropriated to mean heritage Neil Parsons, 'Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32 (2006).

⁸ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. 4.

⁹ Hilde Heynen, 'Petrifying Memories: Architecture and the Construction of Identity', *The Journal of Architecture*, 4 (1999). See also Alois Riegl, 'The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development', in *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, ed. by Nicholas Stanley Price, M. Tallery, Kirby Jr., and Alssandra Melucco Vaccaro (Washington: The Getty Conservation Institution Los Angeles, 1996), pp. 69-83.

monuments. The replication of a pre-colonial settlement in the middle of Moruleng suggests the shift to recreate tangible cultural materials, to monumentalise aspects of intangible cultural heritage and culture that is driven by cultural nostalgia, and the desire for representation and symbolism.

This section in short argues that there are similar continuities, as observed by Lowenthal above, where history has been evoked to represent and produce 'heritage' as part of identity-making practices. This has been demonstrated in the case of Gaborone where 'intentional'¹⁰ monuments are built as a representation of national identity while histories and myths are appropriated to legitimise the creation and interpretation of these national monuments. The Moruleng case study illustrates a situation where past histories, identities and traditions are evoked as part of the identity-making practice. This raises questions on whether these communities are inventing new heritages or not and whether these new monuments would sustain their meaning and relevance in the future?

The recreation of the pre-colonial settlement layout in Moruleng operated in the same vein of appropriating histories and tradition as heritage. In this regard, pre-colonial history of the Bakgatla was evoked, with particular emphasis on the values and meanings of a pre-colonial traditional village layout as a representation of the Bakgatla architectural civilisation which has disappeared in history due to the deliberate marginalisation of the tribal community's culture and traditions. In their interpretation of the pre-colonial settlement, the design professionals emphasised the cultural value of the traditions and culture associated with the practices of 'paying bride price' using cattle and the spatial hierarchical organisation of a patrilineal society. As the design report puts it, 'The patterns of the Sotho-Tswana settlements are beautiful and even mesmerising. They are also a wonderful opportunity to explore the symbolic spaces that gave meaning to the Iron Age communities

¹⁰ The work intentional monument has been borrowed Heynen, 'Petrifying Memories: Architecture and the Construction of Identity'.

of the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela ancestors.¹¹ Here the history and pre-colonial traditions are privileged to substantiate new re-creations, as part of understanding the imaginary pre-colonial past while constructing post-colonial identities.

Similarly, the new monuments in Gaborone appropriate histories and national myths for the purposes of creating monuments which promote national identity. These monuments are then listed as national heritage and their location, in the centre and oldest part of the city, is very telling about their intended meaning as part of the national history and identity. As a result, of this commitment to inventing new national monuments, actual extant heritage is overlooked, because it does not carry the same narratives of national identity.

3. The appropriation of cultural symbols as makers of identities

The third theme is concerned with the politicisation of identity through the appropriation of cultural signs and symbols as a representation of inclusive cultural identities and an attempt to present the character hybrid culture of the tribal communities within the nation. The culture and belief systems of tribal communities in Southern Africa are influenced by Christianity brought into the region by early travellers and missionaries. As a result of this cultural encounter, the communities also appropriated similar architectural traditions such as the Cape Dutch colonial architectural style and most of this architecture is now largely referred to as colonial heritage.

In the Moruleng Cultural Heritage Precinct, the Cape Dutch colonial architectural aesthetics are constantly juxtaposed against pre-colonial and cultural symbols. The juxtaposing of these identities is intended on one hand to illuminate the interpretation of colonial heritage as representative of colonial identity and the subjugation of Bakgatla cultures, while on the other

¹¹ Totem media, 'Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela Museum and Cultural Precinct Scoping Report I', (Johannesburg, South Africa, November 2010), (p. 42).

hand it suggests the pursuit to promote and redress the cultural representation of the previously subjugated Bakgatla culture. The replication and recreation of the pre-colonial settlement was by far the boldest intervention in the precinct. It was initially intended to be built by using construction techniques interpreted from archaeological evidence, to shore up its 'authenticity.' However, this was not realised because these construction techniques no longer exist in the community, and instead the re-created pre-colonial landscape has become yet another cultural symbol within the landscape - a heritage and identity product, conceived under the aegis of heritage conservation.

However, I have argued in chapter 6 that the Moruleng precinct addresses an inclusive interpretation of culture¹² and has attempted to address a critical interpretation of culture and the politics of identity. The issues of culture and traditions has been addressed in the museum exhibitions and displays with some level of success by integrating story telling as part of the exhibition. This was presented as an attempt not to rely on the methods of glass-cased objects as a mode of display only. Nonetheless the emphasis of the binaries on colonial versus pre-colonial and cultural identities has meant that, for example, in the restoration of the museum the inscription of cultural symbols and motifs may not be necessarily needed, and it borders more on the realm of cultural branding and decoration than heritage conservation.

A similar use of vernacular architecture as a marker of cultural identity can be found in the traditional hut open air-museum in Gaborone. In contrast, to the approach in Moruleng, Gaborone there were no attempts to critically engage with cultural issues, for example, the construction of the traditional huts specific to different tribal groups was done by museum experts. These vernacular huts were conceived in a top-down approach and did not reach their intended meaning or significance due to neglect and the missed opportunity to explore both cultural values and vernacular architectural issues. Instead these huts have become cultural identity symbols and artefacts

¹² The project included a great deal of community participation

in the museum courtyard, which are devoid of meaning and context. Jyoti Hosagrahar has argued that the difficulty of designating heritage in African countries is the lack of 'clear distinction between traditional built forms and informal ones.'¹³ This argument can be extended to Botswana where the reductive interpretation of culture and heritage has meant that vernacular architecture is interpreted as heritage. The same observation has been made by Feras Hammami in his examination of the influence of Tswana culture on the planning of a new mining town, Sowa, in Botswana. Hammami argues that the abstract interpretation of a Tswana traditional settlement layout was reduced to the aesthetics of a semi-circular form by the urban planners based on a Western-centric perspective on culture and customs.¹⁴

The proposals for new office buildings in the *kgotla* in Mochudi present a scenario where new buildings appropriate cultural symbols and traditions to build something that in the architect's opinion responds to place and culture. It was previously argued that these buildings were conceived as a top-down approach, based on the architects' own reductive interpretation of culture and heritage. In these proposals, cultural elements are used superficially to appropriate cultural symbols, and hence have nothing to do with a critical understanding of culture or the conservation of architectural heritage. This study does not imply that no new buildings should be constructed in the *kgotla*, but rather it argues that the symbolism of culture by equating the traditional layout of a traditional village to an organic form a office building is inadequate. These proposed buildings can be read as an enlarged and oversized interpretation of a traditional vernacular hut and hence do not contribute to appropriating a sense of place. The proposals for a *kgotla* shelter in the middle of the *kgotla* (currently standing at foundation level) also claims the symbolism of the Bakgatla culture and traditions in its use of thatch roofing material and seating layout which is meant to reflect the relationship of the tribal chief to his subjects. However as argued in chapter 5, this reading

¹³ Jyoti Hosagrahar, 'Interrogating Difference: Postcolonial Perspectives and Urbanism', in *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory*, ed. by C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns, and Hilde Heynen (London: Sage Publications, 2012), pp. 70-84 (p. 78).

¹⁴ Feras Hammami, 'Culture and Planning for Change and Continuity in Botswana', *Journal of planning education and research*, 32 (2012).

of culture and tradition through symbols and signs which can be easily translated into built form, as part of claims to the promotion of cultural heritage is simply inadequate, given that the site has been designated for heritage preservation and conservation. It was also argued that the significance of the *kgotla* lies in the relationship of the different parts of the *kgotla* to the sense of open space used for cultural activities. Any new structures should be sensitive to this non-monumental sense of place and the meanings and values ascribed there. Furthermore, if this proposal is to be realised, a significant amount of the historic fabric would be demolished, which also goes against its official designation as a tribal historic core.

4. Identity, heritage conservation and the negotiations of cultural 'authenticity'

One of the main challenges of heritage conservation in the global south has been the concept of authenticity, particularly for cultures which depend on oral traditions and claim to be 'less material-centric.'¹⁵ Implicit to these perspectives on the conservation of heritage is that heritage is more than the built fabric, and the cultural transmission of knowledge practices as part of heritage conservation are more important than material authenticity, a concept which has become prevalent in Asia. In Southern Africa, tribal communities depended on oral histories and intangible heritage practices as part of their living cultures. Material heritage in these communities depends on maintaining the relationship of the intangible heritage and the non-monumental architectural spaces that are symbolic to the communities' belief systems and cultural rituals such as cattle kraal, open gathering space (the *kgotla*), the chief's house and granaries. These spaces and buildings perform two important functions in the current context, for some communities they are symbolic reminders of past traditions, while for others they provide a sense of continuity with the past and are now valued as part of the artefacts of their heritage landscape. The conservation of these places is usually carried

¹⁵ Tim Winter, 'Beyond Eurocentrism? Heritage Conservation and the Politics of Difference', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20 (2014), 123.

out through culturally-entrenched practices carried out by the community elders,¹⁶ who, in the process, transfer vital construction skills on to the next generation. However, the recent shift to actively encourage the conservation of tangible heritage in tribal cores by converting them to heritage precincts is gradually emerging. This has meant that the conservation of intangible heritage is to be developed in contrast with material heritage conservation (a so called Western-centric approach).¹⁷ Consequently these communities are confronted with the need to address authenticity with regards to conserving material heritage. The approaches to heritage conservation and authenticity are in most cases guided by international heritage charters, which suggest a range of approaches to the protection of authenticity. These include minimal intervention, restoration, reconstruction conducted in-situ and preservation. Therefore, the desire to re-create tangible heritage, which are removed from its context and based on the interpretation of an existing archaeological site challenges the principles of authenticity and the aims of heritage conservation.

In Moruleng the recreation of the pre-colonial settlement as previously mentioned seeks to negotiate its sense of 'authenticity' from the actual existing archaeological site linked to the Bakgatla origins and imagined pre-colonial past. Although the replication itself does not adhere to any conservation ethos on material authenticity or intangible heritage, the interpretation of the existing pre-colonial archaeological settlement suggests that there was a concerted effort to explore how the pre-colonial settlement functioned.

The archaeological research illustrated that the Bakgatla pre-colonial settlements were extensive in size and a dry-stone wall technique in the construction of walls articulating the forecourt of each homestead. It was initially proposed that the new re-creation of the pre-colonial settlement layout (although having been reduced in size) and the traditional hut would

¹⁶ Susan Keitumetse, 'Unesco 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage: Practical Implications for Heritage Management Approaches in Africa', *South African Archaeological Society*, 61 (December 2006); W. Ndoro and G. Twitti, 'Heritage Management in Southern Africa: National and International Discourse', in *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, ed. by G. Corsane (Routledge, 2005), pp. 154-67.

¹⁷ Sabine Marschall, 'Zulu Heritage between Institutionalized Commemoration and Tourist Attraction', *Visual Anthropology*, 21 (2008).

adhere to the archaeological historic construction techniques.¹⁸ These construction techniques no longer exist in the community's recent cultural memory and therefore a compromise had to be reached where the community's own interpretation of pre-colonial vernacular construction techniques was allowed. The result is a metaphor of a vernacular hut and traditional looking dry-stone walls. This pursuit for 'traditional-like' aesthetics has meant that the need for material authenticity or intangible heritage has been excluded, in favour of a simulated rural village-like appearance.

In 2016 during my fieldwork, Botswana celebrated 50 years of independence under the slogan 'United and Proud.' Unlike other momentous independence celebrations such as the 10th and 20th years of independence, no 'intentional' monument was built. Instead, several lectures on the importance of nation-building and the values of the nation were held in the University of Botswana and the National Museum Art and Gallery in Gaborone as part of a reflection on the jubilee independence celebrations. Tribal spaces (the *kgotla*) in different traditional villages were encouraged to paint different parts of the space in colours reflecting the national flag and yet again these interventions were ephemeral. It seemed, during this period, that no monument or visual marker was required, as was the norm in the previous momentous independence celebrations. However, the notion of a homogenous nation was drawn upon to illustrate the values and identity of the Botswana nation.

