

**Culture, History and Politics in Malawi: The Production of
National Heritage, 1964-2009**

Mwayi Woyamba Lusaka

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

In History

University of the Western Cape

Supervisor: Professor Leslie Witz

**UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE**

Date submitted: 15 NOVEMBER 2019

<http://etd.uwc.ac.za/>

DECLARATION

I Mwayi Woyamba Lusaka declare that ‘Culture, History and Politics in Malawi: The Production of National Heritage, 1964-2009’ is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.



Mwayi Woyamba Lusaka

15 November 2019.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In expressing my profound gratitude and a sense of indebtedness to many who have helped and guided me in one way or the other to realize the completion of this hard work, I would like to invoke the words of African philosopher John Mbiti. Observing the spirit of communitarianism in African societies John Mbiti comments that ‘whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group, and whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual. The individual can only say ‘I am, because we are, and since we are, therefore I am.’ It is on this moral ground that I acknowledge those who made this work possible. I profoundly acknowledge my supervisor Leslie Witz for his untiring patience, guidance and unrelenting support towards the successful completion of this work. He combined the qualities of both a caring father and a critical supervisor with my work. As someone who now claims to be a fully-fledged critical heritage scholar I would like to recognize the roles of Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz, the co-coordinators of the African Programme in Museum and Heritage Studies (APMHS) for having an immense impact on my development both scholarly and professionally in the disciplines of history and heritage. I also recognize the influence of Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie who prepared me at Masters for this doctoral adventure.

I express heartfelt gratitude to the Center for Humanities Research (CHR) for granting the Andrew Mellon Doctoral Research Fellowship which allowed me to successfully complete this work. Through the critical scholarship at CHR I was moulded into an analytical scholar and helped me much to approach and produce this work. Still at CHR I would like to profoundly express gratitude to Premish Lalu who was the director at the CHR during the course of fellowship until completion. I also thank Suren Pillay and Heidi Grunebaum. Specific mention should also be made to Lameez Lalkhen, the administrator of CHR for her untiring logistical

support. I also thank Maurits Van Bever Donker the Research officer at CHR and the entire family of research fellows at the CHR for their accommodativeness and spirit of collegiality.

At the History Department I extend my heartfelt gratitude to the lecturers Nicky Rousseau, Andrew Bank, Patricia Hayes, Bianca Van Laun, Riedwaan Moosage, Phindizedwa Mnyaka, Paulo Israel and Koni Benson for their sense of camaraderie. I thank Janine Brandt and Jane Smidt for assisting in many of the administrative issues to do with my work.

Back home in Malawi, I am grateful for the support that Museums of Malawi gave me throughout the duration of my studies. I therefore personally thank Lovemore Mazibuko, the then acting Director of Museums of Malawi, Elizabeth Gomani Chindebvu, the Director of Department of Museums and Monuments, Portipher Kaliba Director of Research and Yohannes Nyirenda the Chief Curator of Museums of Malawi for providing me the platform to develop in my career as a museum and heritage professional. The colleagues at Department of Museums and Monuments need special mention: Jimmy Musa and Emanuel Mwale were exceptional as they worked as my research assistants. I appreciate the support from Nyson Gawani, John Chipeta, Enock December, Chimseu, Nishon Kalimira, Robert Kambwembwe, Yankho Chipeta, Masina, Brave Nkhoma, Moses Mkumpha, Sara Samba, John Chilachila, Topeka, Medson Makuru, Aaron Khombe, Aaron Maluwa, Malani Chinula, Nthakomwa, Harrison Mwagomba, Harrison Simfukwe, Blessings Walawala, Smeida Singini, Braveson Nkhoma and all staff in the department. I also acknowledge the support from the following institutions for allowing me to either access their archives or share their materials: National Archives of Malawi; University of Malawi (Chancellor College); Times Malawi; Malawi Broadcasting Cooperation; Malawi National Commission for UNESCO; Society of Malawi; CCAP Blantyre Mission; Malawi-Scotland Partnership and its former coordinator Kenneth Ross; Scotland-Malawi Partnership,

