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**HERITAGE POLICIES AND MINORITY CULTURES IN
LESOTHO: THE CASE OF BAPHUTHI LIVING HERITAGE**

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

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by

Mapena Tokelo Christina

(Lesotho)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy,
Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Mapena Tokelo Christina**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

This research provides a historical narrative behind nation building and colonialism as sources of the current state of imbalances in Lesotho. It uses historical narratives as a tool to understand the existence of cultural diversity in the country. It challenges the narratives that regard Lesotho as a culturally homogenous country and iron out the existence of cultural diversity. In order to back up my arguments I provide the case of Baphuthi, a small ethnic group that is found in the South-East of Lesotho. It also provides a panoramic view of the cultural policies of Lesotho and cultural diversity and how the two conventionally address the issue of excluded minorities. It explores theories of multiculturalism as a mechanism that was adopted by countries to develop more informed policies that caters for cultural diversity. I use Australia and South Africa as case studies to understand their voyages in trying to create a conducive environment between different cultures who reside in the same community. It gives a series of solutions in a form of policy recommendation that can be used to contribute in developing informed policies where ethnic minorities will be able to participate and benefit from those policies.

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Introduction

My interest in carrying out this research emanates from my personal experience working at the National Department of Culture in Lesotho. My one and half year experience working as a national coordinator for the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage gave me an exposure to work with communities in Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Lesotho. It was during this time when I got to work closely with the Baphuthi and I discovered that the past history of Lesotho has been unjust to them as it has contributed to the underdevelopment and marginalization of their cultural heritage. As a policy reformer for Department of Culture, I have realized that cultural diversity heritage issues are not really incorporated in the heritage frameworks of Lesotho. Therefore, I found it imperative to carry out this research to assess how cultural policies accommodate, manage and protect cultural diversity of Lesotho. I am doing this because I realized that there is a need to raise awareness among the Basotho people and policy reformers about the importance of multiculturalism and diversity as resources for social justice.

The choice of the Baphuthi as the focus of a case study made sense because of their ongoing mobilization for recognition. Additionally, papers such as Lesotho Times reported a social movement of the Baphuthi demanding recognition.¹ But who are Baphuthi? They are a cultural and ethnic group that gave Lesotho King Moorosi, a hero of anti-colonial resistance in the 19th Century. Moorosi allied with Moshoeshe I King of the Basotho, to form the modern Basotho State, today known as Lesotho. Prior to colonization various ethnic groups lived separately under distinctive chiefdoms led by their respective chiefs. Every ethnic group had its own traditions though most used Sesotho as their language (now an official language in

¹ Tsitsi Matope, "Baphuthi Demand 'due Recognition' | Lesotho Times," accessed June 1, 2017, <http://lestimes.com/baphuthi-demand-due-recognition/>.

Lesotho). Some of these groups continued to use their own languages as vehicles for communicating their culture to new generations. This, combined with continuity of cultural practices, has maintained groups such as the Baphuti, Xhosa or the Ndebele, as distinct within the Basotho nation. The living heritage of these minority groups is however under threat from the Basotho nation's need of a single narrative that creates a single identity.

The current Constitution of Lesotho and national heritage laws are still unfavourable to cultural diversity. Basotho culture dominates and defines national identity, resulting in progressive assimilation of minority cultures. The exclusive use of Sesotho and English in business and education regardless of the Baphuthi's efforts reclaiming recognition illustrates this trend. Minorities' living heritage is poorly documented and is increasingly in danger of extinction. This is especially the case in the current context where economic growth and social change cause massive Baphuthi migration towards urban areas where they mix and blend in Basotho majority culture.

Therefore the current study thus pursues the following goals:

- To create an enabling environment in which minorities can be equally represented through cultural production and exhibition of their living heritage;
- To use the case of Baphuthi to improve the current protection and management of living heritage of minorities; and
- To encourage use of cultural policy as a tool of social reform in Lesotho and encourage researchers to recognize the need for documentation, management, and promotion of cultural diversity.

The study comprises of four chapters. **Chapter 1** provides an overview of cultural heritage law in Lesotho. It discusses the place of cultural diversity in recent efforts to modernize

this law. **Chapter 2** provides the background of the history of nation formation in Lesotho which has led to the present-day multicultural society. I am doing that by tracing the history of traditional multiculturalism in Lesotho during colonialism and after independence. **Chapter 3** analyzes the personal stories, interviews, newspaper articles, social media interactions, unpublished official documents and archives in order to understand the landscape of multiculturalism in Lesotho. **Chapter 4** offers a series of possible solutions to the current challenges of cultural diversity in Lesotho. Lastly, **Chapter 5** provides a conclusion and how as a heritage policy reformer I intend to use this research as a tool to create awareness among Lesotho heritage's reformers and other stakeholders about the importance of including cultural diversity issues in development processes in order to avoid ethnic conflicts.

Chapter 1 – ‘The Governance of Heritage’ in Lesotho

The current chapter briefly describes the institutional arrangements in Lesotho’s heritage sector. It discusses attempts that have been taken by Lesotho in managing cultural diversity. The discussion here is three dimensional. First, I provide an overview on the history of laws governing heritage. I reflect on how Lesotho’s legal frameworks were used across history to promote exclusion, in particular by promoting and enforcing cultural hierarchies between Basotho and other groups. These hierarchies were inherited from the colonial period and continued through nation building. Secondly, I explore how living heritage is outlined in national legal frameworks to understand how Lesotho’s heritage policies identify and select heritage that is preserved as national heritage. Lastly, I describe and analyze the management of heritage resulting from these institutional and legal structures.

1.1 Presenting Lesotho’s Cultural Heritage Legal Frameworks

Historically, the first legal heritage frameworks in Lesotho trace their roots back to the mid-twentieth century. This was a period marked by a massive transition by African states as they moved from being colonies to independent states. Lesotho became part of this transition when she gained independence in 1966. A year after attaining independence, Lesotho enacted heritage legal frameworks which were dedicated to protection of national heritage. As a former British colony, Lesotho’s legislative and administrative structures still reflect a cultural legacy of British colonial administration. The colonial environment of fifty years ago still exists as little transformation has occurred notably in the heritage sector. Lesotho and many other African states share a common background in which their history on legal frameworks reflect western approaches. Approaches that gave priority to preservation of physical fabric of sites

rather than intangible aspects which were and are still important to indigenous societies.² This was highly reflected on Lesotho's legal frameworks where priority was given to the movable and immovable cultural assets such as natural and historic monuments, relics, antiques, flora and fauna. In line with the old narratives of nation-building I have recognized that the current Lesotho's frameworks reflect a nationalistic historic approach prioritizing majority over minority ethnic groups.

In Lesotho, the Constitution is a supreme law which sets precedence for all national legal frameworks and must be harmonized with. It was enacted in 1993 and was further amended in 1998. It guarantees equality for all citizens, individual human rights, freedom, and full participation in cultural activities. With Section 35 (1) of it indicating that:

Lesotho shall endeavour to ensure that every citizen has an opportunity to freely participate in the cultural life of the community and to share in the benefits of scientific advancement and its application.³

This is the only section in the constitution which addresses cultural issues. However, I find this section to be too broad and vague. It seems to iron out the existence of cultural diversity. It is a prototype of 'those' legal frameworks that promote homogeneity and this disconnection makes it difficult to implement cultural policies. In comparison with Lesotho's Constitution, the Government of South Africa in 1996 presented an amended Constitution which sought to redress the past imbalances which were introduced by colonial and apartheid legislations. The enforcement of this was noticed with the establishment of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. In line with

² Emmanuel Bwasiri James, "The Management of Indigenous Living Heritage in Archeological World Heritage Sites: A Case Study of Mongomi Wa Kolo Rock Painting Site, Central Tanzania" (University of Witwatersrand, 2008), <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/6626/Bwasiri%20dessertation.pdf?sequence=1>. Accessed ...

³ Government of Lesotho, "Constitution of Lesotho" (1998), http://www.iec.org.ls/election%20act/Lesotho_Constitution_3.pdf.

this in his speech during the official adoption of the Constitution in 1996, Nelson Mandela indicated that the constitution sought to assert the rights of individuals and national self-determination of the South African people.⁴ He also indicated that this initiative was an act of transition that sought to strengthen trust and unity. In this regard, one might be tempted to consider South Africa's efforts as very commendable in addressing cultural diversity.

1.2 Language and Cultural Diversity

Language can be recognized as a symbol for identity and often taken as a sign of recognition. It is a factor in transmitting living heritage from one generation to another. However, in Lesotho, this has been impossible with its constitution ignoring the prevalence of linguistic diversity. Perhaps, this is one of the inherited experiences of colonial indoctrination which saw 'English' being given privilege as a language of colonizers and 'Sesotho' (*language of majority*) being given an official status. With the Constitution of Lesotho Section 3 (1) of it indicating:

The official languages of Lesotho shall be Sesotho and English and, accordingly, no instrument or transaction shall be invalid by reason only that it is expressed or conducted in one of those languages⁵

⁴"Nelson Mandela - Speeches - Address by President Nelson Mandela on Adoption of the New Constitution," in 1996, http://www.mandela.gov.za/mandela_speeches/1996/960508_constitution.htm. accessed May 14, 2017

⁵Government of Lesotho, Constitution of Lesotho.

The constitution seems to cement an ideology which presents a single narrative for Lesotho. Lesotho has made this transmission of knowledge difficult as the constitution ignores minority languages.

Contrary to this, Lesotho's neighbouring country, South Africa, with whom they have a shared legacy of colonialism, is far better in terms of implementing policies which recognize diversity. Lesotho's constitution has failed to accommodate ethnic minority languages. It represents a hierarchical approach of giving privilege to the majority while in the context of South Africa all eleven languages have been granted an official status. South Africa has provided an environment that gives indigenous languages equal privilege. The Constitution of South Africa provides a provision for indigenous languages and maintains that with section 6 (2) indicating that they:

recognize the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.⁶

As part of my argument, I provide a table below to show the current situation in as far as recognition of each language is concerned for both countries. I also provide percentage population of speakers of that language in both countries. I intentionally chose only these five languages because they are present in both countries.

⁶ Government of Republic of South Africa, "The Constitution of Republic of South Africa" (1996), <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/SACConstitution-web-eng.pdf>.