The previous chapters have illustrated the various ways in which the politics of identity in tribal and national spaces inform urban planning, the designation, interpretation and conservation of heritage, as well as architecture. These chapters have brought to the fore part of architectural history as well as recent histories of place which have so far remained absent in the growing body of literature on capital cities and identity-making practices in tribal spaces. The three case studies were selected because of the quite deliberate and nuanced ways in which identities are politicised. For instance, the planning proposals for the creation of Gaborone as a capital city are

¹⁸ Skype Interview with Coetzee Francios, ed. by Mwale Katlego (June 2016).

largely unknown in the urban history of the city, however through a nuanced reading these historical documents provide a lens to explore the politics of envisioning a capital city.

In tracing the politics of identity, I have chosen to write a detailed recent history and account on each case study for two reasons. First, there is lack of critical literature into architecture in Botswana; therefore each case study compels me to paint a complete picture on the narratives on place, culture and architecture. Second, I have pursued a line of inquiry which seeks to link these identity politics to reading space and their impact on space and architecture, a field of research which is so far under-explored in sub-Saharan architectural scholarship, as Kathleen James-Chakraborty has pointed out.¹⁹

To trace the trajectory of identity politics, in this thesis I have chosen the city as representative of national space and the tribal space as representative of tribal identity. This does not necessarily suggest that the construction of national identity is exclusively limited to the city or conversely tribal identities are limited to traditional villages, but rather this classification is based on the current "two-tier" urban settlement system. Furthermore, as previously argued in the introductory chapter, Gaborone as a capital city was tasked with the need to represent national identity, a characteristic it shares with the evolution of cities in history,²⁰ as well as the creation of recent capital cities.²¹

The overarching questions of this study are: How have notions of identity continued to inform the post-colonial negotiation of place in national and tribal spaces? What role do these ideas on identities play in the built environment beyond the construction of identities and identity politics? How are dual

¹⁹ Kathleen James-Chakraborty, 'Beyond Postcolonialism: New Directions for the History of Nonwestern Architecture', *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, 3 (2014).

²⁰For example, see Lewis Mumford who has illustrated that the rise of cities in history is related to the need to organise, trade, culture and power. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, (Great Britain: Pelican Books, 1961).

²¹ L. A. Gordon Ed. David, *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, (New York: Routledge, 2006); James Holston, *The Modernist City : an Anthropological Critique of Brasília*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Nihal Perera, 'Chandigarh: India's Modernist Experiment', in *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*, ed. by David L. A. Gordon (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 226-36.

identities (national and ethnic cultural) made and practised negotiated in the city and in tribal spaces? What is the impact of these identity-making practices on architecture?

- I. How have notions of identity continued to inform the postcolonial negotiation of place in national and tribal spaces? What role do these ideas on identities play in the built environment beyond the construction of identities and identity politics?

It is argued that the debates on identity are never singular but conceived by those in power such as the political elite, architects, urban planners and heritage specialists as well as the ways in which the local population negotiate place and the use of space. These identities are dynamic, negotiated and contested as part of the post-colonial subjectivity in attempts to define collective identities, sense of place and a sense of continuity with the past. These identities are also constructed across a range of timescales²² and they need to be understood within their socio-cultural and political contexts, such as the 'transition to independence' where defining a new national identity has been part of envisioning the new capital city – Gaborone. Thus 'post-colonialism' concerned with the construction of post-colonial identities, as part of the negotiation of space. The construction of precolonial identities and the desire to maintain a sense of continuity with the past or imagined past in the tribal villages are part of the ways in which these communities reclaim and protect their sense of identity and culture. In this regard, for example, the preservation of the *kgotla* in Mochudi is not only about the physical space but it is about preserving and constructing 'an identity and a past' which is at risk of disappearing.

Socio-cultural and political changes in the society (time/ periods) has also meant that new identities are invented to create new meanings and new interpretations of heritage as the case of Moruleng and Gaborone

²² Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?'.

illustrate. Gaborone Township was modest, built to meet the practicalities and the demands for the administration of a protectorate whose future was not certain during the early colonial years.²³ The period marking the transition to independence in Botswana brought about the challenges to envision and represent national identity of the new imagined nation in the city. Bhabha has made it clear that the desire to materialise the idea of a nation is pursued through what he calls the 'nationalistic logic', which can be traced in national narratives and the different forms of representation which include literary texts and architecture.²⁴ However, Bhabha also reminds us that we need to examine the construction of national identity by those in power and other forms of representation which arises as part of the everyday life negotiation of space and minorities. The post-independence period in Gaborone suggests that the planned post-independence built heritage is different from the current state-sponsored 'intentions' monuments, which are meant to represent the Botswana national identity.

As literature reminds us that the post-colonial context²⁵ (particularly for countries emerging from colonialism) is characterised by the quest for self-representation of which new monuments are built, new heritage-designated, new museums, to inscribe new national histories and myths as part of the '*lieux de memoir*'²⁶ and national narratives²⁷ framed for the new nation. Sabine Marshall's essay titled *Heritage in Post-colonial Societies* has highlighted this pursuit of national heritage and commemorative monuments particularly in Africa influenced by the

²³ As stated in chapter 2 it was initially intended that Botswana would be transferred to South Africa. See Peter Fawcus, with collaboration of, and Alan Tilbury, *Botswana: The Road to Independence*, (Botswana: The Botswana Society and Pula Press, 2000).

²⁴ Homi K. Bhabha, 'Dissemination: Time Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation', in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi K. Bhabha (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 291-320.

²⁵ Literature has shown that the word post-colonialism can apply to countries that were not necessarily colonised such as Thailand, because this theoretical framework does not necessarily suggest after colonialism. See for example

²⁶ Nora Pierre, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Memoire', *Representations, Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory*, (Spring, 1989).

²⁷ Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

desire to 'emulate the example of Western cities,'²⁸ a process that entails selecting aspects of the past for the purposes of developing heritage is highly selective, changes over time and is driven by identity politics.

The interpretation of colonial heritage in postcolonial Africa received renewed interest in the 2010 debates on the future of colonial statues in South Africa and more recently in the United States of America. These debates emphasise the perspective that colonial heritage is a reminder of colonial power. This one-sided interpretation of colonial heritage overlooks its appropriation by local communities which was the case in both Moruleng and Mochudi. Despite the negative memories associated with colonialism, these buildings have gained new meanings as part of the heritage landscape while some of the structures like the museum buildings are not necessarily associated with the impact of colonialism. In Moruleng, colonial heritage buildings were interpreted as representative of colonial identity and required the appropriation of cultural signs and symbols derived from the pre-colonial past and vernacular architecture as a representation of an inclusive Bakgatla cultural identity. This approach raises questions about whether heritage is being invented.

2. How are dual identities (national and tribal) made and practised negotiated in the city and in tribal spaces?

It is clear that the national and ethnic cultural identities are constantly at play in the city, while ethnic and precolonial identities are emphasised in the tribal villages. Because of the expectation of the city to represent the Botswana national identity, the discourses of national identity are overplayed in the city while the ethnic cultural identities are used in ways that are not necessarily successful. This is because the interpretation of culture, heritage and identity in such architectural schemes does not address the critical questions on identity or culture.

²⁸ Sabine Marshall, 'The Heritage of Post-Colonial Societies', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2008), p. 348.

The pursuit of a national space in the city core of Gaborone illuminates the identity politics in seeking to define the capital core as a heritage space and hence to equate its significance to tribal historic cores. The Capital Core is perceived as lacking in architectural monuments, a problem that the architects and planners associated with the modern architecture of the new post-war towns. To address this perceived lack of visually significant national identity and representation, for the architects and planners, the core of the city was being enhanced through the production of new monuments, and this illustrated a shift towards the creation of intentional monuments. The nature and character of these monuments were not spelt out in official planning documents and remained ambiguous. However, the resultant monuments suggest there is a continued quest to inscribe national narratives which seek to reinterpret national myths and history into public space.²⁹ In this sense, new symbols and traditions are invented,³⁰ which support the idea of a homogenous national identity, and these 'may indeed become the focus of sustained reflection on a real or imagined past or participate in a newly invented heritage'³¹ at the expense of the existing architectural heritage.

By reading the narrative behind these monuments, their intended meaning and purpose as 'national heritage', it was argued these tend to lose their envisioned significance because of their contested meaning and failure to address the heritage meaning and values of the Capital Core. This approach, as previously suggested overlooks the significance of place in the mall which lies in its spatial form and layout (locating the two precincts of power opposite each other), and the ways in which the public use this place as a cultural market which contributes to its identity. The late 1970s modern architecture contributes to this sense

²⁹ The recent Three Dikgosi Monument built in the new Central Business Administration also follows the

³⁰ T. O. Ranger and others, *The Invention of Tradition*, Canto ed. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992, 2012).

³¹ Lawrence J. Vale, 'Mediated Monuments and National Identity', *The Journal of Architecture*, 4 (1999), 406.

of character and it allows for the public to inhabit the external pedestrian walkways as break out zones and animate the space. As Bhabha reminds us, the nation is a narrative performance which involves other forms of representation such as the use of this space for cultural markets, which are sometimes viewed as informal activities by the government. Although the formal qualities of a city centre, imbued with political symbolism and monuments as initially intended, was not achieved, the Capital Core is a significant piece of urban fabric with formal qualities that allow for the negotiation of identity by the public even if these activities are temporal.

It is possible in the future to define the Capital Core as a heritage place if its heritage values and meanings are properly explored. Currently listed heritage buildings in this area include the City Hall and the National Assembly. The heritage listing ensures the protection of these individual buildings from any unsympathetic change but not the character of the Capital Core. For example, the proposals that are currently being considered to build a new City Hall opposite the existing one threaten the symbolic relationship between the two precincts of power (the City Hall and the National Assembly). Similarly, the proposals to extend either the National Assembly or the City Hall require closer scrutiny to assess how they could contribute to the central axis visually, and most importantly the architectural significance of these buildings requires further studies. The relationship between the two precincts of power (the City Hall and the Government Enclave) and the Main Mall needs to be further explored to improve their sense of connection. Such considerations would go beyond treating the construction of new monuments in the city centre as isolated objects in space and attempt to integrate them into the fabric of the city centre.³²

³² In a newly-built Central Business District between the railway line and the New Lobatse Road the Three Dikgosi Monument is fenced off from the public. It has no relationship to the context and positioned face away from the newly-built high court.

The negotiation of identity and the politics of identity in the tribal spaces is understandable as it attempts to preserve fragile tribal heritage. This thesis has suggested that in tribal spaces these dual identities (whether interpreted as precolonial, colonial or ethnic cultural) are concerned with the desire to create tangible forms of identification,³³ driven by the quest to monumentalise aspects of culture, to negotiate a sense of tribal identity and the cultural nostalgias of the imagined pre-colonial past, for tribal communities whose culture and architecture was not necessarily monumental (chapter 6).

Furthermore, heritage in tribal cores is strongly rooted in the intangible values of place associated with the cultural relics of the past, which acquire a new meaning as a representation of cultural identities and architectural heritage. Chapters 5 and 6 examined the tribal villages of Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela, and the two examples illustrate the two contradictory approaches to heritage and identity. In the case of Mochudi heritage is defined according to the existing colonial heritage buildings, the traditional vernacular architecture which was part of the original *kgotla* layout, as well as the space defined by these culturally significant buildings. This heritage is evidently less monumental as the different buildings, which make up the spatial traditional layout of the *kgotla*, suggests. What is important in this tribal space is the need to conserve the historic relics of the past which have acquired meaning as a reminder of past traditional practices such as the role of the chief as the political and cultural figure in the tribal community. Most of these buildings can be restored creatively and re-used as the proposal to convert this space into an open-air museum suggests. However, it is important to note that such proposals will need to balance the needs for tourism with the living cultural practices and the everyday life activities which occur in the *kgotla*.