Table 1 Below exhibit the current status of speech communities found in Lesotho and South Africa

Ethnic group/Language spoken	Country of Existence	Level of Language status	Population Percentage in Lesotho⁷	Population percentage in South Africa⁸
(Baphuthi)Phuthi	Lesotho and South Africa	No official status in both countries	Fall within 1% of population minorities	Is regarded as a Swati dialect but it does not have an official status
(Basotho)Sesotho	South Africa and Lesotho	Official in both countries	Majority 97%	7.6% Speakers
Zulu (isiZulu)	South Africa and Lesotho	Official in South Africa	Fall within 1 % of population minorities	22.7%speakers
Xhosa (isiXhosa)	South Africa and Lesotho	Official in South Africa	Fall within 1. % of population minorities	16.7% speakers
Ndebele	South Africa and Lesotho	Official in South Africa	Fall with 1% of population minorities	2.1%

The table above depicts language varieties found in both Lesotho and South-Africa with provision of their official status and population percentage associated with a certain language.

Based on my experiences during this research, the figures provided above show the paucity of information access to statistics of ethnic minorities in Lesotho. It was very difficult

⁷ Government of Lesotho and Ministry of Development Planning, “National Strategic Development Plan 2012/13 – 2016/17 Growth and Development Strategic Framework “Towards an Accelerated and Sustainable Economic and Social Transformation”” (2012).

⁸ Mafika, “South Africa’s Languages,” *Brand South Africa*, May 6, 2007, <https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/south-africa-fast-facts/geography-facts/languages>.

to get the exact population percentage of Baphuthi and other minorities in Lesotho from the government portal. My contact with one official (name withheld) from the Bureau of Statistics in Lesotho showed that for the past years the issue of minorities' speech communities has never been given priority in the past censuses. The figures I have provided on speech community is based on here are a general overview by the government of Lesotho. This shows the level of exclusion when it comes to ethnic minorities in Lesotho. This coupled with many others makes it more difficult to influence policy reformations.

Additionally, Figure 1 below is an illustration of a map providing a view of the geographical setup of speech communities of the two countries. It highlights with the numbers languages and geographical arrangement of different speech communities found in Lesotho and South Africa among them are Baphuthi, Zulu, Xhosa, Basotho and Ndebele.

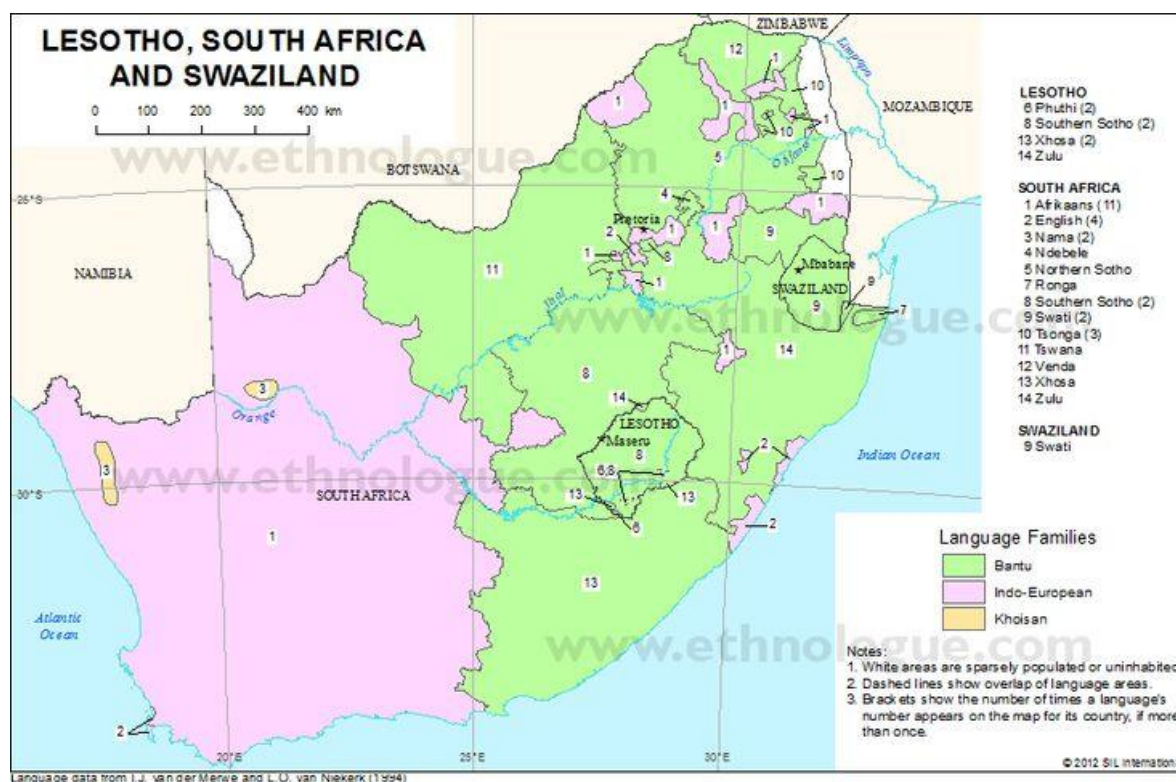


Figure 1A Map showing different speech communities in Lesotho and South Africa. Adopted from *Ethnologue Languages of the World*⁹

1.3 Historical Overview of the Heritage Frameworks and their Impact in the Heritage Sector of Lesotho

To supplement what has been discussed in the above sub-chapter here I discuss how heritage legal frameworks have been operating to address the issue of cultural diversity in Lesotho. There are three legal frameworks which are regarded to be the earliest in the history of heritage of Lesotho. The three were crafted during the early 1960s and further promulgated a year after Lesotho's independence. They are as follows:

- Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna, and Flora Act, No. 41 of 1967;
- Museum Act of 1967;

⁹“Lesotho, South Africa and Swaziland | Ethnologue,” https://www.ethnologue.com/map/LSZASZ__. accessed May 15, 2017

- Lesotho Archives Act of 1967.

For the benefit of this research I will only discuss the Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna, and Flora Act, No.41 of 1967 mainly because it was constructed to address issues pertaining protection and management of cultural heritage from the general perspective.

Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna, and Flora Act, No. 41 of 1967

It is important to understand the history of the Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna and Flora Act, N0.41 promulgated in 1967, because it was the first legal framework to concentrate on preservation and protection of natural and historical monuments, relics, antiques, fauna and flora and for connected matters.¹⁰ Perhaps, one may say during those days (during colonialism to the present) Lesotho`s heritage protection resembled that of Tanzanian and South Africa in which management of intangible cultural heritage was managed in a traditional way without any written law.¹¹ The situation only changed recently when most, if not all, African countries tried to introduce or replace the old pieces of colonial and apartheid legislations.¹² In 2011, the Government of Lesotho through the Department of Culture enacted a new law which repealed the Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna and Flora Act, N0.41 of 1967. A positive move in the heritage fraternity. The act came at the right time to transform the heritage sector of Lesotho and to domesticate some of the international agreements. This law came to be known as National Heritage Resources Act of 2011. It makes provision for

¹⁰“The Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna and Flora Act No. 41 of 1967 - ls011en.pdf,” accessed March 8, 2017, <http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/ls/ls011en.pdf>.

¹¹Emmanuel James Bwasiri “The challenge of managing intangible heritage: problems in Tanzanian legislation and administration - 23631415.pdf,” accessed December 17, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/23631415.pdf>.

¹²“Can Intangibles Be Tangible? Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in the New South Africa: Towards Formulating Policy for the Conservation and Sustainable Management of Living Heritage - thesis_hum_2007_manetsi_thabo.pdf,” accessed March 2, 2017, https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/17106/thesis_hum_2007_manetsi_thabo.pdf?sequence=1.

conservation and safeguarding of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage. It defines intangible cultural heritage as

“Living Heritage” which includes intangible aspects of inherited culture and these are cultural traditions, oral history, performances, rituals, popular memory, skill and techniques, indigenous knowledge or approach to nature, society and social relationships.

Tangible heritage “heritage resources” which are sites and objects that are declared as heritage sites and object under the act. These include a building, garden, tree, an archaeological site, a paleontological site, burial ground, a grave, a sacred place, a living heritage site and a monument.¹³

Like its predecessor, the National Heritage Resources Act 2011 of Lesotho called for establishment of the Heritage Council which will work as an overseer and advisor to the ministry responsible for culture in any matters related to safeguarding Lesotho`s heritage. Until today the Heritage Council has not yet been established, and this continues to be a threat to the heritage sector of Lesotho as there is nearly no systematized coordination. Currently, the Department of Culture is the only institution that deals with heritage management issues in Lesotho with very limited manpower. To further strengthen this, my experience of five years as a heritage officer in this department demonstrated lack of relevant management structures as proposed by the pertinent heritage legal frameworks. These challenges are summarized in table 2 below.

¹³ Government of Lesotho, Ministry of Tourism Environment and Culture, “National Heritage Resources Act 2011” (2011).

Table 2 below provide a summary of Lesotho's cultural policies and the legal bodies that have been proposed by the heritage frameworks.

Name of the Legal Framework dates of enactment dates	Implementing body or Commission
Basutoland Museums Proclamation (no.34) 1958	It provided a provision for establishment of the Museum Board
Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna, and Flora Act.No41 of 1967 (superseded by National Heritage Resources Act of 2011)	Commission for Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques and Protection of Fauna and Flora (No longer functional since 2013 because of inadequate facilities, human and financial resources)
Museum Act of 1967	Modelled largely upon the 1958 Proclamation. The first Board of Trustees of the National Museum was appointed in 1968 and was functional until 1992. From 1993 to date, no board of trustees was ever appointed for the National Museum ¹⁴
National Cultural Policy Framework 2005 (Was never officially enacted¹⁵)	
National Heritage Resources Act 2011	Lesotho Heritage Council (Council has not yet been elected)

Figure 2A Table showing the Heritage Legal Frameworks of Lesotho, Year of Enactment and implementing bodies

¹⁴ Stephen J. Gill, *Lesotho : Legacy : An Inquiry into the Idea & Reality of a National Museum in Lesotho Inquiry into the Idea & Reality of a National Museum in Lesotho Idea & Reality : National Museum in Lesotho* (Moriya, Lesotho : Morija Museum & Archives, 2015).

¹⁵ According to the Senior Officer from the Department of Culture, the 2005 Cultural Heritage Policy Frameworks was never adopted as an official document. However, they still refer to it as a working document. This is further stamped by S. Gill. (2015: 63) by indicating that this foundational document for the cultural sector was never publicly released by Ministry of Tourism Environment and Culture, and thus it remains hidden from the public and cultural agents.