³³ It was argued that this suggests a shift

This thesis suggests that the significance of the *kgotla* is the ability to display the settlement as a historic layering of colonial and Bakgatla traditional vernacular architecture, the juxtaposition of modern models of governance, and the sociocultural values of a tribal community seeking to maintain a sense of identity and continuity with the past. It is suggested that the *kgotla* should be interpreted as a palimpsest created because of the interaction of the Bakgatla culture with Christian missionaries and early travellers whose Cape Dutch colonial architectural influences are manifested in the tribal space. The proposals to demolish a significant part of the *kgotla* to be replaced with modern offices disguised as an interpretation of vernacular architecture has been strongly rejected by the community. It suggests that the top-down pursuit to modernise tribal spaces by the government overlooks issues of heritage, and it has instead opted for a narrow interpretation of culture and heritage illustrated in the iconography of vernacular architecture.

3. What is the impact of these identity-making practices on architecture?

Probably most dramatic identity-making practices are demonstrated in the case of Moruleng Cultural Heritage Precinct. In this precinct buildings and structures draw from different sources and discourses on identity to invent a cultural space. The impact of this re-imagination of tribal heritage, in this case, is that new material culture is created, which does not necessarily qualify as heritage conservation, but it can be judged in relation to the identity-making practices. In this regard, I would argue that preserving built heritage in tribal spaces is a complex issue, which requires the engagement with the community and the critical engagement of issues of culture, traditional practices and belief systems. Such an approach would ensure that issues of culture and tradition are not reduced to a narrow interpretation as we saw in the case of Mochudi. Nonetheless, Moruleng Heritage Precinct is not

without the challenges. For example, how to balance re-creations with actual heritage and how to preserve these buildings in the future. Any approach in tribal spaces would need to balance this simulacrum of heritage with the existing heritage.

Towards a new sense of direction in exploring the politics of identity and contribution to knowledge

This study examined the politics of identity by re-contextualising identity debates within their wider socio-cultural and political contexts, which helped illuminate further lines of inquiry on the different ways identity is shaped in relation to architecture and space. By drawing attention to the socio-cultural context in which such debates on identity are considered, - the transition to independence, the post-colonial period characterised by the need for cultural identity representation and the negotiation of identities drawn across different time periods and practices (pre-colonial, past traditions and living cultural customs), -it expanded the lens through which architecture and heritage can be examined. For example, the study explored the political side of the debates in envisioning Gaborone; it uncovered theoretical perspectives into the study of a city which has so far received scant attention. It therefore challenges the current view that Gaborone lacks in identity, character and is a result of cultural imposition by the departing colonial powers. The planning proposals are significant pieces of history and provide an opportunity to advance knowledge on the politics of envisioning Gaborone as a capital city and this approach could be adapted for other post-colonial and colonial cities. It illuminates new insights into the examination of cities, and particularly the literature of cities in Sub-Saharan Africa which has so far explored how colonial urbanism was influenced by racial segregation, and how modern planning concepts were imported. Less explored is the role of the politics of identity on envisioning cities. It reveals part of urban history which has remained invisible, as Italo Calvino's essay on Venice suggests:

*'A city is a combination of many things; memory desires, signs of language; it is a place of exchange, as any textbook of economic history will tell you only, these exchanges are not just trade in goods, they also involve words, desires, and memories ...'*³⁴

A major contribution of this study is the exploration of the relationship of identity to heritage. It illustrated that identities are politicised in some cases to frame a certain interpretation of heritage, such as the interpretation of colonial heritage as a representation of colonial identity despite the fact that these buildings may not have been necessarily built as such. Here a field of different interpretations are drawn upon such as the history of colonialism and the cultural subjugation of the Bakgatla traditions, to question the notion of identity and whether colonial heritage implies colonial identity. Within this emerging, yet expanded view of history and identities, the meaning of heritage is contested as to what contributes to heritage and how the fragile heritage in tribal spaces which are not necessarily monumental may be preserved. Architectural heritage in tribal spaces also is a substantial topic particularly in the relationship between cultural values, place and traditions. These spaces have evolved over the years but still play a pivotal role in the life and culture of tribal communities. This study has shed light on the values of the spatial ordering of tribal spaces which are based on cultural traditions now valued as reminders of past traditions and architecture. It thus opens other lines of inquiry which may explore the relationship of these practices (intangible heritage) to architectural heritage. In particular vernacular architecture, which forms a substantial part of heritage in villages, needs to be further explored.

The appropriation of certain aspects of culture and history as part of the heritage landscape challenges the goals of conservation of heritage as we know it, and hence raises questions on whether new heritages are being invented and how we may frame future heritage practices, particularly in the context of tribal spaces. The case study of Mochudi has demonstrated that the

³⁴ Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, 1st edition edn (New York: Harcourt Brace Jonavich, 1974).Page 41

significance of heritage goes beyond the built fabric but also extends to the cultural meanings associated with this space, as well as the use of this designated space for cultural practices and other everyday life activities. In the case of Moruleng several cultural motifs are used as a representation of the Bakgatla pre-colonial identity and culture. These re-creations and cultural symbols are the attempts to present an inclusive interpretation of the Bakgatla culture and heritage, as well as the need to present an 'authentic' interpretation of heritage through learning from the existing pre-colonial heritage sites.

In the essay, the *Introduction: Who needs Identity?* Stuart Hall argued that what we need is not a single theory of understanding the politics of identity but different and often antagonistic positions in which such identities are constructed alongside the discursive practices which characterise the constructs of identity.³⁵ This study has unveiled different narratives on identity through these case studies to illustrate how notions of identity politics are envisioned, negotiated and materialised. As such it has not only contributed to insights on discussing architecture in Southern Africa, and could possibly be adopted in other socio-spatial contexts, but it is also the first study to focus on architecture and space in Botswana.

³⁵ Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?'

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Appendices

(12 interviews)

Sample of Interview Questions

Question samples for semi-structures interviews with professionals

1. Explore the role of culture and identity in the development of heritage and the transformation of the built environment.
2. The process of appropriating heritage and development.
3. A consideration of design, urban planning and heritage appropriation as framed by social practices, postcolonial identity, culturally derived identity, nationally derived and historical continuity.

Describing the project?

1. I understand that Totem media was involved in the Mphebatho Museum and Moruleng Cultural Precinct projects. Can you narrate a bit on the project (how it came about, its inception)?
2. What kind narrative or history is constructed in the above-mentioned project?
3. In what ways was the community being involved in the development of the project?
4. Can you describe the regeneration approach you adopted for the site?

Importance of the project

1. How are the projects important in symbolising Bakgatla-ba-Kagafela cultural identity? And how strong is the need for cultural identity in the ongoing project?

2. What is the benefit do you think the project has on the Bakgatla community? What is the value of the site to the community?
3. In your view how important is grassroots cultural production as compared to national cultural production identification in heritage projects?
4. What role do you think architecture/museums can play in reinforcing cultural identity and what has been people's reactions to this kind of project?
5. What are your views on cultural authenticity or the appropriation of history as in creating new spaces buildings, regeneration of historic or cultural landscapes heritage or cities?
6. What are the challenges faced by the community in establishing and constructing their own meaningful cultural identities?
7. And finally, what do you think is the future of heritage and cultural landscapes and building and the vitality of cultural heritage?

Questions with residents

Interviews with the residents were loosely structures and these explored the meaning associated with different heritage spaces in the village.

- a) Do you think architecture; sites or buildings should represent your culture or connect you with past history or memory? If yes in what ways?
- b) In your opinion what should the future developments in the village symbolise?
 1. Cultural values and identity
 2. Cultural and national values and identities
 3. None of the above

Sample of Interview Transcripts

PI

I understand that Totem Media was involved in the Mphe batho museum and Moruleng Cultural Precinct projects. Can you narrate on the design or conservation approaches you developed in the project?

We did the scoping for Moruleng and Mochudi, we did that scoping and a whole series of interviews and numerous visits to both places, umm and were completely taken by one of the conversations between Botswana and South Africa. Largely because what came clear was that we were so caught up in an apartheid mind-set and apartheid legacy and that it was interesting to see the conversation between the community which had been under apartheid and the community that had had its independence but they were cousins but that fascinated us completely. I think it was South Africans that had a relief to see something that apartheid had not had its looming shadows on and that they could have this conversation. That the Botswanians, Mochudi had all this material heritage and had this complete, but both sides had this amazing, umm amazing feel for this community museum and there was this community museum at Phuthadikobo and also there was this small museum at Moruleng. Locally, curated with a whole lot of umm texture, and feel and realness about it and a real feel of dedication about it. Which I umm loved. I mean the *kgosi* had a vision of what is to be a world class museum, so that was one of our things was not to completely erase the quality of the rural museum, but also, Moruleng was changing with a vision of becoming a city. And he wanted this world-class museum and there was the space for it and the context was

interesting that it will be about the Tswana and Bakgatla culture and the cultural stories. And then the history of the Bakgatla which is a fascinating story as it is. Part of the project was to tell the story that had not been told, made it a fascinating story and premise to start the project.

In what ways are heritage projects, building symbolise Bakgatla cultural identity. What narrative or history is constructed in this project?

Interesting, umm the difficulty in getting the museum as it can be was a series of specialists to go into the community and ask them to tell stories which is something we struggle with all the time. The difficulty of hiring a specialist team in museum like ours is that you are faced with the challenge of going into the community and telling them stories, and so we have some ways of bringing people in to tell life stories and umm, but it's a struggle because you know the client is hiring us for that professionalism in terms of our experience in museums to bring that forth and so we have had this kind of struggle. And I think the way we approached the project, there were few concepts that we took in that were meant to whether they were successful or not is for the visitor to be see. The first concept was an idea of mine earlier on because we were faced with the site that had two colonial buildings. Two buildings built by the Dutch reformed church the other one was a consequence of a school. And this were white plaster rendered buildings, umm very beautiful in terms of their historical kind of ummm, narrative but also problematic because they mark a certain point in the history of Bakgatla and that was the beginning point as they would have thought, it was the middle point. And so to show that, that phase was a middle point rather than one process was Christianity that one thing that Bakgatla embraced and took into to their culture. The other thing was the precolonial history, just near by the site is the Pilanesburg city, a stone wall settlement remains, which were worked with an archaeologist in mapping the settlement, a precolonial settlement which is incredibly beautiful and complex and they talk about the variety and the organised kind of society. They talk about all things such as

apartheid and colonial rhetoric stunted or try to portray as not being as sophisticated so the of once all this incredible urban, umm, texture right near the site and the concept was bringing in young children, young Bakgatla and Batswana children to the site and we wanted to show them in just one moment conflated all this history. So like a palimpsest of history through the ages so almost like to undermine those colonial buildings by reconfiguring the spaces between them and so to me what was very beautiful is that we did this overlay, completely artificial but a completely accurate in that it is a trace of Pilane city and it is the royal kind of quarter of it with the *kgotla* we transposed that into site and turned that into a landscape between the two. That sort of changes the relationship between the two has been kind of successful for me is the kind of stone walling is very powerful and beautiful architecturally and what it does to the space. Really it works in multiple levels and also just as an architect how do you get from one building to the other it isn't the straight path anymore you wing through the stone settlement, you have to engage it that ended being very successful in the project. You have that kind of presence of various histories on the site.

What benefit do you think the project has on Bakgatla community?

(Mochudi)

I think the concept was specific to Moruleng. The fact that we have very little material culture that remained in Moruleng. In Mochudi you can find it you can walk and stumble on Stone walling in the site and people were building *sefalana* structures up to recently and using them and in the spaces there were construction of traditional objects and there was far more material culture and I think kind of way of both apartheid and Christianity and whatever movement of apartheid and people, there wasn't that and the site that was dominated by the Dutch reformed church and it was felt and the building was lovely and it had *lekgapho* pattern on it but it didn't read strongly enough for me and I think it allowed for a bold intervention and Phuthadikobo I will be more much sensitive of what I insert in there because there is already sensitive texture of place , so it would be very different approach for me. I

think it was important in this South African context of history to make that statement that life didn't start when the settlers arrived. And with the neighbouring site is 20 minutes away to the site of Pilane city and we actually got to visits another one during the research that's when the ideas came around, it was sitting in a farm somewhere. That is when the idea kicked in that this is so powerful.