Some of the challenges that I have mentioned above compelled the ministry to initiate some remedies in a bid to combat them. An extensive research was carried out in 1999 to unlock the potentials of the cultural sector. The research aimed to produce a document which answered the challenges of this sector. The Department initiated the development of cultural heritage policy. A six-member working committee was elected to work with the consultant during the formulation of the policy. However, according to the Department of Culture's unpublished documents none of the six nominees came from the ethnic minorities. This further continued to be a threat as it did not give priority to minorities' heritage issues.

1.4 A Cultural Heritage Policy Framework for Lesotho: Towards Recognition of Minorities' Living Heritage

Two decades ago the government of Lesotho through its Department of Culture pledged to formulate a National Cultural Heritage Policy Framework with the aim of showing appreciation for and recognition of culture as a source of development. For the first time in history, Lesotho managed to develop a framework which was explicitly showing commitment by the government to the cultural sector, and more specifically to management of the living heritage of minorities.¹⁶

Based on the previous discussion, the Department of Culture found it very difficult to coordinate the sector without functional bodies. It was during this time that the department found it legitimate to come up with a solid document that can help coordinate the sector and find remedies that can lead to the establishment of heritage institutions. This transition was seen to be integral in fostering Lesotho's heritage sector.¹⁷ The development of this document was in fulfilment of UNESCO's recommendations which were outlined in a feasibility study

¹⁶Gill, Stephen J., *Lesotho: Legacy : An Inquiry into the Idea & Reality of a National Museum in Lesotho Inquiry into the Idea & Reality of a National Museum in Lesotho Idea & Reality : National Museum in Lesotho*.

¹⁷ Department of Culture Lesotho, "Cultural Heritage Towards 2020 a Strategic Plan for Cultural Heritage Conservation in Lesotho" (Unpublished Document, December 2007).

that was carried out in Lesotho in the mid-1980. Living heritage was a key focus of the planned reform. The rationale, as it was formulated, was that Lesotho's living heritage had been protected through informal traditional customs through the colonial period and until recently. Comparisons were made with Tanzania.¹⁸ The need for cultural policy reform was sparked by Lesotho's participation in the Stockholm Intergovernmental Conference in 1998 on Cultural Policies for Development. Development and better management of Lesotho's heritage were perceived as mutually reinforcing goals. The recognition of multi-ethnicity and cultural pluralism were part of the program, as it was clear that minorities such as the Baphuthi were on the verge of profound social and economic marginalization.

A few years later, adhering and adapting to UNESCO's new cultural conventions became a means toward this end. Lesotho thus became a party to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2008 and the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2010.¹⁹ UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity provided guidelines on respect and recognition of cultural diversity.²⁰ This was in line with several other initiatives, where the world recognized and appreciated culture as an intrinsic part of the life and consciousness of individuals and communities.²¹

According to the official from the Department of Culture, this was seen as a continuation of UNESCO's World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1999).²² Global

¹⁸Emmanuel. J. Bwasiri, "The Challenge of Managing Intangible Heritage: Problems in Tanzanian Legislation and Administration," *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 66, no. 194 (2011): 129–35.

¹⁹ "Ratified and Non-Ratified Conventions by Country," accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/conventions_by_country.asp?language=E&contr=LS&typeconv=1.

²⁰"United Nations educational, scientific and cultural organization (UNESCO): Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity," *International Legal Materials* 41, no. 1 (2002): 57–62.

²¹ UNESCO, "A World Decade for Cultural Development" (UNESCO Courier, 1988), <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000817/081721eo.pdf>.

²²"A World Decade for Cultural Development; The UNESCO Courier: A Window Open on the World; Vol.:XLI, 11; 1988 - 081721eo.pdf," accessed January 8, 2017, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000817/081721eo.pdf>.

elites saw culture as a driving wheel towards sustainable development. Nations were recommended to capacitate and nurture their heritage sector in recognition of and in domesticating recommendations from the conference and further incorporate them in their heritage management strategies. In reference to this conference, the government of Lesotho recognized the need to join the rest of the world in formulating a national cultural policy. Lesotho recognized more particularly the need to domesticate article number 5 of the conference`s action plan which:

...Emphasized the need to take account of universal values while recognizing cultural diversity, the importance of national measures to harmonize national cultural policies and the need to preserve the pluralism of grassroots cultural initiatives in order to promote mutual understanding as well as respect and consideration between individuals and nations in view of the risk of disagreements and conflicts²³-

In accordance with this article, Lesotho`s National Department of Culture recognized this to be a good opportunity to democratize and welcome a new transition to a market economy encouraging minorities to promote their culture and reinforce their identity. A year after the conference, in 1999, the Department of Culture embarked on a series of meetings to design a heritage policy that would improve tolerance and respect for the diversity in Lesotho. This initiative was supported by different stakeholders and a committee was created in 1999.²⁴ The first stakeholders` workshop elected a steering committee to work directly with the consultant commissioned by the Department of Culture.²⁵ The department provided substantial support during this process. It was anticipated that the outcome of the cultural policy would strengthen

²³“Microsoft Word - Stockholm_actionplan_rec_en.doc - Stockholm_actionplan_rec_en.pdf,” accessed January 3, 2017, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/es/files/35220/12290888881stockholm_actionplan_rec_en.pdf/stockholm_actionplan_rec_en.pdf.

²⁴ Stephen Gill, Recorded Interview, August 24, 2016.

²⁵Interview with Stephen Gill August 2016

partnership between private sector's cultural organizations and the Department of Culture. The document was welcomed with enthusiasm by the ministry and was officially adopted as a working document in 2005.²⁶ One of the most insightful objectives of the National Cultural Policy Framework 2005 was to

Register a definite commitment of government, on behalf of society, to nurture, safeguard and promote the interests of all cultural agents/norms by providing both moral and economic support, as appropriate, within the requirements of existing fiscal and other institutional constraints²⁷

Unlike previous legal frameworks that catered mostly to the concerns of palaeontologists, archaeologists, and rock art experts, the 2005 National Cultural Policy Framework provided an explicit commitment to the cultural sector as a whole, and in particular to Lesotho's living heritage.²⁸ It also identified the need to promote Lesotho's national diversity and as a means towards recognition of common heritage for humanity as per the recommendations of 2001 UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.²⁹ The policy was based on the idea of preserving Lesotho's unique cultures in a way that it will benefit its citizens, and of protect heritage for the sake of future generations.

²⁶Machobane and Associates Pty. Ltd 2007. Developing a National Cultural Heritage strategy for Lesotho. Unpublished Document

²⁷ National Cultural Policy Framework 2005. Ministry of Tourism Environment and Culture. Unpublished Document. Lesotho

²⁸Gill, Stephen J., *Lesotho : Legacy : An Inquiry into the Idea & Reality of a National Museum in Lesotho Inquiry into the Idea & Reality of a National Museum in Lesotho Idea & Reality : National Museum in Lesotho*.

²⁹ UNESCO, "A Document for the World Summit: UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity: A Vision, a Conceptual Platform, a Pool of Ideas for Implementation, a New Paradigm; Cultural Diversity Series; Vol.1" (Johannesburg, South Africa: UNESCO, September 26, 2002), <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127162e.pdf>.

Unfortunately for culture and development, the impact of the policy was limited due to the refusal of the Ministry of Education and Training to fully endorse it.³⁰ It is at the moment a virtual policy.

Nevertheless, its development prompted the Department of Culture to further revise its legal frameworks six years later. In 2011 the National Heritage Resources Act superseded the Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna, and Flora Act.No41 of 1967. Heritage law now included intangible culture. The preliminary section defined intangible cultural heritage in terms of ‘living heritage’:

the intangible aspects of inherited culture and includes cultural tradition, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skill and technique, indigenous knowledge or approach to nature, society and social relationships;

The new law does not address in detail the means of safeguarding intangible heritage, however. It only provides the definitions and a narrowed mandate for the Heritage Council to keep in the register of heritage resources such as living heritage.³¹ It also resembles its predecessors in so far as it does not clearly address issues of cultural diversity.

Conclusion

Lesotho’s heritage sector is a joint product of colonial history, national history, and global socio-economic developments. The recent revision of the law to suit global standards of protection of cultural heritage through a new National Cultural Heritage Policy Framework brought cultural diversity to the fore as a general issue and objective. However, the current legal and policy frameworks remain vague. They do not fully acknowledge the existence of

³⁰ Pitso Koelane, Voice Recording, August 24, 2016.

³¹Government of Lesotho, Ministry of Tourism Environment and Culture, National heritage Resources Act 2011.

cultural diversity as a concrete reality in Lesotho. The Department of Culture has played a limited role in promoting change due to resistance from other branches of the State administration. The situation calls for a reconsideration of Lesotho's the legal cultural frameworks and of their contribution to a diverse socio-economic system. Let us now turn to the question of multiculturalism and how it has been used in South Africa and Australia in other to address the issue of cultural diversity.

Chapter 2 –Comparative Analysis: The Voyages of Multicultural Societies

In this chapter, I discuss multiculturalism and its relationship with cultural heritage policy. First, I summarize the theory of multiculturalism as a type of democratic politics. Secondly, I describe the historical dynamics that made Lesotho a culturally diverse nation state. Thirdly, I turn to multicultural models of cultural governance found in Australia and South Africa in the post-colonial era. The aim is less to produce a rigorous comparison than to identify a set of best practices based on available secondary sources, with the aim to reflect on their possible adaptation in Lesotho.

2.1 Is Multiculturalism an Effective Governance Tool?

Multiculturalism refers to the co-existence of peoples from different ethnocultural backgrounds in a single society or political organization; an ideological aspiration celebrating diversity; and a set of policies aimed at managing diversity.³² It is a contemporary ideology rooted in liberal approaches to equality and co-existence. It seeks to re-think contemporary societies and nations through the lens of appreciation and mutual respect of each other regardless of language and ethnicity. Where states were seen to be possessed by dominant national group, who used them to privilege their identity, language, history, culture, literature, myths, religion, multiculturalism eliminates privileges of the majority.³³ With globalization, the world has become a family where every group needs one another and where, as suggested

³² Ilene Hyman, Agnes Meinhard, and John Shields, "The Role of Multiculturalism Policy in Addressing Social Inclusion Processes in Canada," *Canadian Multicultural Education Foundation*, June 1 (2011), <http://www.ryerson.ca/rcis/documents/The-Role-of-Multiculturalism-Policy-in-Addressing-Social-Inclusion-Processes-in-Canada.pdf>.