In your view how important is grassroots cultural production as compared to national cultural production and identification of heritage projects? And what challenges are faced by communities in constructing their own meaningful cultural identity?

The one difference working in rural communities is the strong passion from the communities and often in the urban setting is often politicised and there isn't that kind of passion we don't really find in the urban environment, this is where you find the museum that does not exist and build something new. In community museums you find the existing passion in heritage in Moruleng because it is a small town there isn't that much raw, that is the driving force in fact it seems too crazy to build a museum far out looking at the numbers that could attend to that crazy, was one thing that came from the client but , umm I don't think , I mean I think SA is a great tourist place but I think there is need of these community museum , I think this need is a whole series of this museum become a whole part of tourist networks, what is interest is to think of South Africans as tourists and young children who are born post – Democracy trying to find their identity and discovering who they are and come from , umm I think this is where this becomes really interesting because umm there is that need and 20years has passed this fast and young kids don't know what apartheid means and what the experience of it was they know it was there but they don't understand it as a construct umm and so I think it is important to be telling these kind of stories , but for the difficulty of the museum is how do we update these stories, how do we change them, different kinds of , how do we get museum that get visited so many times then it get changed exhibition and its updated .

That whole operations part is a big problem, because we saw the focus on building the vanity project the operational, cost and the operation side of things. That is the real magic of the museum should be the operation of things that bring things into live and programme and program things for people to come into. And whether that's rural, urban or national it really doesn't matter, umm little programming will be important for the museum, and Moruleng is being really clever it is tying in with the Pillanessburg hotels, there is a whole string of hotels which are around the place. It is a tourist network that brings people in, and you know that also Johannesburg is not that far it could bring visitors from there and from Botswana as well.

In the previous question when you talked about the concept of the project, and I mentioned the overlaying I forgot to tell you about the whole thing of bringing the community, there was a lot of that, I was also involved in designing the exhibition design I was part of the curation group so we developed that as a group. And the concept in terms of the museum was that we have this space and have DRC, DRC will talk about Christianity and the we had two rooms, two sets of museums and the one talked about Setswana culture and the other , not in traditional sort of museum but like a grandmother telling a story, that is where you hear the voice of Grace Lesoko , of who we are so it allows for certain amount of artistic allowance , so the stuff that we are talking about is oral histories that couldn't be exactly verified , but it was important however , there were important to the people we were talking to , so design wise was to kind of completely boggle your mind and your senses with all these kind of stories , then we used contemporary kind of tweets, short bites of texts which are all this kind of bubble messages . So we take something which is very old so the pool kind of history to very new ways to reading new things. You take the message in short bites not long versions, with videos and sounds and very high degree of things. And that room is all about this kind of experience and through that kind of video and audio, I think curatorial, we allowed for inserts that people would then been able to talk, yes it is edited but you hear directly from the people that are being interviewed. So you getting all that information that is filtered into a

narrative, so we build, the narrative into little bits to allow people to make their own links and that allows flexibility. That is how we managed to get way, it allows us to get away from the fact that as a museum team we wanted to allow Bakgatla to come in, we have interviewed and worked with people , and so we have sifted through and found things in material culture that has exploded and reinverted them in very contemporary ways, and that was also part of the ideas that is not only about... the rural museums tend to fall back to this was the past we have kind of type writers , or carving work we had , stampers and we have all these kind of things and they came from all different places and they kind of seem they are old, this is just nonsense to think that because this is old then it is interesting we can of try find meanings in things and things that make them interesting . So it was the stories, it was the myths is about the passages of life and such that we broke that up into kind of intermediary space which talks about how do you read museums because I think its problematic. And then the history room the concept there was again very much the same say you know, we lived in a country where white people have written our histories and you know those history books that have erased and too out things. And even the new history books that have been written for example the Mnenga's book of the new South African history doesn't talk much about women. So we want our audiences to come in and be a sceptical to look at each piece and to actually deconstruct, too fashionable a word- to take apart pieces and you read, see that is an image we sourced from this archive and that's a text we sourced, and leave a blank space between them, so that as a visitor you read the bits you want to read and you put them together and you form your own opinion. So you can read something and it says so and so wrote it and it came from this magazine and you can say oh that's hot wash and that was the way around this kind of thing of how to let the community speak.

P2

I understand that totem media was involved in the Mphebotho Museum and Moruleng cultural precinct projects. Can you narrate a

bit on the project and how it came about both Moruleng and Mochudi?

Our real interests are rural communities that are the way we became involved in the project. My background is on film and documentary making. We are interested in how people see themselves. We work with historian on how people change, how people see themselves. It is very important to understand the history. In Bakgatla I was invited by Kgosis Pilane. What we did was, before we start or go into any physical or cultural material of what you have got, we need to spend three years researching who you are why you are etc. We started in Botswana Phuthadikobo, back and forth dealing with a whole range of people; it was much more interesting in Botswana than it is in South Africa. The reason is although they belong to the same tribal group Batswana are more independent but in Black South Africans were under apartheid and have only recently been able to stand tall and be independent. And to me you see that very clearly when you working with the communities. You have two communities who were separated about 100 years ago because of the fracas with Paul Kruger and Pilane led his team up to Botswana, so that team would have only been independent as it were under the British colonial rule than for significant number of years so people know who they are they stand tall their attitude, etc, That community is a very clear upstanding community, whereas when you go to Pilanesburg and have a look at people there people are still living under the apartheid yolk even after 20 years. I mean you see it very very clearly; you can readily pick it up. So that was very interesting

What kind of narrative or story is being constructed in the above projects?

What we did was we looked at the history of Bakgatla in Botswana and looked at the work of Scahpera. Without his work a lot what we could understand in Botswana we will never been able to understand. He was very detailed in his research and extraordinary anthropologies. A lot what we can understand about Bagkatla in Botswana was captured in the work of Schapera.

We also discovered what we do with communities immediately what we do with communities we look right across the globe to try and establish who had interest in the community and what is fascinated is you pick up Harvard, Yale, Cambridge, or sometime the British military achieves are good in revealing. And then we developed some kind of back understanding of the history of Bakgatla. How did these people come about, what was this kgosi about we want to understand everything about the historical underpinning the social kind bounds etc.

In Moruleng we started the process about four years ago. We net back to the archives to find pictures of Moruleng. We found photograph of Moruleng dated 1942, so you could see what was on the ground, you could see the regiment school and the Dutch reformed church. Phuthadikobo was built by the regiment from Moruleng so they built that around 1920, having done that very successfully the next regiment came to Moruleng about three years later to build a similar school, and they are virtually identical in shape etc. So both were the school those were not the first schools because there were schools before that, but you can say they were the first adult school. And eventually in Moruleng an architect in South Africa

In what ways are communities being involved in the project?

We go backwards and forwards through reiteration so that everybody is quite clear that is what is meant etc. so having got that both in Botswana and SA we introduced a report that went to Kgosi Pilane and Kgosing-kgolo in Botswana. But as you know there was a huge fracas between the kgosi, just as we were starting to get started doing the work both in Botswana and Moruleng, this blew up in our faces and that is an internal matter of the community.

The project in Moruleng took off, but the idea was to bring the two communities together with these project, there was a real opportunity to bring the project together. Politics took root, but it will be done when the whole politics die off.

Can you describe the regeneration approach you adopted for the project?

The second side is to look at the landscape itself, much as the architect does to understand, and work out why the hill more important for example Phuthadikobo stands on the hill is important to the community, where was the king buried where is the main cattle kraal where the people are buried etc. So one needs to understand mapping historically what is around and what buildings are important both from a symbolic point of view and the traditional kind of messaging and traditional community ideas but also physically why they placed in a particular place, our community consisted of researchers architects, anthropologies so we have a very interesting kind of cross pollination of ideas, in Johannesburg we have a tremendous meeting even though the projects were elsewhere.

Once we get mapping of the place, we literally map the place, we look at the landscape and explain how we see things and go back to the elders to say how we understand things and so look at the research and comment how it fits with your ideas.

Peter and Anesa Lekaba were involved in changing the art schools into a museum, this involved collecting all the artefacts in the community into a school building. Grace Lesoko is the cultural historian of the entire area, Botswana Zimbabwe and also South Africa. Grace was the intellect in the first museum. It was one of those little community museum, much of a lesser version to the one in Phuthadikobo. Phuthadikobo was developed by a man called Grant, he and his wife had made that happen.

His approach was more of a western European vision. What was important about our approach is that we try not to bring a western or European kind of vision to things. What we try to do is stay within the community itself and work out how they see things and we just interpret it, we not kind of we have an agenda what should happen. The ideas we develop we play back to them and they have to say yes that is how see it or we see it differently etc.

How is the project important in symbolising Bakgatla-ba Kgafela Cultural Identity?

Anyway that reiteration happens about the mid-1980s when the school I Phuthadikobo was turned into a museum. That was not beginning to look run down. So anyway *kgosi* has asked us we had given him Bakgatla traditional Authority, so his offices have the upright chimney and the kind of Zimbabwe ruins that has really no reference or relevance to the place. What we said was if you are going to develop something that ties to your culture you have to tie the things also together have things like precincts of areas that deal with subject matter that tie these things together because he was had started considering building a mall, museum there. Particularly, the area we were talking about was always the kind of where the one which had the *Kgosi's* kraal was. He said yeah that's right so we started, so we started and we looked at the museum and behind it that is a couple of hundred metre away is the Dutch reformed church was there we all worked the pieces and basically what we said is that we need to renovate these buildings and make sure that they are safe and put them back together again as they were built because the kind of 1950s and 1960 kind of reiteration had impacted on them, and had changed what they looked like in their original state. So we said let's go back to how they were built in the first place, the look and feel of those, get rid of the modern kind of glassy 70's cladding that they put on them. So take those away.

And how strong is the need for cultural identity in the ongoing Project?

The point to all of this is not to come and dictate to the community what they need but the whole vision is for the community to dictate to us what it is that they need. For example, we established the archive for the Bakgatla and found the pictures that Isaac Schapera had taken which were in the in the Royal Society of anthropologists. So we digitised the material for Bakgatla to use for all their educational needs. The next stage is to work with Grace Lesoko to

record her whole life story, the work is holistic in terms of what is required by people what want or need.

What are your views on cultural authenticity or the appropriation of history as a way to create new spaces or buildings, regeneration of historical or cultural landscapes?

The other things that became interesting, because were working with archaeologists looking at Bafokeng and then with the Bakgatla looking at their earlier settlement we had discovered the original settlement for the area on the top of Pilanessburg hill and we mapped those and we found exactly where the main kraal was Kgosi Pilane's and we also found Kgosi Kgamanyane's city and we looked at all those things and there are in what is now a game park and is very difficult to go there now. But what we decided to do is to bring back the original understanding that you guys were the first people to settle there and you use that settlement pattern to tie this new precinct together. So what you got you have the iteration of colonial building that is the school and the Dutch reformed church the original design of the school was a British colonial school, so that school was built all over the world for example in places like Sri Lanka, India. So here you go colonial Dutch built in the same colonial style and we thought why don't we mix this with your own heritage and reinstate the central section of the capital kraal and the middle of the original Pilane Settlement, so what we did was we used the exact mapping of Kgosi's original Pilanes settlement and it extends about two and half kilometres, but we obviously couldn't do that but just using the central part of the kraal and houses and a few other places in the middle. So what we did was to re-colonise the base of the place with the origins of the Bakgatla, so what you see in the between all these building is the settlement patterns of the origins of these people which ties this together, what we have done so far is the one part of this project, so another building that will group when the *Kgosi* has the money will be the archive of the project.

P3

I understand that Totem media was involved in the Mphe batho Museum and Moruleng Cultural Precinct projects. Can you narrate a bit on the project (how it came about, its inception)?