³³ Will Kymlicka, "Multicultural States and Intercultural Citizens," *School Field* 1, no. 2 (2003): 147–169.

by Will Kymlicka no group is truly ‘self-sufficient anymore’³⁴. Kymlicka further suggests that feeling comfortable with members of one’s own group leads to “stultified life”.³⁵

For some western countries such as Italy, German and Austria-Hungary, the concept of multiculturalism came a bit earlier as it occurred during the unification of different polities into modern national states. In post-colonial Africa, the new independent states often inherited extremely diverse populations. In order to promote unity in spite of this diversity, they often invented shared identities with a common language, culture, and history.³⁶ The creation of coherent policies and legal instruments often happened at the expense of cultural minorities.³⁷

As Will Kymlicka put it:

The State was seen as the possession of a dominant national group, which used the state to privilege its identity, language, history, culture, literature, myths, religion and so on, and which defined the state as the expression of its nationhood. This dominant group was usually the majority group, but sometimes a minority was able to establish dominance – e.g. whites in South Africa under the apartheid regime.³⁸

Most often ethnic minorities were marginalized, excluded or assimilated by national policies. This model has long been contested and regarded as a failure. What follows is the contestation of multiculturalism, not of the homogeneous nation. In the Netherlands multiculturalism has been declared as dead and not anymore, an attractive option in politics.³⁹ However, OAM, Sev

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

³⁷ Laura Coello and Baukje Prins, *Significant Difference? A Comparative Analysis of Multicultural Policies in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam University Press, 2010), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wp5j3>.

³⁸ Kymlicka, “Multicultural States and Intercultural Citizens.”

³⁹ Baukje Prins, “Conclusion: Did Multiculturalism Fail?,” in *Significant Difference? A Comparative Analysis of Multicultural Policies in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands*, ed. Laura Coello (Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 47–50, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wp5j3.8>.

Ozdowski believes that multiculturalism mean different thing to different people. He believes that every country had its own unique historical transitions so based on that, the model of multiculturalism differs will differ from one another. He is against the idea that most European leaders attack ‘multiculturalism’ as descriptor of demographic change rather than as a policy of empowerment of different ethnic and cultural groupings.⁴⁰ He argues that the level of contestations should not over generalize the failure of multiculturalism but it should consider that each country has its own historical context.⁴¹ The following segment describes how Lesotho, like most of Africa, came to be a diverse nation that didn’t consider multiculturalism as a viable option. Lesotho’s diverse history began over century and half ago, and its multicultural nature has since been denied both colonial and postcolonial politics.

2.2 Cultural Diversity under Traditional Leadership

Present-day Lesotho is a result of mid-nineteenth century unification of several groups of the Bantu ethnicity under the lead of the Basotho group. The Bantu migrated from the north of Africa and spread over almost in every corner of the highlands of southern Africa in the Eighteenth Century. Several events of this time shaped the present-day multicultural society of Lesotho. Some of the happenings of that period contributed to the present-day multi-ethnic society which led to King Moorosi of Baphuthi `s decision to amalgamate with Moshoeshoe I to form the present-day Kingdom of Lesotho.⁴²

Baphuthi are currently a minority living both in Lesotho and South Africa. In Lesotho, Baphuthi are found in the south-eastern part of the country in Mpapa/Daliwe, Mount Moorosi,

⁴⁰ Sev Ozdowski OAM, “Australian Multiculturalism: The Roots of Its Success” (Third International Conference on Human Rights Education: Promoting Change in Times of Transition and Crisis, The Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland: Western Sydney University, 2012), https://www.westernsydney.edu.au/equity_diversity/equity_and_diversity/tools_and_resources/reportsandpubs/australian_multiculturalism_the_roots_of_its_success.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Mosebi Damane, *Moorosi: Morena Oa Baphuthi* (Moriya, Lesotho: Sesuto Book Depot, 1960).

Quthing, Sinxondo, Makoe, and Qacha's Nek, whereas in South Africa are found in the Eastern Cape, in Sterkspruit, Gcina, Matatiele and Mount Fletcher. The Baphuthi constitute very small minority groups in both Lesotho and South Africa with a combined population of only 43,000⁴³.

One might say that Lesotho's original multiculturalism was not forced but was a voluntary decision by different ethnic groups submitting to the leadership of one king. It is a combination of all these people that come under the umbrella term 'Basotho'.⁴⁴ However even though groups like the Baphuthi and other minorities like the Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu accepted the overall Basotho identity, they still speak their own languages and follow their own cultural practices. Even though they submit to the royal house of Moshoeshoe as the representative of state authority they resisted assimilation into Basotho culture and retained their own customs and local leadership.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the Basotho royal authority did not attempt to erase these cultures. Lesotho's traditional multicultural system was thus based on a relative tolerance of the other and respect of the overall Basotho authority. This tolerance created a peaceful coexistence between these ethnic groups. Colonial pressures on Basotho lands (including annexation into South Africa) compelled Moshoeshoe to seek protection from the British.⁴⁶ In 1868 the Basutoland was annexed by the British and 'modernization' of Basotho institutions began. It is this 'modernization' which led to the erosion of traditional structures that had maintained the harmony of the Basotho Kingdom.⁴⁷

⁴³ Simon Donnelly, *Southern Tekela Nguni Is Alive: Reintroducing the Phuthi Language*, 1999, <https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/ijsl.1999.issue-136/ijsl.1999.136.97/ijsl.1999.136.97.xml>.

⁴⁴ Scott Rosenberg, "Monuments, Holidays, and Remembering Moshoeshoe: The Emergence of National Identity in Lesotho, 1902-1966," *Africa Today* 46, no. 1 (1999): 49-72.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Richard F. Weisfelder, "The Basotho Nation-State: What Legacy for the Future?," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 19, no. 2 (1981): 221-56.

2. 'Modernizing' Lesotho

How did the new institutionalized patterns influence multiculturalism in Lesotho?

New colonial governance strategies in the mid-twentieth century introduced a new concept of nationalism and the traditional acceptance of diversity which had been a priority for the nations.⁴⁸ For many African communities, the history of colonialism introduced a new mindset which disregarded the histories of diversity in creating new narratives of state building and Lesotho was no exception in this.⁴⁹

Lesotho was officially annexed by the British in 1884. It became independent in 1966.⁵⁰ Its 'modernized' governance structures made it a constitutional monarchy⁵¹ and the parliament became more important in the control of resources. The new system managed to protect the old systems where the King of Lesotho symbolizes the unity of the Basotho nation. The new model of governance failed to retain the old systems of multiculturalism. The new model came with the 'invented traditions'⁵² that came up to support the monarchy as a source of social cohesion.⁵³ A single narrative emerged that failed to account for cultural diversity. Sotho became the official national language and was taught in schools disregarding the traditional system where each group had kept its own language. One of the results is that groups often feel that they have been excluded from the nation.

During the festivities celebrating the 50 years' of independence the Baphuthi protested that the celebrations were not for them as they continued to experience discrimination under

⁴⁸ Edmond J. Keller, ed., "Identity, Citizenship, and Nation Building in Africa," in *Identity, Citizenship, and Political Conflict in Africa* (Indiana University Press, 2014), 3–17, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt16gzg15.4>.

⁴⁹ Weisfelder, "The Basotho Nation-State: What Legacy for the Future?"

⁵⁰ Rosenberg, "Monuments, Holidays, and Remembering Moshoeshoe."

⁵¹ Tushar Kanti Saha and Abdulrauf Abdulrauf, "Introductory Note on the 1993 Constitution of Lesotho," accessed May 20, 2017, http://www.icla.up.ac.za/images/country_reports/lesotho_country_report.pdf.

⁵² Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

⁵³ Rosenberg, "Monuments, Holidays, and Remembering Moshoeshoe."

the postcolonial Lesotho Kingdom.⁵⁴ To them, the 50th-anniversary celebration marked another phase of colonialism. The inherited colonial policies that single out only Sotho and English as ‘official’ alienates them further as their own language are at the risk of disappearing. Since gaining independence, issues pertaining to minorities living heritage rights have been swept under the carpet. Interest and advocacy for minorities’ living heritage has always been minimal.

Attempts by the government to recognize cultural diversity are very negligible. Designation of national monuments is not made through consultation among the minorities who are also absent in the institutions that manage such heritage. However, recent slogans like “*Kaofela re Chabana sa khomo*” (Unity in Diversity) seem to show a recent shift toward multiculturalism. This slogan was initially coined by Morija Museum and Archives, a private museum that initiated a now popular National Morija Arts and Cultural Festival. This initiative was developed to unify the nation after the 1999 political conflicts which had shown that ignoring the diversity of the nation could lead to civil strife. The intention of the festival was to let people experience cultural diversity in settings that people could enjoy that diversity rather than on the political platform which had been divisive. During the national 50th independence celebration, this same slogan was adopted to celebrate an independent and unified nation regardless of language, ethnic and religious differences.

The anniversary of the independence was a chance both for a rearticulating of national identity in the direction of diversity and reiterated protests and calls for more diversity. Baphuthi representatives highlighted their exclusion in interviews carried out at these celebrations. Their views on nation and belonging express a call for cultural rights not only a right to cultural expression, but also to participation in political processes.

⁵⁴ A comment that was posted by Nthona Kometsi on Facebook on the 07, October, 2017

There is thus, a need to raise awareness among Basotho political elites about the possibility of new discourses on identity, diversity and nationhood. Let us now look briefly at two countries where multicultural policies were developed in order to include of marginalized groups or communities into mainstream national cultural and political experiences: South Africa and Australia.