The project actually went into quite a lot of process to actually integrate a lot of oral histories and stories and experiences from the local people and giving them privilege in that process, rather than coming and just coming and putting together some kind of academic narrative or structure. We really invited participation. What was really interesting was that invitation to participation wasn't always experienced by the people themselves as pleasing thing. I mean there were certain factions that held back. Which I mean you will get in every community. For example, Bakgatla were busy doing a project on indigenous plant knowledge with DST and throughout that project we battled to get information on that project to integrate into what we were doing. And there was often that impression that, no no no that information belongs to the Bakgatla. And it was like yeah this is Bakgatlas cultural precinct.

We are not doing this as outsiders we are here to serve you. And we are here to work with you to make your vision a reality. So there was some resistance and some kind of internal politics on that level but on the whole people were very, very willing to contribute. Especially from the church council there were lots of people who were making conversation with us from beginning to end. And Sam did an amazing job on managing those relationships, some were not easy. I mean a lot of proud men who often try to impose themselves and insinuate themselves into situations where other things were happening but that was a positive thing if you looked at how willing they were to share.

What kind narrative or history is constructed in the above-mentioned project (Moruleng)?

I am reminded particularly of that poster on which somebody is busy throwing the stones. You can see in the picture someone throwing hands and the grass down and even though this is clearly part of that culture and is still practiced

today there were Christians who were board members at the museum who felt uncomfortable just putting that up as representing cultural precinct, because they were making the very stereotypes that usually people criticise white people for, saying no no, this is actually witch craft. That was fascinating because I never expected that. That's a good example of Christian and tradition.

We also went through an extensive process of training heritage workers. The first training we did was for the staff at the museum. The first task we gave them was the to go out in the community and interview people about what it means to be a *Mokgatla*. And that was fascinating because the answers the came up with didn't really show a deep insight into what makes a *Mokgatla* different, there was this abstract idea, you remember when they said a *Mokgatla* is different is special but why, special was not very clear. It wasn't articulated you know, so some said because we follow the *kgosi*. So most of reasons were linked to the *kgosi* or the reason was linked to no we value our culture and when the question was then, what is that culture the reason was very vague. So I don't think there is clearly a clear notion as to what makes a *mokgatla* different from *mofokeng*. So it's not something that is hard and fact it's more of an emotional something that is quite abstract notion. They couldn't find anything really that was radically different, which was interesting.

Oral history was interrupted in 1948, because of the coming in of the national party, people lost land, families were dislocated, cultural transmission was no longer there. So when you look at the oral histories after 1948, they suddenly become contradictory, fragmented, they are no longer having the same coherence that they had before 1948. Which is really interesting, so I think a lot of things people are really making up? When *Bakgatla* in *Mochudi* in Botswana decided to reinstitute initiation, *Kgosi kgolo* got all the elders round the table and said how are we going to do this? Nobody knew how to do it, and they actually and to go back to Isaac Schapera's writing, a white anthropologist to learn how to do their own initiation ritual because that information was no longer it had been lost.

How did the project attempt to reconcile different narratives and identities in the project?

We did not sometimes always reconcile them but let the differences play out and represent that they should co-exist. But there were some interesting ones for example the archaeologists see that the hut in the Iron Age settlement had sliding doors and you could go to Pilanesburg Park to kgosi Pilane's settlement and you could find the remains of the slate that was laid on the ground for the doors to slide on. So it's not a theory I mean it really did happen some of them said no this was not in their heads.

So I guess one of the things that occurs to me is that we think people have a clear idea of what their cultural identity is, but it is always an abstract in their heads and have such a different view of it.

It was partly because of the constraints we had to work with on that site and so the school was there the DRC church was there and the other church was there. So there was this open landscape and the idea was to do the Iron Age settlement between the school and the church. So I don't think that it was a deliberate attempt to engage Christianity by it was deliberate idea to engage colonialism. So when we came up with the idea of dropping the iron age settlement into that landscape the idea was to reclaim that land so you've got this very colonial buildings, both of them are not modern they are very colonial. so it was almost the sense of we understand we are working with these things. The school is built by the community so the question was how do we reprint in the landscape to reprint the tradition. So that was the concept behind putting that landscape.

We all know that culture is changing anyway so the spaces that are created are supposed to provoke an interpretation and a conversation.

What role do you think architecture/museums can play in reinforcing cultural identity and what has been people's reactions to this kind of project, in Mochudi?

In Mochudi because they are close to the king had a much closer feeling to the project. People at Mochudi had this feeling that they were at the centre of the project. And all the artefacts are there so all the rainmaking stuff is there the *Bojale* drum, you know key things. Even in Moruleng there aren't as many things there. They kind of felt second best but having said that Moruleng got its act together. And it really drove kgosi Pilane to do something great. And he was so easy to work with and so easy to talk to, whereas in Mochudi there was this hierarchy when we wanted to talk of don't touch this, don't talk about this. It was far more rigid whereas Kgosi Pilane touches you.

In this case we couldn't rely on objects I think what we did was fine grained in that, we did a synthesis of more interesting sources, such as the archaeological, oral. so the narrative that is coming out isn't the narrative about the beginning the end or anything like that. You have to go in there and immerse yourself in the narrative that is created by the in between spaces. I don't know how many local communities can create that, we just had a great architect who could conceptualise that. So if you go to a lot of small community museums where you actually have glass case objects in shelves.

P4

What kind narrative or history is constructed in the above-mentioned project (Moruleng)?

And again I think this is a personal perspective, for me if I reflect back on the project. There were two particularly fascinating dynamics at play that for means a white South African they were interesting, white female South African. And the first was to be exposed into a, exposed closely into a patriarchal society. And there was no doubt that role playing within the traditional community manifested itself very, very clearly. You know that a lot of this participation was based on invitation and relationship of this community. And for me that was very interesting and that was the dynamic

that we had to work. I don't think that is it necessarily impeded, getting the information it was just dynamic. Secondly what was fascinating was religion. Christianity and the whole precinct explodes Christianity and traditional knowledge systems. And just how sometimes people's idea of Christianity wasn't always an obstacle that needed to be overcome and addressed. Those are just two very fascinating dynamics that came into play whilst developing the content for the exhibition.

The challenge of developing the museum with the community is comparable to bringing up a child is that they will do what they do. So they interpret *inyaga* as a witch doctor. And for us always a challenge is what happens afterwards.

What approaches were employed in the development of the project and in what ways was the community members involved?

Also what became interesting was marrying research, scientific history to the oral history you find that, sometimes it was very irreconcilable. And I am not sure if the point is to reconcile them, but there were sometimes two ideas on one thing be it a burial, be how something was made.

And possibly oral history does not go back enough, as simply as that.

What is interesting is that Totem has been involved in the in the talks in the project for almost six years and this is the seventh year and absolutely, colonialism versus the Bakgatla and ownership in that case, for me there is blurred point in that Christianity has had an impact in the community and I am speaking on behalf of kgosi Pilane, for him and the community the space was about bridging that gap between the two and show how the two can coexist. Because it is something that is potentially splitting the community. I think that there are certain aspects that Christians feel comfortable with in regards to tradition such as how settlements were created, the value of cattle, those are some of the things they agree on. When it comes to traditional medicine, when it comes to the belief in ancestors that is when the division appear. I think those are silent divisions and they are not spoken about, I think they are

unresolved but they are held in tension. There is not really a clear difference in confronting what is Christian or not, there are also a few people amongst heritage workers who are ready to conform religion. And see whether if Christianity is African or not or is just a Western import, why did we accept it if it was a weapon of colonialism.

Even the exhibition spaces themselves we tried to use tweets which are in the voices of the Bakgatla, and are certainly ideally read together but if you grab this bite size and that bite size it gives something in itself.

I think this project was very special to kgosi that when he became a *kgosi* in 1996, he really demonstrated his love for heritage. I understand he personally invested in the little very small project of developing a community museum up and running that this is slowly turning into a cultural precinct. And so you know it is that amount of commitment and belief in the value and importance of this. The first exhibition that was done was the one before the world cup and already then he had a picture of where this was already going.

They understand the intangible invest in the Bakgatla bag a Kgafela, they understand that this is not going to bring back a load of money. I mean it is very significant, everyone thinks we can just build the building and open the door it will make money, it is just like a child, that is how heritage projects are like they need nurturing and care.

And still for me tehachay history room is still for me incredible how it brings the indigenous knowledge. We do have two items there that are heritage items this very beautiful pots and that is it everything else is inferred, everything is beautifully created so be it photography.

P5

Can you describe the process of mapping, what was found to be significant about this settlement and why?

Kgatla settlements consist of 5 wards one of which is the *Kgosing* (senior chief section). This was the section that was reproduced. Also in terms of architecture and space it was resized. (I think scale is mentioned in the exhibition). The background really is that, I've done some research myself, masters research in Johannesburg some time. And, this is one of the site, its actually, it has the site number BIL Johannesburg 33, and its situated on the eastern periphery of the Pilanesberg park. Well it had a range of issues it was, well its quite a large site it was on the foot hill, on a spur it's about 800m in length and about 50/6070 m in breadth, and situated on an elongated hill. On the periphery of the Pilanesberg mountain range. Through looking at the ethnography, am sure you are familiar with Schapera work, on Bakgatla. And because it is a Bakgatla ba kgafela area, and obviously there are other groups like the Batlokwa, the Tlokweg is further to the South, soe there were also these other groups in the landscape. So using ethnography, it's quite prominent that one of the mountains there is Mmmasibudule, even today it's still in the maps. And also when I translated into the Tswana, some of Schapera, Broyce's work there is also reference, I found one reference to the area Mabeleapodi and actually, Mabeleapodi, is a known of of the known Tswana enclaves and Mokgwasi. So looking into the archaeology complementing that, I looked at the site, a very large, initially I thought what usually happens to these sites is that the *kgosing*, you know the senior section of the kgosi , is usually in the highest area, and some sort of the requirements , or certain rules and practices for the layout of the site. But when I started to sort of digging into the kgatla and also learning from the Bakwena, work that was done by Dr Julius Pistoruis on the Kwena site Molokwane. You know archaeologists like to look at settlement patterns and that sort of stuff and obviously coming to the ground, he worked on identifying the archaeology and also ethnography on the site. He realised there was a three ward system on the Kwena uses. And when I started looking at the settlement layout it became clear that Kgatla, well at least in historic times its recorded in work in the 1950s and 1940s filed work, and also Schapera work frames the 1920s and 30s in that sort of time frame. It became clear that the Kgatla actually had a five ward system; each ward actually had a name and actually in the centre of

this layout is the *Kgosing*. And looking at the archaeology on the site on outlying areas I saw that there was a very small houses, the houses were not very big, midden material, material dump, everything is very smaller. So eventually I started looking at the site and after that survey of the site I realised that the centre of those areas, is actually where the biggest of the houses are and that sort of stuff. So that is the perfect example where the archaeological evidence, every clearly synched with the ethnography and in terms of the settlement layout and from there I took it further that , to infer really that I think this is really the first , I mean Pilane I-1825's first capital (Kganyane –Pilane's son became chief in 1851/2 and he moved to another site that is another sequence to Mmasibuduile) became the kgosi, but anyway, so using multiple strands of evidence, really sort of try to tie down the site, my interpretation at the moment is that this is the Pilane's 1st capital probably from about 1830, he moved around a bit probaly around 1830 and also remember this is around Difeqane , he kind of moved to the area and this is one of the nicest , aah there are also other the Makao , the makao people here, closer to Pretoria, one of the only settlements that have got post-Difequane settlement. So these people were not annihilated by Mzilikazi like most of the others, from the Bafokeng, Tlokwa, Bahurutse, Bakwena, you name it. they were all basically almost stripped. A lot of these sites were actually vacated we actually have archeologically confirmation of that because we have 1850/1860's we start seeing ceramics, eeh European ceramics on the sites obviously Rustenburg was started in the 1840s. 1850's we start seeing traders coming in so, the middle pieces were important. It is quite nice it is one of the very few Tswana settlements actually has a post-Difaqane occupation. Anyway so in a nut shell, when the opportunity came with Moruleng and that is one of the things that they got the buildings and space between the exhibitions and obviously the two Dutch reformed churches and they are looking at options, of whatever to reconstruct, the actual Pilanes capital in my interpretation, obviously, the section reconstructed is the section from the kgosing, so the largest enclave in the ward is actually one wife's domain, one family as you know that the Tswana men did not have a hut, traditionally the huts we all associated with women, so the section that

we, well is larger than that , so there is a whole section that is in the kgoing and then from there we chose a little bit of everything a section that had a bit of cattle kraal , and like the hut of the wife's space and a few other structure, and then the architect then as you know with the documentation I think they also shrunk the layout I think its 25%, to produce the size of it so it's not life size it's a bit smaller, also in terms of practicality. So that is the long version, so that is the situation. It was to illustrate that sort of particular, so they wanted something that will, so to have something like they wanted to reconstruct the hut, and have some other pictures on the site to make it interesting, so that was the process behind that, so I supplied some of my maps and that was redone. And subsequently, obviously you will

When the current Iron Age landscape which duplicates part of the archaeological settlement was built in the precinct what was the philosophical approach behind what to build? (Given that the central part of the settlement is the only section that was built?)