2.4. Managing a 'Rainbow Nation': Culture in Post-Apartheid South Africa

South Africa's multiculturalism provides a reflection of both colonial and apartheid eras. Both periods are significantly characterized by the domination of white settlers who were of European origin Afrikaans (Dutch) and British who promoted the total separation of races and ethnic groups. Each ethnic group was given space to experience its own culture but not the culture of the other and the national cultural heritage was essentially settler history and myth.⁵⁵

After the 1994 post-apartheid elections, however, South Africa embarked on changing its social, political, and cultural landscape. This period saw a recognizable redrafting of policies and legislation to suit the new democratic South Africa. It was a period when South Africa brought several new approaches and actions in developing their heritage sector. New strategies and policies were adopted to accommodate the black minorities who had been marginalized during the colonial and apartheid eras. From the heritage perspective, the idea was to create respect for each other's identity through the celebration of its mainstreaming into national heritage. Cultural heritage was seen as a wheel that can be used to bring people together as one nation regardless of ethnicity. This gave birth to a popular catchphrase the 'rainbow nation,' coined by the Archbishop Desmond Tutu (an anti-apartheid icon) after the 1994 elections. South Africa recognized heritage preservation as a means of political

⁵⁵ Thabo Manetsi, "Can Intangibles Be Tangible?: Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in the New South Africa: Towards Formulating Policy for the Conservation and Sustainable Management for Living Heritage" (University of Cape Town, 2007), <http://137.158.155.94/handle/11427/17106>.

representation and greater justice. Heritage protection could be an opportunity to initiate processes empowering communities and helping them become active participants in the decision-making processes. One of the first things that the new government did was to change its motto to *!ke e: /xarra //ke* (“diverse people unite” or “unity in diversity”), a phrase taken from the language of the Khoisan, the most marginalized group of people in South Africa. It also changed its symbols and took up Khoisan rock art as symbols of the new state. These acts mainstreamed Khoisan culture and recognized them as part of the nation, even though they were the smallest minority.

In this transitional moment heritage policies served as a gate towards development and more equality in South Africa. Multiculturalism came as a compromise in the aftermath of the apartheid regime. In 1995, the government created the Department of Arts and Culture which made the problem of cultural extinction (due to neglect, enduring legacies of colonialism and apartheid regimes, modernization, urbanization and globalization) a priority.⁵⁶ An Arts and Culture Task Group of experts carried out a feasibility study to develop the cultural heritage sector. It addressed in particular the problem of the dominance of Afrikaner culture, recommending that the cultural heritage legislation be redrafted after consultations with all ethnic and racial groups. There was also a realization that culture, through economic and tourism development in particular, empowered communities and improved their self-confidence.⁵⁷ South Africa had gone through serious ethnic conflicts during the first elections most of them caused by division created by colonial administration and apartheid policies. Cultural development improved social cohesion and minimized social conflicts without compromising social justice, the task force suggested.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ HeritageAgencycc and Cheadle Thompson and Haysom ICN. Attorneys, “Department of Arts and Culture Review of Heritage Legislation” (Department of Arts and Culture, 1996).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

A number of agencies were established to help coordinate and implement the policy, such as the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). The Constitution of South Africa and the Bill of Rights themselves viewed languages and cultural diversity as a mechanism for social cohesion. The revised South African Constitution created eleven official languages. It took into consideration the rights of individuals to use their language and practice their culture. As a member of the United Nations the new constitution aligned itself with the globally dominant theory of multiculturalism. Section 185 of the Constitution provided for a Commission for the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities to be established.⁵⁹ This was done in 2002. According to Section 4 (b) of the Commission for the Promotion of The Rights of The Cultural Religious and Linguistic Communities Act, 2002 the Commission is mandated:

to promote and develop peace, friendship, humanity, tolerance and national unity among and within cultural, religious and linguistic communities, on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and free association.⁶⁰

South Africa also introduced a decentralized model of management where all nine provinces have the capacity to manage their heritage, conserve cultural diversity, and promote the use of cultural resources in a manner that is equitable and sustainable.⁶¹

As a form of compensation several museums were devoted to the history of the black people who were marginalized as well as the leaders who were not celebrated, were declared part of the national heritage.⁶² Museums were ordered to be inclusive and existing programs

⁵⁹ Government of Republic of South Africa, The Constitution of Republic of South Africa.

⁶⁰ Government of South Africa, “Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities Act [No. 19 of 2002] - Crl-Act.pdf,” Pub. L. No. 19 (2002), <http://www.crlcommission.org.za/docs/crl-act.pdf>.

⁶¹ “Amafa Heritage AkwaZulu Natal | Provincial Government Handbook SA,” accessed May 20, 2017, <https://provincialgovernment.co.za/units/view/140/KwaZulu-Natal/Amafa-Heritage-AkwaZulu-Natali>.

⁶² Heritage Agency and Cheadle Thompson and Haysom ICN. Attorneys, “Department of Arts and Culture Review of Heritage Legislation.”

and exhibitions were transformed accordingly. New institutions were created, such as the Robben Island Museum, where Mandela was incarcerated, and the Nelson Mandela Museum at his birthplace. New events were introduced such as Heritage Day, first celebrated in 1996. During the celebration, the former President of South Africa Nelson Mandela challenged white settlers' ideology by saying:

During colonial and apartheid times, our museums and monuments reflected the experiences and political ideals of a minority to the exclusion of others. Most people had little or no say in the depiction of their history ... The demeaning portrayal of black people in particular ... is painful to recall. Of our museums, all but a handful ... represented the kind of heritage which glorified mainly white and colonial history. And even the small glimpse of black history in the others was largely fixed in the grip of racist and other stereotypes ... Having excluded and marginalized most of our people...⁶³

The South African example suggests that deliberate action is needed to transform an unequal system based in the domination of one ethnic group. New ways of practicing multiculturalism to compensate formerly marginalized groups can bring significant changes in the cultural sector. It's impact of the broader social order is bound to be limited, especially in the face of the strong climate of xenophobia that can be found in South Africa. The country's strategy for including minorities provides an interesting blueprint for more open cultural policies.

⁶³ "Transforming Museums and Heritage in Postcolonial and Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Impact of Processes of Policy Formulation and New Legislation - 23178831.pdf," accessed April 8, 2017, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/23178831.pdf>.

2.5 Multiculturalism in Australia

Australia unlike South Africa was a dominion of the United Kingdom which attained independence in 1901.⁶⁴ The country's laws, like those of apartheid South Africa, violently suppressed Indigenous peoples. Aboriginal communities suffered innumerable injustices under settler governments, while ethnic differences among European settlers also created inequalities within that population. British settlers considered Italians and Greeks as lesser Europeans. Past conflicts required extensive government monitoring.⁶⁵ Before World War I and especially before World War II a number of challenging moments prompted strict control of immigration. Australia's legal history indicates that early Australian laws and political institutions reflected strong racial and ethnic prejudices.⁶⁶ More recently, the country was redefined as a modern immigrant country, calling for a new policy promoting equality between races and ethnic groups.

Contemporary Australia is a globalized, multiethnic society. It is considered to be one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse societies in the world.⁶⁷ Transition toward a multi-ethnic concept of the nation happened in the 1970s. The concept became official policy through a working document adopted by the Australian government in 2011 under the title *The People of Austral*.⁶⁸ With this policy paper, the government of Australia committed itself to enhance respect and support for cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity by using the policy to:

⁶⁴ OAM, "Australian Multiculturalism."

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ "16 FEB 2011: DEPT OF IMMIGRATION & CITIZENSHIP DIAC: The People of Australia - Australia's Multicultural Policy - p110217963.htm.pdf," accessed April 30, 2017, http://agent.capmon.com/subscribers/cgi-bin/abserve_document.cgi/pressrel/11/agt/p110217963.htm.pdf.

embrace their shared values and cultural traditions. As it recognizes the rights and responsibilities as enshrined in their citizenship pledge and supports the rights of all Australians to celebrate, practice and maintain their cultural heritage, traditions, and language within the law and free from discrimination.⁶⁹

It was a new strategic response for coping with cultural and social diversity.⁷⁰ The policy provided a conducive environment for national interest, fairness, and inclusion.⁷¹ Australia is best known for its aspiration as a multicultural society with two hundred and sixty (260) languages⁷² from which its inhabitants associate themselves with.⁷³

According to Kymlicka, multiculturalism is successful if: a) the state belongs equally to all groups, b) policies of assimilation and exclusion are replaced by recognition and accommodation; and c) historic injustice is acknowledged,⁷⁴ Australia is far from being the ideal multicultural nation. The presence of a policy that guides legislation, however, has had a positive effect on governance and has seen improvements in how Aboriginal communities and immigrants are treated.⁷⁵ Recently the belief that multiculturalism has lost its appeal is found in treatise on the election of Donald Trump and the rise of the far right in Europe and elsewhere.⁷⁶ The discussion also shows that multiculturalism is not a one-size-fits-all and is depended on context what may apply in Australia may not apply in the case Lesotho. This

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ “Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity; MOST Policy Papers; Vol.:4; 1996 - 105582e.pdf,” accessed May 12, 2017, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001055/105582e.pdf>.

⁷¹ “16 FEB 2011: DEPT OF IMMIGRATION & CITIZENSHIP DIAC: The People of Australia - Australia’s Multicultural Policy - p110217963.htm.pdf.”

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ VIBHANSHU SHEKHAR, “Crisis of Australian Multiculturalism,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 44, no. 52 (2009): 19–21.

⁷⁴ Kymlicka, “Multicultural States and Intercultural Citizens.”

⁷⁵ Ilene Hyman, Agnes Meinhard, and John Shields, “The Role of Multiculturalism Policy in Addressing Social Inclusion” (Ryerson University, n.d.), 2011, accessed June 2, 2017.

⁷⁶ “Politics, Public Policy and Multiculturalism,” in *Multiculturalism and Integration*, A Harmonious Relationship (ANU Press, 2011), 41–52, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24h7j6.8>.

means that it is important to address multiculturalism based of the historical patterns and need of each country.

The impact of multiculturalism in Australia was realized with the government efforts to establish bodies such as Australian Institute of Multiculturalism. This body was established to create awareness about cultural diversity, promotion of tolerance and understanding and equality within the Australian community.⁷⁷ Recognition of multi-ethnicity in Australia was further strengthened by the government's establishment of special television and radio broadcasting services with the aim to provide multilingual services that sought to educates and reflect Australia`s multicultural society and this is said to have been a success.

Another commendable achievement was recognizable with the establishment of the Federal Rights Commission which sought to domesticate the international human rights treaties. Language and culture are said to have played an important role in the Australian multicultural policies.⁷⁸ Some scholars argue that the relationship of the State and Australian Aboriginal people has been characterized by recognition and are regarded to be a group that needs to be promoted and protected.⁷⁹ The Australian case demonstrates that multiculturalism sought to accommodate different diversity.