Dry all is a technique used at Late Iron Age sites. We tried to duplicate this at the reconstruction. They ended up using cement at the core to give it durability but the aim was that it should not be visible to the visitor.

Concerning the traditional hut in the precinct, what is considered to be representative of a traditional hut, was it strictly based on your survey or some level of interpretation was done, say for example from community members' oral historical knowledge?

With the reconstruction of the hut the first thing there is that the walling of the hut was a big problem. Obviously I showed that because of dry walling, if you look at the evidence of the late Iron Age settlement you will see that it is tapered shaped and sort of the wall leans on itself, so you have the larger rocks on the outside and the sort of rubble in the middle. And obviously there is movement, there is flexibility but the key of the thing is that it leans in

on itself, it actually supports itself and that is the magic of it, while these walls have been standing for 300 and 200 years. So the 1st attempt, they got somebody and they got on site and they were, they literally did a square thing, literally a very thick wall, a very thick but square and they started one scallop half and half moon shape, we started building and it had already started to collapse, so that was not going to happen, so we stopped that process and eventually. I showed them my photographs and explained more how a dry walling works and the basically that what you see today, is got the shape, but obviously you know, that the whole science of it. My company gave Professor Van Vuren, he is renowned in terms of his works on the Ndebele and Venda people and the several village reconstructions, obviously you are familiar with in terms of reconstruction, traditional structures but you strengthen it in other words you keep this sort of very traditional look, but there are ways of sort of prolonging the life and the maintenance, so again is what we basically did. So the core of the wall as far as I understand is cement core and then the rocks are on the outside. So the idea is that you shouldn't see that it is actually cement with the walling, so is a few that did not go well but eventually we they got it, I think fairly good I mean it looks good. The whole idea is not to, there are all sorts of things, I mean with thatching you know the grass the twigs the bark, you work in some nylon rug, it looks attentive but then you work some nylon rug into the bark, so just last three to four years instead of every year, also with the dagga, you know mud cow dung mixture that you use for walling, you also mix in cement there, so it looks perfectly traditional but, but lasts longer. I mean there are many techniques that you can use; I mean it's all over the world its science. Anyway we did try some of that and obviously that sort of the walling I think they got that fairly well sorted.

The hut is a very contentious issue. So what I have been talking about know say in terms of the settlement layout, settlement interpretation, walling techniques, the technology behind it and everything. I mean our hut is constructed in terms of the foundation and walling dagga you know the mud and cow dung mixture and how branches are brought about and how to support it and how the settlement is laid out. This is everything based on

archaeological evidence, this is very traditional. So there are various levels of interpretation is and this is where they come in. so what I have been trying to do is that I present the archaeological evidence and pure ethnographical evidence. Because remember we also have early travellers, Charles...in 1820, Andrew Smith's travels to South Africa and some of the early missionaries, so there are drawings there are sketches, there are ground plans and some of the details of 1820 and 1830 and actual people visited through South Africa. I mean a lot of information coupled with the pure archaeological evidence. So what I presented really was my view of the thing that this is the archaeological reconstruction. The emphasis is different from saying, traditional, we as Kgatla people this is our tradition. This is how we do it in the living memory, which is different from I am working on the site and data of 1830s, now living memory is now looking at the 20th century. Older people are looking at 1970s, 1980s, or maybe 1950s? Since they remember that old that maybe 1920s, there is no memory that is a 100 years after the stuff that I have excavated so tradition, that another layout of it. So you have a traditional way of doing it, say the traditional Kgatla, so should I say now this is the modern understanding or the current understanding, so this is their tradition, so that is different. That must be made clear that is definitely different from the archaeological evidence, which is almost 200years ago because some of these sites go to 1780s, 1760s. So anyway the ground plan, the plan the actual, house foundation, which is upright stone foundation, then there is branches that is roundavel shape, now you know sort of the architectural form of the roundavel is a cylinder. The cylinder is constructed of you know the rock foundations. That is what is left behind you the clay and other material is gone, you know. The hut the stuff that I excavated the actual house foundation is upright larger, upright flat stones. So on top of that is the branches twigs and stuff, it's the frame and that is then been covered with dagga that is dung mixture and then branches. And obviously is not the wall that keeps up the roof, it's the branches on the sides the weight is carried by the branches. Again and then the conical form of the roof, you know all those tree branches and obviously the thatch. So using the archaeological evidence and ethnographic, early travellers accounts. And also the sliding door, it's a

groove, that is excavated it's a slate at the bottom where the entrance door goes back and forth. The sliding door archeologically throughout South Africa is in every state you get it everywhere it is a fantastic Tswana innovation. Some of the Sotho Tswana groups also do it. And so it's fantastic, and so we know first of all from ethnographic evidence we know these things are fantastic they are now being used all over the world. Terra buildings we all know that Europe is also going that way I mean this house is cool in summer and hot in winter, so it's about the thermodynamics, the moisture moves through the walls there is no damp obviously in any structure and coupled with that it is very clear no one know, it is dark inside and the main, it's actually half a metre, with very low arch shape half door the opening, so with the sliding door you crawl in. So also as you get with the Nguni shape and structures are the same so the whole idea is that when somebody crawls in you have an advantage you can attack him. So I presented the archaeological evidence, this is what I excavated this is what it looks like. So they started doing that and I think it was a good effort. Basically that has been chief Nyalala, he made a few remarks. I am sure Sam will give you the update on that. But anyway it basically means that this is acceptable, so they changed the reconstruction was made with this round cement bricks they almost constructed the, obviously the professor Kris Vanthuren, he came in because he has done some hundreds of house reconstructions, so we use popular branches obviously for strength, and some of the grasses. By the way they did not know how to thatch. No body there in Moruleng knew how to thatch what grasses to use, what branches I hear they got some people which were kind of knowledgeable. and so it morphed into completely something else, so there were windows I think added at the back and eventually a full sized door was put in front and its sliding. So archeologically it's moved beyond, it's almost that there are some archaeological principles yes and traditional principles yes, idiosyncrasies yes to a certain degree, that is why I say its highly programmatic. A lot of people associate with it and look at this house and they say what the hell is going on there and its not part of my scope at some point I distanced myself from it. It's an in between its almost like a doctored, it's a time capsule of a structure that is actually in between everything, it is not

archaeological, it's not traditional its maybe someone's specific idea of a house and anything in between and a combination of it I am not sure what it is. So that is an interesting exercise. In a sense the hut becomes a metaphor for showing the Kgatla's traditions and way of life and heritage and so certain things did not gel with the preconceived idea of what they should be.

P6

The proposal to turn Phuthadikobo into a cultural heritage precinct through continued conservation, can you introduce the project and are the aims of the project?

Initially what we wanted to was to create a heritage precinct with the sites around the museum. We have the royal palace, and then we have the *kgotla*, and then some other heritage sites around Mochudi and some are around are just outside Mochudi . And then we wanted to start with the museum in terms of renovating the building and also revamping the exhibitions so that it can be more interactive to people of all ages. An currently we have done all the renovations to the building, our next step is to work on the exhibitions and exhibition developments so that it can be different. Some people came here about 20myuears ago and said when I came here they say the exhibition still looks the same, nothing has move except for a few things that have been added. So what we want to do is to create a whole image of the museum, because museums are evolving around the world and they are becoming more interactive, so that it can involve a lot of people who come to enjoy what they see. The artefacts are already there and they should be displayed in a way that they should talk to people, so we are currently doing that. We are also working on a project at the *kgotla* , it is part of the heritage precinct at the *kgotla*, so what we are currently doing is just to repaint , restore and renovate some of the buildings and then we hope that maybe by the end of the year we will be done with that one . And we have also applied to UNESCO to help us

with the identification and protection of the heritage sites in the whole Kgatleng district, so that one we will still be working on as well, depending on the response that we get from them.

Focusing on the museum building itself, I know it was built as a national school? What role does culture play in the appropriation of heritage projects?

In the building we don't want to change it that much, we want to do a restoration, something that we want to change are doors, and those doors are very old and they may not be available currently. Or we may want to recreate the same kind of design as the doors as we see but our main objective is to keep everything as it was or at least return it to the way it had always been. We could do in the current restoration is to repaint, attend to the ceiling, and attend to the roofing attend to the ceiling, attend to the roofing. And obviously the ceiling came much later so, that one we can easily change, but as far as the walls are concerned and the whole structure is we did not want to disturb anything, so also if you are going to increase the exhibition space we will just be doing that with what we have just to change the usage of the offices or rooms that we have. So we don't want to drastically change anything because this building is national monument as much as it is being attended to as other monuments it is a national monument. If we wanted to change anything completely we will have to conduct a rigorous assessment. But we just want to keep it the same ways as it is, because it is the oldest building in the village, for us the architecture that we have is also the huts. But those ones you know as time goes on they change people build the modern type of houses so this is the only one we can say it has been here for a very long time. In terms of the historical value of the building, everything education wise for example in Botswana could be attributed to the building because it was a community project built by the people themselves, they made

a contribution just like *ipelegeng*.so also the amount of time and work and dedication and the cooperation of the people in building it, also the people that it has served. Because it became a national school and then it has transformed from giving primary education to secondary education. In the 1980's it also became a district council chamber and immediately after independence dignitaries and politicians used to visit the building and now it is a museum, so as a museum currently it has to serve purpose people need to come here and see how the village has evolved and how the current generation are doing things compared to what used to happen and also education wise to serve purpose because schools come here. So we have to do an exhibition that actually benefits the school children. Or the interpretation that we give, also because when people come here we need to tell them about the village. the whole building in itself is actually an exhibition, people need to understand the history behind the building, how it was built who was involved and the like.

What narrative or history is being told through the conservation of this building?

The concept of curation is aimed at exhibiting Bakgatla history because it is a community museum of Bakgatla history and currently we are just talking about Bakgatla and all. We have an exhibition about post-independence, how the village was after independence. But as I was saying we are trying to revamp the exhibition and we want to include the part of Botswana just to show that ok, how has the district itself contributed to the development of Botswana. We have people from the village who have been ministers, judges, who have held major government positions, so we just need to shoe the relationship the village has with the government of Botswana. So that is what we are trying to do –so we want at least one room dedicated to the relationship of Botswana, for example the coat of arms what does it mean to us? The colour of the flag of Botswana what does it mean to us? And how the country has evolved in terms of education and culture and the like.

Gaborone City

P 7

What do you know about the planning and design of Gaborone as a capital city of Botswana? And what design assumptions were made in the design of the government enclave as the new government seat? What is the relevance of these concepts in Gaborone's urban development today?

To deal with architecture and urbanism, is all those things that we need to record, that deals with human habitation and cultural celebration. Looking at how with the city grew in every, it will tell you how the city grew in each grows at each stage. The city starts with the core, looking at the process of growth of the city and what the growth depict socio-economic, political and so on. Explore the architecture through how it is celebrated and the space crested for specific purposes, talking about colonial , talk on the colonial Africa , and place with the periods, the first thing to look at was influenced by colonial architecture, look at African countries at the turn on colonialism , the architecture celebrated independence- architecture of independence, were influenced by the type of colonialism, in the case of Botswana was British, the was distinct from the British was the paternalistic approach , if you look at the development of architecture in British colonies you will realised that in most of the cities the colonial government gave us people to help us set up the government , town planners architects and so on. The plans were prepared and evaluated by them. The managers were given to establish the city together with funding/ donation. In the case of Botswana, there transfer to independence was negotiated. The kind of colonial control was different in the way that it was temporary. In British in the end negotiated their transfer of power, the negation process included the use of administrators which were sometimes left in the country to help bring architecture a planner's to plan the towns. In the case of Botswana, it was not a colony but a protectorate.

Britain was still administering Botswana it could be argued that the architecture was still of postcolonial phase, for this we are looking at self-expression, demonstrate some architecture was coming out of it and ask if they were celebrating architecture and also question the processes in which the ideas were transmitted.

Having prepared the Gaborone master plan, what are the key concepts or design /elements /assumptions is the master plan exploring?

I will talk about using three fields that town planning, architecture and urban design, you will see that in the table of contents it is rigid and it is almost spelt out in the statues, however you cannot do town planning without looking at urban design, so for me you need to also look at architecture and it rarely ever happens. You have to document what is existing, by pictures and archives. You are immediately influenced by the town itself whether is a mining town or administrative city like in the case of Gaborone. Those are the issues that Gaborone is an administrative city the major factor that influences the type of plan that is to be done including the environment itself. The plans are actually the relies of the previous plans, you look at the previous plan and see to what extent they have been implemented and document. The city of Gaborone is almost used as a temporary place for work, people still live in Gaborone temporarily the relationship between the village the city still persist. The word I use is "tempo morale" a Latin word. So I look at the life of the city and who lives in the city. You are also dealing with people in the government like town planners with opinions, the forecast of the population and the projection of the population is always difficult. You may well understand my town planning role was to set a place for urbanity, to take place.

One of the aims of developing the capital core (-that is government enclave and the mall) (according to Gaborone Development plan pg

85) is to raise its profile through architecture to meet the standards of other capital cities. How important is symbolism in this regard?

The whole thing revolves around symbolism, that is the concept that every city must have a centre I did a presentation where I was showing that for the urban core to survive to be sustainable it need to respect that there are other sub-cores that exists you need to connect strong connectivity between them say foe example the new CBD and the mall. To strengthen them is to make sure that commercial routes have activities. The urban core should be the centre of culture and the centre. The spaces are celebratory centres such as the independence squares and spaces that are symbolic in their nature are important and must deliberately engender these things,

In what ways is symbolism being reflected or achieved in the built environment? Can you give an example of such?

One of the main goal of the development plan goal no: 13 is to "preserve the culture and historic heritage of the city", these are singled out as historic sites, monuments and landmarks that celebrate the culture and history of the city. How is this goal being realised? Can you point out any building/project or design which is geared towards achieving this goal?

In the first place one would like to see an act that deals with preservation of monuments, one would like to see the spaces created pure and simple for monumentality, and statues and sculpture. One would like to see spaces, theatre and amphitheatres where cultural activities can take place and can be celebrated. But as at town planner you can only suggest. This is the problem currently, during my days of studying you go home to contribute. My argument is that money needs to be put in, we need academia to research our culture and reconstruct this and should be done. There is tree links the first one is academic, then you need government to finance such project, it needs

to be implemented. I sold be stories or actual monuments. Such things are suggested.

What are your views on the current urbanity of Gaborone, design and planning mechanisms of today, and what do you think the next master plan or development should focus on?

The master plan and architecture has failed to capture the times of celebrating architecture. The architecture does not celebrate the landscapes. The focus should be on celebrating heroes creating squares and parks the celebrate history of a nation,

Project specific

Can you speak to the projects you have completed in Gaborone (that is the parliament extension) and what influences your design process?

Send drawings of the existing parliament building, is the house of chiefs that is linked to the house of chiefs. I was appointed to refurbish the then existing parliament seating. I did my projections and demonstrated that in the next them years they will be more than 75 parliament member. I extended the colonnade which connected the various activities but the anchors to the design was the colonnade, other than the colonnade and the new assembly in 1992. We added another building the current assembly building, my feeling about architecture now is this idea of balancing what the client want and what architect could do. The client wanted national assembly, but intestinally the team leader wanted the voting system similar to the on in Britain, they wanted a clock that looked like Big Ben. But the ideas that were actually driven by the client became a mock colonial architecture or what you call neo-colonial architecture.

P8

What is the procedure of heritage identification in Botswana?

The procedure is that, heritage sites are under the Botswana National Museum administered through National Monuments through an act of Parliament called the Ornaments and relics ACT of 2001. Basically in summary what the act says is that any building that was built and used in the country prior to 1902 automatically becomes a national monument that is the starting point. The second statement is that, I think section 10, of the same act states that a building can be declared a national monument by the minister, form after the advice of the commissioner, the commissioner being the Director of the Botswana National Museum and Monuments. If they establish that there is some sort of historical significance in as far as the history of the country is concerned and the technical people in the department comes up with evidence information that this site is very important but it was built after 1902, the one that talks about the act then it means that a determination can be made that... eeh this house needs to be declared a national monument as a recent historic building,

What about the description of individual buildings that you declare monuments, do you specify the architectural or historic value of each? (That is to say listing description of each historic building or monument?)

Normally you find out that, that particular building will be associated with a particular historic event or historic individual that can be deemed to be not of regional importance but of national importance. For example, you find that one of the houses we have declared a national monument is a house where Sir Seretse Khama as the first president of the country was born. Then we thought that this building is important to the history of the country because it is the birth place of our first president. The other building that we have recently declared a national monument is the house in Lobatse, it was mainly because Nelson ~Mandela as you know him was accommodated in that house and therefore we said that yes let us try to recognise the role Botswana

played in the liberation of South Africa but also try to celebrate the contribution of ordinary Batswana towards assisting South Africa in gaining independence.

The other criteria that we use to determine whether we declare a site a national monument or a building a national monument is to look at the architectural style of the house. If we find it to be very peculiar and very different or belonging to a particular era or particular style we just sample one house and say let us preserve this house to kind of represent the evolution of the architectural styles that were taking place at a time. So we look at different criteria to determine a particular building should be declared a national monument or not?

Unfortunately, we don't have a document which brings s these things together. I think sometimes we use our own discretion as professionals and say no this particular person played a significant role in the evolution of Botswana as a country therefore we need to honour him by declaring one of the site that was associated with the person as a national monument. We just use the act as a guiding frame. That is the Gap we currently have in our system. And we don't have

Mochudi Historic core area?

The situation in Mochudi, Kanye, Serowe and other major villages is a bit different, in the sense that we have what we call regional museums. Like ene Mochudi there is Phuthadikobo regional museum that takes care of all the old buildings that are around Mochudi especially those ones that have been declared as national monuments. For them to be declared national monuments they have to be declared by the minister and is the only one in power who can say this a national monument. After declaration of the site or building as a national monument in the case of Mochudi you find that the management is either that of Phuthadikobo museum, or the community will be encouraged through the community trust to utilise the buildings, either to use as government offices or also as some form of tourism attraction area.

Like Phuthadikobo building itself the national monument but the building is also used as a regional museum, therefore communities are free to use, even government departments some of the national monuments, the national museum does not take ownership of them, they continue to be used by different government departments as offices. But in terms of communities, communities are encouraged as offices but they can also be used for tourism related initiatives as heritage sites.

Status of heritage sites Gaborone?

National monuments when they are gazetted in the government gazette, before they are gazetted we describe the site, describe the location of the site and also sometimes the status of the site. And then the second thing is that and we keep what we call the national sites register. All these sites that are considered to be national monuments or even heritage sites we have national registry we have a list of all these sites, of course we admit we never have all the sites status up-to-date because sites keep on being added to the list because of various reasons. Some of the sites are archaeological sites, but as for the buildings we do have a list and once in a while some we upgrade them to be declared national monuments. The problem is that taking care of them is a problem.

P10

Moruleng

Can you briefly describe the use of traditional motifs, (lekgapho) on the walls of the buildings, was it about cultural representation through art, or this representation goes beyond that?

The idea of using traditional motifs that were used to decorate mud structures in Tswana was to build on that material culture but in modern and complex ways using contemporary materials and construction processes. The intent was to show a culture that was proud of its past, but not stuck in it,

that this was a culture willing to take its history and move forward into the future.

Can you briefly describe the process of mapping, what was found to be significant about this settlement and why?

Kgatla settlements consist of 5 wards one of which is the Kgosing (senior chief section). This was the section that was reproduced. Also in terms of architecture and space it was resized (I think the scale is mentioned in the exhibition). The central part of the settlement is the area of power and governance. the selection allowed key narratives to be demonstrated namely; *Kgotla*, kraal, midden, route of cattle, homestead and iron and copper smelting.

With regards to the wall construction techniques (dry wall) was this based on an interpretation of traditional techniques as surveyed by the archaeological mapping or it was based on the existing stone walls in the existing archaeological site?

It was an interpretation of traditional techniques. An elderly local artisan supervised the build. We used some concrete mixture and steel rods to assist the strength longevity of the structure. The walls outer skins are still by and large dry packed.

Concerning the traditional hut in the precinct, what is considered to be representative of a traditional hut, was it strictly based on your survey or some level of interpretation and required say for example from community members' oral history knowledge?

According to the Archeologist consultants, the dwelling we constructed in the homestead does not represent the type of dwelling that would have been found in an iron age settlement. We faced a few challenges in this regard. local skills in traditional building techniques were limited. The dwelling should have been much lower with allow doorway (approx 1m high) and with sliding door structure. the thatch should have also been much lower. When this lower dwelling was being constructed the museum authorities felt that such a dwelling did not ring true within the communities' collective memory. Hence we built a structure that is more recent and more representative of what the elderly in the community remember of such structures. We explain this diversion in a panel adjacent to the structure. What is interesting is that the dwelling seems to have come to represent a connection, a sense of pride and a cultural identity that that is sensed to be diminishing in the urban growth being experienced.

Can you reflect on the implication of duplicating history, with regards to heritage, how this can affect authenticity of what is built and presented?

Firstly, the architectural strategy was very clear about how it dealt with authentic architectural artefacts (the DRC and the old school) and how it dealt with contemporary insertions. The authenticity and legibility of the two heritage buildings is emphasised in that they are the two white painted structures in the precinct. New amenities like ablutions, ramps, amphitheatre are constructed in brown brick, while the pre-colonial epoch is represented by the landscape project which includes the indigenous planting and the iron age settlement. It was the intent of the project to unsettle and reconfigure the ground between the two colonial buildings.

In the South African context, we have very little preserved material culture of people outside the colonial and apartheid power structures. It is situation of erased memories. This project was about constructing those memories, narratives, oral histories and archive. The reconstruction of the settlement is a clear and powerful message of this reconstruction of memory. Making what was erased, visible. The project is about finding ourselves, our culture and

histories as South Africans in a post-apartheid and postcolonial space. It is about making these ideas material, accessible and immersive.

PII

Gaborone

What do you know about the planning and design of Gaborone as a capital city of Botswana? And what design assumptions were made in the design of the government enclave as the new government seat?

About the planning of Gaborone as a capital city, right from the beginning, Gaborone was not designed to be the capital of Botswana in the sense that it had a very narrow life span, it was only designed for twenty thousand people. As a capital city, one would not expect twenty thousand people to be living in the capital city. My feeling was that it was just intended for people who would be doing business in the country stay for a short time and then go. It was only designed for a few workers, those who came from outside the Botswana who did not have anywhere else to stay, and those that will be their attendants, because you will find out that Gaborone was divided into 2, by the mall- composed of civil servants and the elite while and on the south was their workers- living in small houses with type 4 or type 5, and the labourers found themselves in old Naledi, and therefore it was really very very restricted in terms doing its function as a city., not much space was available for growth into a city.

As for the assumptions that were made in the design of the government enclave which is between, the new CBD and the mall, the idea was that, one major factor that was taken into consideration was the environment; aspect that the development should leave enough land for greenery, for growth, the idea was to pedestrianise the place and have parking underneath and very little on the ground itself. There was provision to make room for landscaping decoration landscape architecture and all that, but some of them were planned but no implemented because of the financial constraints, and

landscape architecture, and to make it beautiful, some of them like the presidential suite was planned but not implemented because of money issues.