Conclusion

Multiculturalism may have positive results. The above examples has shown that a framework through recognition of diversity in the constitution can force the government to enact laws that recognizes this diversity. In South Africa multiculturalism was used as a mechanism that helps redress some of the prior imbalances from the Apartheid and colonial

⁷⁷ OAM, "Australian Multiculturalism."

⁷⁸ Laksiri Jayasuriya, "Language and Culture in Australian Public Policy: Some Critical Reflections," *The International Migration Review* 24, no. 1 (1990): 124–48, doi:10.2307/2546675.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

eras. In Lesotho traditional multiculturalism was able to accommodate ethnic minorities and these groups were able to live together peacefully. However, Lesotho's new institutional models fail to acknowledge the existence of ethnic minorities and this has led to marginalization of these communities. Lesotho's cultural policy is fractured but it may never be reformed without the frameworks that were developed in South Africa and Australia. An informed cultural policy take into consideration cultural rights and participation of ethnic minorities in all development processes as it was the case with Australia and South Africa. It should recognize values and respect to ethnic minorities, their languages, and practices. Based on this I strongly argue that the only way to redress this challenge is to re-work the Constitution and cultural policies like in South Africa with recognition that Lesotho has a different cultural and political experience. Without change in the governing policies, it will be difficult to come up with inclusive strategies. The concept of multiculturalism can be used to sensitize Basotho politicians and government officials who often think the nation is homogeneous. Lesotho's background as a multicultural nation with very little antagonism among ethnic groups would make it easier for people to consult, collaborate and develop a policy that is agreeable to all.

Chapter 3 –Finding the Convergence: Multiculturalism and Cultural Policies in Lesotho

Let us turn back to the Department of Culture in Lesotho as an overseer of national heritage. What are its achievements and limitations in promoting cultural diversity? In this chapter I discuss the dilemmas of cultural diversity in Lesotho, using Baphuthi community as a case study. The analysis of this chapter is based on the interviews that I carried out in July and August 2016 as well as personal stories, archives, newspaper articles, social media interactions and document analysis. The interviews were conducted with Department of Culture officials, Morija Museum and Archives staff as well as representatives of Baphuthi community.

3.1. Management of Cultural Heritage in Lesotho: Who's Role?

According to the officer from the Department of Culture, the past twenty years has shown significant development in enforcing cultural diversity through support of cultural festivals and development of heritage policies.⁸⁰ This was exemplified by the development of the 2005 Cultural Heritage Policy Framework which sought to provide protection and promotion of Lesotho's cultural diversity. However, interviews with officials from the Department of Culture, with Baphuthi representatives, and with staff from Morija Museum and Archives all suggest that Lesotho's heritage sector is fractured as it is not well coordinated. Professionals at Morija Museum and Archives say that preservation of heritage has up to now never been a priority for the country. My observation confirms this assertion as a staffer at the Department of Culture. Heritage is the smallest department within the Ministry of Tourism

⁸⁰ Matsosane Molibeli, Voice Recording, August 24, 2016.

Environment and Culture. The department have twenty-nine officials, nine at the headquarters and the district level. The department lacks diverse expertise.

Another challenge mentioned by all respondents is lack of coordination within the sector. Respondents believe that lack of defined stakeholders (such as Morija Museum and Archives, Non-Governmental Organizations, heritage agents, government ministries Lesotho National Commission for UNESCO, Libandla le Baphuthi⁸¹) roles makes it difficult for the sector to bear desirable results. The Department of Culture is the only institution that manages heritage in Lesotho, with no bodies like Heritage Council and Museum Board to coordinate related heritage matters. According to the Principal Museum Curator at the department, there is a provision from the Heritage Resources Act of 2011 to establish a Heritage Council whose role is to act as the department's right hand in managing cultural heritage of Lesotho. This include providing mechanisms that seek to celebrate and accommodate cultural diversity issues. However, the steps for its establishment are still at an infant stage.⁸²

She further indicated that the department is aware of the gaps that are caused by lack of infrastructure like museums, art galleries and interpretation centres. As part of the measures, the department is in the process of facilitating a construction of Lesotho's first national museum and art gallery which is currently at an advanced stage. She indicated that the museum will serve as a melting pot that will provide exhibition for the rich cultural diversity of Lesotho. However, my encounter with some of Morija Museum and Archives Curator with regard to the afore-mentioned project demonstrated the department's inconsideration of stakeholder

⁸¹ Libandla le BaPhuthi is an officially registered association in Lesotho under (const. ref 2006/106) to cater for protection of the language and culture as well as resuscitating the Baphuthi's chiefdom-ship

⁸² Matsosane Molibeli, Voice recording, August 24, 2016.

participation. He indicated that the Department of Culture as a parent, has failed them as they feel they were not given opportunity to fully participate in its implementation.⁸³

In terms of viability, my contact with the Department of Culture's official indicated that Lesotho is part of the international world with ratification of UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Lesotho pledged to respect any forms of diversity that exists within its territory and to protect and preserve it in a way that it will be beneficial to its bearers.⁸⁴ As a way to strengthen implementation of the above-mentioned conventions at national level, in 2005 the Government of Lesotho - through the Department of Culture decided to develop the 2005 National Cultural Policy Framework. This was in response to the generally perceived need for all nations to have national cultural policies of their own despite the prevalent globalization paradigm. Its development was motivated by a general awareness on challenges faced by Lesotho's cultural environment. However, my encounter with a retired officer at the department indicated that the document was never adopted as an official working document.⁸⁵ This indicated that there is need to revise the policy to suit current challenges of diversity.

In addition, there is no standardized documentation of intangible cultural heritage in Lesotho let alone issues pertaining living heritage of ethnic minorities. As a signatory to the 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage pledged to adhere to one of the recommendations from Article 12 of the Convention which recommends states to:

⁸³ Morija Museum and Archives Curator, Voice Recording, August 28, 2016.

⁸⁴ Khanyela Mapamela, Voice recording, June 24, 2016.

⁸⁵ Koelane, Voice Recording.

ensure identification with a view to safeguarding, each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory. These inventories shall be regularly updated.⁸⁶

Since 2010 (two years after ratifying the 2003 UNESCO Convention) Lesotho benefited from a number of funded projects which aimed at designing practical tools for inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in Lesotho. It also provided ways of raising awareness of the significance of ICH and ensuring its better visibility.⁸⁷

The project was fully funded by UNESCO and the result of this initiative was inventorying of intangible cultural heritage of Menkhoaneng and Butha-Buthe. The elements that were inventorized were only concerning Basotho's living heritage, not minorities'. The second initiative, in 2014, initiated sub-regional cooperation and national capacities build-up in seven Southern African countries in pursuit of the implementation of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. It also aimed at strengthening legal and institutional frameworks in beneficiary countries with reference to the provision of the 2003 Convention and the Operational Directives. This project was initiated under the auspices of UNESCO Regional Office for Southern Africa.⁸⁸ It also recommended Member States to revive their National Intangible Cultural Heritage Committees.

Based on my capacity as nominee to represent Lesotho I initiated a forum on the revival of the National Intangible Cultural Heritage Committee of Lesotho. Nominees were

⁸⁶ Zoi-Maria Tsinoopoulou, "Preservation of Cultural Heritage: The Role of Museums in the Protection, Conservation and Management of Cultural Collections," 2017, <https://repository.ihu.edu.gr/xmlui/handle/11544/15251>.

⁸⁷ Sebinane Lekoekoe, "Report on Lesotho Workshop for Community-Based Inventorying of Intangible Cultural Heritage – Resources – Archival Platform," accessed May 27, 2017, http://www.archivalplatform.org/resources/entry/lesotho_workshop/.

⁸⁸ Tokelo Mapena, "Unpublished Report on the Training of Trainer's (ToTs) Workshop on the Strengthening of the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention Maseru, Lesotho" (Maseru, Lesotho: Ministry of Tourism Environment and Culture, August 2014).

representatives of different stakeholders and associations. The Baphuthi had two representatives. They were trained on the 2003 Convention and its operational directives as well as national policies. Following this event Lesotho developed a proposal in 2015 for inventorying intangible cultural heritage of Baphuthi, Batlokoa and Basotho. The project was not completed. In 2016, Lesotho received funding from UNESCO to document the intangible cultural heritage of Thaba-Bosiu which served to support documentation of the living heritage of majority group (Basotho).

The discussion above shows that most initiatives give priority heritage of majority group and less to minorities. This contribute to minimal documentation of living heritage, especially of minority heritage.

3.2 Promoting Cultural Diversity

In relation to the strategies that have been done to nurture cultural diversity in Lesotho, the responses from the interviews demonstrated that recent developments have shown a slight transformation driven by private sector. This includes gaining financial support from private sector to support and empower community based initiatives geared towards enriching and celebrating cultural diversity in Lesotho. The government, however, took an initiative to provide funding to some as a way of developing and revitalising the heritage sector of Lesotho. The department created formal Memoranda of Understanding⁸⁹ in order to foster joint support to events like the annual Morija Arts and Cultural Festival.⁹⁰ The Baphuthi's annual commemoration of King Moorosi of Baphuthi received governmental funding (although

⁸⁹ An official agreement between the Government of Lesotho through the Ministry of Tourism Environment and Culture to support an annually Morija Arts and Cultural Festival, since its inception in 1999.

⁹⁰ Morija Arts and Cultural Festival is an annual festival that was initiated by Morija Museum and Archives in 1999 to nurture living heritage and art in Lesotho under the phrase "Kaofela Re Chabana sa Khomo" translated Unity in Diversity

Baphuthi representatives suggest that the Department of Culture have since ceased to support the event, to which the Department's responds that this is due to recent financial hardships).⁹¹

Since Lesotho is signatory to the UNESCO 2003 Convention, the Department official indicated that it has been benefiting from its funding as a way to revitalize heritage. This was evident when the Department of Culture received funding from UNESCO more than seven years ago to document *SePhuthi* (Language of Baphuthi) as part of its preservation and revitalization. This language is said to be 'severely endangered language' by the Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger. Experience shows that access to the research results is actually limited, probably because it has not been published in a format meant for a broad or public.

Another recognizable development was the 1999 Morija Arts and Cultural Festival. It was a project initiated to celebrate Lesotho's diverse cultures. This initiative was developed under the auspices of Morija Museum and Archives, an institution under Lesotho Evangelical Church. It came soon after the 1998 Lesotho's political riots and it was seen

as a peace-building and reunification initiative. It was an attempt to unite the Basotho nation regardless of political affiliation, religion, colour, clan, or gender, or anything that might distinguish one from the larger collective under the festival motto "*Kaofela re chabana sa khomo*" meaning "Unity in Diversity".⁹²

For the first time in the history an initiative sought to embrace Lesotho's cultural diversity. It became a popular cultural festival attracting locals but also Basotho people from the diaspora as well as foreign tourists.⁹³ The festival promoted curiosity, knowledge,

⁹¹ Matsosane Molibeli, interview.

⁹² Morija Museum & Archives, "Morija Museum & Archives And the Precinct for Heritage, Culture & the Arts: An Overview of Progress to Date and Opportunities for Growing the Legacy" (Morija Museum & Archives, 2015).

⁹³ Government of Lesotho and Ministry of Development Planning, National Strategic Development Plan 2012/13 – 2016/17 Growth and Development Strategic Framework "Towards an accelerated and sustainable economic and social transformation."

understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of living traditions and the arts, as well as knowledge of the history of Lesotho.⁹⁴ It introduced cultural competitions between schools in 2001 as a way to instil a culture of mutual appreciation and acknowledgement in students. It became a platform where schools from different regions (districts) staged cultural performances and a good platform for districts branding.



Figure 3 Depicts school children showcasing their traditional attires during celebration of the popular Morija Arts and Cultural Festival. Photo credit to Matsooana Sekokotoana, Morija Mseum and Archives 2017

It was a positive mechanism of promoting vulnerable living heritage of groups such as Baphuthi, Ndebele, Xhosa, and Zulus. The pictures below depict some of the dances that were performed at Morija Arts and Cultural Festival as a form of embracing the diverse cultural heritage of Lesotho.

⁹⁴ Morija Museum & Archives, “Morija Museum & Archives And the Precinct for Heritage, Culture & the Arts: An Overview of Progress to Date and Opportunities for Growing the Legacy.”



Figure 5 Shows Xhosa Women ready to perform Mqunqo. A dance performed by women at initiation school to show that they will graduate soon. Photo Credit to Matsooana Sekokotoana, Morija Museum and Archives 2017



Figure 4 Depicts boys performing Ndlamo which is regarded to be Zulu or Ndebele dance. Photo credit to Matsooana Sekokotoana, Morija Museum and Archives 2017

However, after fifteen years of successful operation, the 2014 political and economic instability which caused decline to the festival's functionality. This was recognizable with elimination of some of its programs because of lack of funds from the Department of Culture.⁹⁵ My experience and my interviewees' responses suggest that the program meaningfully revitalized cultural heritage in Lesotho. It gave people, both Basotho and minorities, a sense of ownership and responsibility in safeguarding the country's diverse heritage.⁹⁶ Its existence became a mechanism for community empowerment and created a web of opportunities that were geared towards sustainable livelihoods.⁹⁷ Cultural events such as this festival play a pivotal role in the life of heritage as it is through such activities that heritage can be kept alive and intact.

In line with the recent National Strategic Development Plan which strongly recognises need and urgency to strengthen institutional support and coordination,⁹⁸ the department sought to strengthen partnerships with private sector such as associations interested in heritage activities, other government agencies and heritage tourism organizations. However, the department is still faced with several challenges and increasing demands/expectations but limited resources.⁹⁹ My experience as Department of Culture official showed that some of the reasons emanate from low appreciation and commitment for development of heritage sector.

⁹⁵ Director Department of Culture, "Department of Culture Internal Minute," 2013.

⁹⁶ Gill, Recorded Interview.

⁹⁷ Wade Publications CC, "Tourism - Lesotho Review 2015 Edition," 2015, <http://www.lesothoreview.com/tourism-2015.php>.

⁹⁸ Government of Lesotho and Ministry of Development Planning, National Strategic Development Plan 2012/13 – 2016/17 Growth and Development Strategic Framework "Towards an accelerated and sustainable economic and social transformation."

⁹⁹ Stephen J. Gill, *Museums Lesotho: Building Upon the Legacy, an Inquiry Into the Idea & Reality of a National Museum in Lesotho*, 2015.

In Lesotho, cultural sector does not fall under priorities and this is evidential when one looks at the annual government budget.¹⁰⁰

3.3 The Dilemmas of the Unsung Heroes: Baphuthi Investigating their Heritage

A flourishing nation is one that appreciates its past and celebrates it with pride. Lesotho is one of the countries with diverse cultural heritage but marginally celebrated. This was demonstrated by responses that I received during the interviews and Facebook comments in relation to how minorities feel about cultural diversity and how cultural policies treat them. My analysis from this research demonstrates that knowledge or appreciation of Lesotho as a multi-ethnic society is very limited. The cause is probably its homogeneous outlook, coupled with governing structures that ignores its multicultural setup.

According to Baphuthi representatives, low educational levels make people think in terms of clanic rather than national identity. Majority of Basotho people ignore the fact that Baphuthi are made of different clans. What makes them unique? The Baphuthi have unique language, customs, performances as well as rituals differentiating them from other groups like Basotho. In order to cement this the Baphuthi differentiate themselves from other groups with their traditional attire as portrayed in **figure 6** below

¹⁰⁰ This is based on my experience as a department budgeting officer since 2010 until early 2015



Figure 6 Shows Baphuthi Women in their traditional attire with some facial adornment Photo Credit to Kometsi Letsadzo of Baphuthi 2016

Additionally, the ethnonym ‘Baphuthi’ does not, as it is often used, refer to a homogeneous clan: rather a ‘chiefdom’ (in the traditional sense of people unified by shared lineages). The Baphuthi were a heterogeneous band that comprised different ethnic and social backgrounds, some of whom shared a lineage but many of whom joined the group for various periods and causes as it suited their needs.¹⁰¹

With realization that their heritage is endangered, my contact with Baphuthi representative revealed that they have initiated several strategies that seek to strengthen and revive their heritage even though they have a minimal assistance from the government departments.¹⁰² Since 2013 the Baphuthi initiated an annual pilgrimage which is meant to

¹⁰¹ Rachel King, “Voluntary Barbarians of the Maloti-Drakensberg: The BaPhuthi Chiefdom, Cattle Raiding, and Colonial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa” (Linacre College University of Oxford, 2014).

¹⁰² Interview with Baphuthi representative (Name withheld) showed that there is little interest from the Department and private sector in terms of strengthening cultural diversity in Lesotho. This resonates from the fact that even the superior Law does not provide accommodation for ethnic minorities in Lesotho ‘in need of Government and individuals support as well as non-governmental organization to make it a success’

revive their history with the annual historical route of King Moorosi and his followers from Tulumang in South Africa to Mount Moorosi, where he ended up building his stronghold. This is a three-day walk followed by a big celebration highlighted by the Baphuthi cultural performances. As part of revival and awareness of Baphuthi living heritage practices, the Sephuthi-speaking groups have been provided a space to perform their cultural dances at the National University of Lesotho events (through the efforts of Sephuthi-speaking lecturers and Libandla le Baphuthi) to demonstrate their unique identity and diversity.¹⁰³ To cement this, my experience has shown that their efforts in striving for revival of their language and their living heritage were amazingly commendable although they received less appreciation.

The interviews unveiled that Baphuthi feel that they are suffering from social exclusion as their language and culture is not being given attention. They feel that they have been denied recognition as descendants of a great king. They feel that the traditional leadership system should be revised and areas that were overlooked should be rectified.¹⁰⁴ The Baphuthi representative indicated also that even language policy does not accommodate Baphuthi, Ndebele and Xhosa since only English and Sesotho are used as modes of instruction. Sephuthi and other languages are only transmitted informally at home by parents.¹⁰⁵ As mentioned earlier, it is one of the languages that are poorly documented. Its threat to get extinct is even getting worse with the current situation of rapid development and economic shift. This is a result of migration by its speakers from their original habitation to the urban areas thus intermingling with Sotho (Language of majority people in Lesotho) and Xhosa language (an

¹⁰³ Francina Moloi, *Recent Developments in African Linguistics and Literature*, Ekanjume-Ilongo. B, A. Hala-Hala and Dunton. C (New York, USA: David Publishing Company, 2015).

¹⁰⁴ Lestimes, "Baphuthi Demand 'due Recognition' | Lesotho Times," accessed May 3, 2017, <http://lestimes.com/baphuthi-demand-due-recognition/>.

¹⁰⁵ Mocumbi Mookameli, Telephone Interview, March 2, 2017.

official language in South Africa) which are currently a threat towards assimilation of Phuthi language.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there were a number of programs that were initiated in order to promote multiculturalism in Lesotho. A good example was an initiative by Morija Museum and Archives through Morija Arts and Cultural Festival which sought to promote the cultural diversity of Lesotho. This program instilled a culture of appreciation and sense of pride to many people of Lesotho in general. However the research has shown that some of the initiatives like this are not sustainable because of a lack of established heritage bodies to nurture cultural heritage. Limited funding by both the government and private sector make it impossible to promote and preserve cultural diversity. Lack of vision, of information and expertise, of trained staff and of infrastructure continue to be a threat to the heritage sector of Lesotho. The research has shown that there is insufficient research and documentation/records about living heritage of minorities, little documentation of recent demographic population of ethnic minorities in Lesotho poses some challenges. This and many others makes it difficult to influence policies.

This chapter has also unveiled that the issue of ethnicity is not a priority in Lesotho. Therefore, there is an urgent need to address this challenges by first revising cultural policies to accommodate cultural diversity and to protect living heritage of minorities. There is also need to transform the sector's priority and this should be based on establishment of interpretation centres, site museums and interpretation trails. These institutions could be used as relevant spaces where memories of the marginalized groups can be preserved and presented for generations to come. There also need to address the issue of stakeholders' participation. Giving all stakeholders a chance to contribute to discussions and planning exercises will build

trust and a common shared vision that will place Lesotho in a better position.¹⁰⁶ In line with this, the next chapter provided a series of solutions which are presented in a form of policy recommendation.

¹⁰⁶ Stephen, Gill, *Lesotho : Legacy : An Inquiry into the Idea & Reality of a National Museum in Lesotho Inquiry into the Idea & Reality of a National Museum in Lesotho Idea & Reality : National Museum in Lesotho* (Moriya, Lesotho : Morija Museum & Archives, 2015).