When you say the presidential suite do you mean the parliament?

There was a new parliament building which was to be built with office of the - going to be turned into a big building of presidential building to link them, the current parliament was not going to be abandoned but was going to be the house of chiefs as it is. The major structure was to be the presidential suite, but it just died in the drawings because at the time of implementation it was said they were expensive. It had helipad on the building structure and big space for parade in front. Those were the ideas which died because of the resource constraints. The ideas died because of resource constraints.

I am interested in having a look at these proposals where about can I find them?

Local government ministry archives.

Gaborone was planned as a capital for the new emerging nation of Batswana, based on a new kind of urbanity in Southern Africa that is racial mix. To what extent do think this was reflected in its architecture and urbanism?

Well, when Gaborone started I think most of the towns, Lobatse Francistown, were divided into economic status, because Gaborone North was rich while the south was poor, Lobatse (Boswelatlou area was rich while the south of the railway was poor) also was planned in the same regard and Francistown also was planned in that way. Gaborone was also like that but after independence the government realised that there was a need to address the issue of economic integration, which meant whatever the layout or the neighbourhood economic situation all these groups will brought into one neighbourhood and connected to the infrastructure, such that if this area is high income and this area is medium income. This were brought in the new neighbourhoods like Gaborone West, you will find a lot of SHHA development, the next small was middle income and the smallest given to t

high income. But the kind of the infrastructure was the high income subsidised the middle, the middle subsidised the lower income and therefore they leave more or less harmoniously without realising that wena you are not well off. But arguments of mixing were problematic to developers in sense that the property could devalue others.

In specific terms, can you comment on the planning principles that were applied in the initial planning of Gaborone and to what extent they were influenced by?

i) culture

ii) identity

iii) Symbolising a nation

iv) Modernism

It was not easy, but people were inclined to build modern houses, but the regulation did not forbid that. Culture took a back seat to pave way for the need to show progress and demonstrate that the country was developing and moving forward. In terms of the design moving forward it was favourable to adopt modern n planning because of resources at the same time. An element of culture is more supported in the villages where the neighbourhoods still reflect the traditional structure.

Gaborone was planned around the concept of the "Garden City", what relevance do you think this had on the local context? And how was it realised spatially?

When you go to Thornhill, is in the middle of what was an open space, where the foot paths from Gaborone Sun and extension meet and get into the path, there were series of foot paths then, but developments took over the spaces. Those were the open spaces in the city which allowed movement into the centre. The concept was there but maybe then, after 200000 people the another enclave, will come in, that area was the first enclave to be built.

How has urban planning and design of the city of Gaborone evolved from the first planned colonial city to the now postcolonial national city? And what continuity or discontinuity can you highlight and discuss? Can you discuss the ideas or values that influence urban planning in the postcolonial period, in particular, the Wilson-Wormesley plan of 1971: extension of the Township?

This is the Gaborone West and Broadhursts mixed income group residential development.

What role do concepts of social practices, historical continuity play in the transformation and shaping of the townscape? And what is the relevance and meaning of colonial heritage in the city?

I don't know, may be because not much in terms of historical developments, when you talk of that what comes into mind is the silos in Bonnington, the ones built by chiefs in times of drought and the ones built in villages. The old prison in village, this will teach whoever comes on the history of those who came before us. It is import, also the monuments such as the three chiefs. There is not very much about African heritage especially in Botswana. A lot of heritage has been destroyed. In other countries heritage is guarded jealously. The problem is department deal with conservation differently. The town and country planning act has a provision for the preservation of heritage but not much is happening. The act and planning should address issues of historical importance and geotechnical studies are done by museum people to see if the sites are to be recommended for preservation or not.

P12

Gaborone

What do you know about the planning and design of Gaborone as a capital city of Botswana? And what design assumptions were made

in the design of the government enclave as the new government seat?

In the entire colonial period during which it first emerged as a definable 'state', Botswana was the only country in the world without a capital city or town. During the Protectorate years, between 1885 and 1966, this country was the domain of dominant Tswana tribes or nations. Each of those tribal nations had its capital but none of them made claims to be the capital of the huge area comprising the Protectorate. When administering the new Protectorate, the British first used Vryburg as their base but then, in 1898, moved to Mahikeng. When Britain began to disinvest itself of its African colonial possessions in the later 1950s and early 1960s, and with South Africa's exodus from the Commonwealth in 1963, its retention of its Mahikeng base ceased to be tenable. The problem however was that Britain's fast evolving timetable to let loose its African dependencies caught this one, the Bechuanaland Protectorate on the hop. Nowhere else in British ruled Africa was there a first requirement before Independence that a capital had to be constructed. Could this be done? The timetable for Independence was set without regard for the factors that could delay the creation of the new capital or for the enormous problems that would need to be met and overcome. These included securing the required funds, obtaining sufficient quantities of water for the new town, completing its buildings on schedule and, implicitly, planning a new town for the kind of mixed society which would be entirely new to this country.

Can you discuss the ideas or values that surrounded urban planning and design of Gaborone as a capital city in the 1960s?

There was in racist divided and colonial ruled southern Africa at that time, no model for the sort of new non-racist capital that was now being proposed. The British colonial administrators in Mafeking had no precedents in the U.K. or indeed the wider world, on which to draw. Britain's turn of the century Garden Cities had certainly become world famous but these had been planned according to very different situations and needs. Similarly, the leaders of Botswana's largely tribal communities were without the kinds of experience which could help them in such a situation. The physical layout of all their tribal capitals - in terms of population size - effectively towns, were organised to reflect the social structure of their tribal communities and could not easily be adapted for the needs of a modern non-traditional town.

Gaborone was planned as a capital for the new emerging nation of Batswana, based on a new kind of urbanity in Southern Africa that is racial mix. To what extent do think this was reflected in its architecture and urbanism?

It followed that the British Administration had no ground rules to follow. They had created appropriately prestigious new set piece buildings for capitals in New Delhi and Pretoria but nowhere in the world had they planned a brand new capital town which was to be physically organised along non-racial lines, not least in a part of the world where racial division was the enforced norm. In southern Africa, Salisbury in the then Rhodesia, and Lusaka, in what was then Northern Rhodesia, might have seemed to be relevant models but both had been organized on blatantly racist grounds, with clear physical separation being made between black poor and white rich.

Both British administrators and the Dikgosi, however, were well aware that for almost entire duration of its history, the Protectorate had been very different from the settler countries which adjoined it – South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique even though, inevitably perhaps, it had come to share some of the racist characteristics of those countries.

Exceptional leaders amongst both the black and white communities, however, encouraged by a remarkably adroit British Resident Commissioner, Peter Fawcus were alike anxious to rise above those limitations and to achieve in a new nationhood and in a new form of national expression, the best of the values inherited from the past.

In the event, only Seretse Khama, exceptionally positioned to speak about such matters, was able to find the words to express what he envisaged this capital needed to be – and this speech and hope was used by the British Administration as a basic planning document. This speech provided a guide for the key permanent staff at the British Secretariat in Mafikeng, principally the Director of the Public Works Department, Bill Davies who, without previous experience of town planning but with the assistance of a team of short term consultant employees and the help of the School of Tropical Architecture in London was immediately called on to produce draft lay out plans for a town of 20,000 people. For his purposes, he had the entire 2,570 hectares of the Imperial Reserve available. His final, approved plan was compact, sensible and largely practical. Unsurprisingly, it owed nothing to any of the nearest major settlements, to either Bulawayo or Mafikeng, with their grid plans, or even to Zeerust.

In specific terms, can you comment on the planning principles that were applied in the initial planning of Gaborone and to what extent they were influenced by?

i) culture

ii) identity

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iv) Modernism

It should be noted, however, that whilst new capitals have been later created in other African States – such as Dodoma (Tanzania), Abuja (Nigeria), and

Lilongwe (Malawi) - none were brought into being in such extraordinary circumstances as Gaborone or in anything remotely like the same time scale.

The approved plan used the railway station to the west and the Village to the east as anchors for the new town. It used the higher ground to place the Office of the President, the National Assembly and the four government office blocks from where a central Mall, with a Town Hall, led onwards to a hospital, an area set aside for a university, to the airport and Village. Within a short time, the central area also included a hotel (the President) a National Museum and a National Library.

A glance at the approved plan does show, however, that whilst thought had been given to the area north of the Mall, very little had been given to the area to the south. To the north was State House, the British High Commissioner's Residence, the new prestige institutions - Thornhill English medium Primary School, the Gaborone Secondary School, the Princess Marina Hospital, the Golf and Notwane Clubs and the high cost, low-density housing. In contrast, the area to the south was allocated, tellingly, the Police Station, a Community Centre and Lesedi Primary School, a self-help housing area (Bontleng) the African Mall and the future industrial area alongside the railway.

The housing, high cost and lower density to the north and lower cost higher density to the south was intended to meet the needs of the entire civil service. Surprisingly it was not anticipated that there would be need to provide housing for any other category of people. The sudden arrival of hundreds of daily paid labourers, therefore, created an unexpected problem – which was met by the rapid creation of White City. The arrival of other migrants from the rural areas who settled in Old Naledi created a problem that, fifty years later, is still not fully solved. (Old Naledi pics)

Years down the line, it remains a puzzle as to why the British planners failed to grasp that the creation of the new capital, albeit small scale, was bound to draw many migrants from the rest of the country where a devastating long lasting drought had brought hardship and ruin to many thousands of people. A principal concern of the British planners and administrators was, ironically in the circumstances, to find ways of avoiding the development of

uncontrolled and uncontrollable urban slums. They feared that Tlokweng might develop in this manner but appear to have had no presentiment that massive, almost uncontrollable growth would occur in Mogoditshane rather than in Tlokweng.

The presumption must be that they regarded the various tribal districts as being economically and socially stable and that the creation of the new capital would have little effect on the long established pattern of mine work migration to South Africa for men and of domestic service there for women.

Self-evidently, the planners had absolutely no expectation that the new capital would, or ever could, expand and develop. In retrospect, it may seem to many that they were not very bright. But the country at Independence was one of the poorest in the world. How could any of those planners, or indeed any of the country's key leaders, have anticipated what was to happen ten/fifteen years after they had made their plans or that there could ever be such an extraordinarily rapid transformation?

Certainly none of those who contributed published articles at the time about the new capital believed that its planning was flawed.

Gaborone was planned around the concept of the "Garden City", what relevance do you think this had on the local context? And how was it realised spatially?

There is a lingering but persistent idea that Gaborone was first created as an African version of the British Garden City. Unfortunately, the detail relating to the planning of the new Gaborone is still of interest to only a small number of people so it is surprising how many fixed ideas about it have already been generated. One of the favourites, is, surprisingly, that it was the Swedes who drew up the first plans although their town planners arrived in this country only in 1973.

But was it ever in the minds of the Protectorate administration planners that Gaborone should replicate the Garden Cities? I have found not a single mention of this idea in any of the relevant files nor, when considering

the first plan together with the nature of the new capital, can I find such an idea reflected.

True, there were common elements such as the retention of trees and the use of space but these were not unusual concerns in other towns such as Bulawayo. On the other hand, the first Gaborone plan, with its elliptical shape, broke away from the grid plan favoured by both Bulawayo and Mafikeng – the two nearest towns which, in theory at least, could have provided a planning model.

The roundabout cited, I believe, as additional evidence of the Garden City concept appeared only a couple of times in the first plan but became more of a feature in the second phase of Gaborone’s development. The first Garden Cities at Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City imitated the cooperative ideal and were intended to be economically self-sustaining small towns. The new Gaborone was never planned as a commercial entity with in-built measures provided for the social and economic well-being of all its inhabitants.

Whilst the British planners were unable to envisage a town that would expand in the future – because they foresaw no such need - they did not intend to plan a town that was never intended to expand which, is of course, a key feature of the Garden City concept.

Interviews conducted (2015-2017)

Description	Number
Heritage Professionals	7
Architects and Planners	6
Public	5
Historians	2