Chapter 4 –Policy Recommendations

The following recommendations seek to ensure that the needs of the ethnic minorities are taken into consideration in the development of heritage policies and decision-making processes. The proposed recommendation is developed in line with multiculturalism framework and good practices that have been drawn from Australian and South African contexts.

4.1 Finding a Vision for the Cultural Heritage Policies of Lesotho

4.1.1 Causes and Problems

The earlier discussion has unearthed a series of challenges affecting multiculturalism in Lesotho. Some of the challenges have been brought by lack of recognition and integration of salient cultural diversity issues into cultural heritage policies in Lesotho. The research has revealed that there is limited knowledge amongst ethnic minorities such as the Baphuthi, on the cultural policies currently in use. Coupled with this, the department in charge of cultural heritage management in Lesotho has inadequate infrastructure and human resources required to support this discipline. The inadequacy of skilled personnel in the Department of Culture has led to the exclusion of ethnic groups in the decision-making processes. Policies are being made without factual statistical records about the current population of ethnic minorities which has resulted in misrecognition and misrepresentation of ethnicity. Lastly, it has been demonstrated in the foregoing chapters that there is limited documentation of living heritage of the Baphuti minority group. Only a superficial study was carried out in 1999 focusing only on the lingual aspects of the Baphuthi. Therefore, it is pertinent to come up with solutions to address all the various challenges affecting minority issues in Lesotho. The following suggestions are provided to promote the inclusion and recognition of minority groups such as the Baphuti, Xhosa and Ndebele:

4.1.2 Defining Stakeholders and their Roles

In order to properly address the challenges affecting heritage management of ethnic minority groups, there is need to identify the relevant key stakeholders. These stakeholders will serve as coordinators and implementers in transforming the heritage sector of Lesotho as well as empowering the affected minorities. These stakeholders are as follows: Department of Culture, UNESCO National Commission, Heritage policy reformers, Morija Museum and Archives, Intangible Cultural Heritage National Committee, Libandla le Baphuthi Association, interested heritage agencies and the political leadership representing minority groups. It is envisioned that these stakeholders could play a leading role in implementing and promoting the following policy suggestions:

4.1.3 Reformation of Cultural Policies

The study recognizes that the major impediment to cultural diversity in Lesotho is linked country's Constitution. The Constitution has failed to adequately promote and safeguard the rights of minority groups as it seeks to present the country as a homogeneous society. This has been problematic in handling cultural diversity and I acknowledge that it is difficult to advocate for the revision of the constitution to accommodate ethnic minorities under the current political environment. However, the researcher is inclined to suggest to the political leadership to recognize the need to guarantee fundamental rights of minority groups. If the constitution sets the necessary precedence it naturally follows that all policy frameworks will recognize minority issues.

The policies currently in use, the 2005 National Cultural Policy Framework and National Heritage Resources Act 2011, do not adequately promote and protect cultural diversity. These two pieces of legislation do not provide an in depth means of managing cultural diversity. Therefore, one of the policy recommendations would be a revision of these policies by the

Department of Culture. Of importance in revising these two policies, is the inclusion of the views of minority groups in the formulation and implementation processes. Therefore, to properly review these policies, the following should be taken into consideration:

- Clearly, define the role of the Department of Culture as the leading institution in heritage management in the country. Once the functions of the department are properly addressed, it will avoid the overlapping of roles with other institutions and associations interested in heritage.
- The National Heritage Resources Act 2011 should have regulations with clearly defined measures on protection and promotion of cultural diversity in Lesotho. It should also consider respect of minority rights which is essential to the success of all projects, programs or policies.¹⁰⁷
- The Heritage Resources Act 2011 recommends the establishment of a Heritage Council which is supposed to play a supervisory role in the heritage sector of Lesotho. However, to date such a council is yet to be appointed. Therefore, the ministry in charge of culture in Lesotho should make the appointment of a Heritage Council a priority. The appointment should take into consideration diverse expertise and should cater for representation of ethnic minorities.

4.1.4 Statistical Documentation

- The research has unveiled that there is lack of statistical documentation on ethnic minorities' population in Lesotho. Population censuses have been carried out in Lesotho, with the recent one done in 2016, have failed to provide the statistical records

¹⁰⁷ United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization, "The Cultural Diversity Lens_Pedagogical Guide.pdf" (UNESCO, 2011).

of ethnic minorities. Evidence of this is seen at the Lesotho Bureau of Statistics which provides vague and incomprehensive demographic population of ethnicity in Lesotho. Therefore, it is imperative that the Department of Culture takes a lead in gathering statistics of ethnic minorities in the country. Carrying out such a study will illuminate the understanding of the morphologies of the Baphuthi and other ethnic minorities. This should be the starting point for the Department as this study will help influence decision making processes and the development of informed policies.

4.1.4 Initiate/Create Dialogues with the affected population

- The Department of Culture as the leading heritage institution, should facilitate cultural convergence platforms for dialogue and information dissemination with the Baphuthi. It is the role of Department of Culture to conscientize the Baphuti on cultural policies affecting them. Such initiatives are important as they encourage the inclusion of marginalized communities in the planning, implementation and decision making processes vital for the promotion of multiculturalism in Lesotho.
- The Department of Culture should also promote community platforms to enable conversations between the dominant ethnic groups and minorities in Lesotho. Such cultural exchanges are important in promoting the mutual respect of different cultures in the country. This can be arranged in the form of '*Pitsos*' or community public gatherings through the leadership of the concerned traditional chiefs and political leaders.

4.1.5 Knowledge Sharing and Capacity building

- It is important for the Department of Culture to promote cultural exchanges between heritage professionals within the organization and other professionals in established countries which have experience in dealing with multiculturalism. It is through such

interfaces that Lesotho policy reformers will get exposed to good practices around the globe and impart them into the cultural policies of Lesotho. This can be done at regional and international level. At regional level, policy reformers can organize exchange visits and have a face to face interaction and learn from each other's experiences in dealing with a diverse society. However, such initiatives require proper financial planning which requires the department to define and identify its sources of funding for the benefit of such programs.

- Capacity building remains an important factor in the successful management of cultural heritage in Lesotho. The Department of Culture should thrive to form partnerships with established academic institutions within and outside the country. Such partnerships are vital in keeping Lesotho abreast with international management standards. The possibility of partnership with interested academic institution presents a mutual benefit of both parties. Academic institutions can make use of Lesotho's heritage in their academic programs whilst helping the Department of Culture in training its staff.

4.1.5 Introduction of Community-Based Initiatives

- One way to address the challenges affecting multiculturalism in Lesotho, would be through the establishment of community museums or interpretive centres. These community museums and interpretative centers should promote minorities heritage which has been largely marginalised by the colonial system which is being perpetuated by present day political discourse. Such centres can be established in three regions of Lesotho, which are the north, south and central. This model of decentralizing resources will help in making services accessible at grassroots level. This approach can be replicated from South Africa where after Apartheid the government redefined its heritage communication strategies by

promoting the histories of previously marginalized communities. This was done through establishment of heritage institutions such as museums as compromise initiatives.¹⁰⁸

4.1.6 Impart Sense of Appreciation and Ownership through Cultural Festivals

- In order to promote multiculturalism, it is important to explore the empowerment and capacitation mechanisms of minority groups. The Department in collaboration with the private sector should introduce cultural festivals which will be geared towards creating awareness on issues of cultural diversity. These initiatives should be celebrated both at district, regional and national level. The Department through its cultural heritage district officers should establish committees at district level and coordinate and administer them. It should be a decentralized model that caters for all ethnic groups. The strategy will seek to redress on imbalances brought by the country's colonial past as well as the new institutionalized models of governance. Ideally, this strategy serves to instill sense of ownership and pride to the bearers of culture who are the minority groups. South Africa has an established model of cultural festivals like the MACUFE festival. These festivals help to instill a sense of pride in minority groups.

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, the aim of this chapter was to provide solutions that could act as a tool to remedy the current challenge of multiculturalism in Lesotho. In order to implement these solutions the Department of Culture needs to initiate series of dialogues with different stakeholders to make them understand the need and importance of multiculturalism. Some of

¹⁰⁸ HeritageAgencycc and Cheadle Thompson and Haysom ICN. Attorneys, "Department of Arts and Culture Review of Heritage Legislation."

the recommendations are time bound and cost effective. However, this solutions can be broken down in to short term, medium term and long term plan in order to ease its implementation.

Conclusion

The research focused on the management of living heritage of minorities and how Lesotho's cultural heritage policies has so far managed to accommodate multiculturalism. It has demonstrated that the issue of cultural diversity is very sensitive and complex. It needs appropriate instruments, mutual understanding and dialoging in order to be able to implement it. The current international treaties on protection of the rights of indigenous minorities presents positive opportunities which Lesotho is yet to explore.

With the first chapter of this research highlighting the formulation of heritage frameworks of Lesotho based on their historical evolution has demonstrated that there has been a slight transformation in shaping the heritage legislations of Lesotho. This has been demonstrated by a minimal consideration of cultural diversity in the legal frameworks of Lesotho. Looking at Baphuthi as my case study the research helped me understand the challenges of cultural diversity in Lesotho. It exhibited that the current heritage legislations continue to exhibit the dominant beliefs that segregate the existence of cultural diversity in Lesotho.

The use of multiculturalism as a framework helped me to assess how existing heritage frameworks have affected cultural diversity in Lesotho. I was also able to use this framework to understand the roots of cultural diversity in Lesotho. With the use of comparative analysis I was able to explore different multiculturalism arrangements (Australian multiculturalism and South African context). Based on that I was able to replicate some of the good practices to shape the policy recommendations in a way that suits the context of Lesotho.

This research has helped me to understand the problems of the heritage legal frameworks of Lesotho. As a heritage officer at the Department of Culture in Lesotho I recognized through this study that it is the responsibility of the Department to sensitize people about the heritage

frameworks in other for them to be able to influence policies. It is also the responsibility of the department to conscientize people about the importance of appreciating our cultural differences and accommodating each other.

The research has unveiled that there is a room for further research particularly on living heritage of Baphuthi. Based on this the future life of this research is to strengthen it much further a much further to address some of the issues that were not covered based on the time limitation. As a heritage office at the Department of Culture I am also planning to use this research to further develop the heritage sector of Lesotho. Most importantly, I plan to share the recommendations with my fellow colleagues, Baphuthi and other stakeholders that were mentioned in chapter four of this research. This will help them to recognize the need to accommodate cultural diversity issues in future strategies of the Department.

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