The National Museum of Scotland and its curator Sarah Worden. The representatives from the following heritage associations were also helpful for granting me interviews: Mulhakho Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association; Chewa Heritage Foundation; Mzimba Heritage Association, Maseko Ngoni Heritage Association. The following colleagues have been crucial in supporting me morally, socially, academically and of course emotionally during the course of my studies; Mary Mbewe Mazimba, Anthony Ambe, Sam Longford, Mxolis Dlumuka, Chrispine Dambula, Njabulo Chipangula, Comfort Mtotha, Luvuyo Ndzuzo, Olesugun Morakinyo, George Agbo, Misganaw Tadesse, Rosette Vuninga, Genesis Chorwe, Wyclif Jere, Linda Jere, Leonard Banda, Sibongire Banda, Jabulile Chinamasa, Asandiswa Manatha, Nokuthula Zinyengere, Zoe Groves, Robert Mwentumba, Pempho Guzani, Kate Mhone, Gloria Dzidekha, Liness Sanga, Mitchel Carlos, Virginia Zwide, Limbani Phiri, Justice Mtande, Udo Nsima, Ryan Ishamael, George Koroepo, Antonitte Chisale, Grace Khedama, Erleen Botha, Abiti George, Nephthali Mumba, Sophie Schasielen, Sinazo Mtshemla, Asante Mtenje, Victor Chikayipa, Edwin Msiska, Emmanuel Chinovi, Clement Faindani, Jacob Cloete, I am grateful to you all. To my siblings Joseph, Kenneth, Innocent and Natasha Lusaka, I say, we will always remain the Lusaka five! My cousins George Mpyayira, Tina Makunje, Lucy and Mable Swart, Kondwani Khembo and Janet Mpyayira I say we will always keep the clan. My uncle Julius Mpyayira and his family, my Aunt Mrs Lindiwe Swart. I specially thank my parents Joseph and Grace Lusaka for the support and inspiration and preparation they gave me during my younger days. I also singularly acknowledge the emotional and material support of my ex-wife Madalitso Chidumu during the first three years of this research.

Above all I thank and praise Jehovah God for taking me where I am and guiding me where I am going.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is essentially about how Malawi's national heritage was constituted, in particular how heritage emerged and how it has changed over time. It largely looks at the period from 1964 to 2009. This is significant period which covers the transition from colonialism to independence; dictatorship and the emergence of multiparty democracy. The study explores the changing governments during this period in relation to how knowledge about Malawi's pasts were constructed and reconstructed as heritage using different cultural forms: national museums, ethnic festivals, cultural performances, national language, commemorations and memorials (monuments, commemorative days and biographical memory) and the framing of traditions and customs into what is referred to as intangible cultural heritage. The overarching question of the research is what changes were made to national heritage in relation to the changing of governments during this period? In response to this question multiple historical modes of inquiry were used to study and examine the production of different aspects of heritage during this period. The methodological approaches included archival and library research, interviews, desk research and fieldwork. I analyzed the ways through which the stated different cultural forms were implemented and constituted. The initial assumption was that the different periods with different politics and governments had a direct alignment in terms of change in heritage construction. However, this is not that simple. It is the main argument of this thesis that while there are some notable changes in national heritage with the changing governments over this period, sometimes older colonial heritage and elements from older periods remain in place and can actually be stronger and that it seems to align with new heritage. The older colonial forms are very powerful hence underlining the residual nature of heritage. The colonial heritages of ethnicity or tribe, ethnographic objects and memory of colonial icon David Livingstone have remained strongly in

place despite the changes in governments. Actually, what happened was the revaluation of these colonial heritages in post-colonial Malawi.



KEY WORDS

heritage, national culture, ethnic heritage associations, ethnographic museums, memory, dictatorship, democracy, colonialism, UNESCO, David Livingstone, Kamuzu Banda, Bakili Muluzi, Bingu Wa Mutharika.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFORD Alliance for Democracy

AHD Authorised Heritage Discourse

CCAP Church of Central Africa Presbyterian

CHR Center for Humanities Research

DPP Democratic Progressive Party

ICH Intangible Cultural Heritage

MBC Malawi Broadcasting Cooperation

MCP Malawi Congress Party

MoM Museums of Malawi

UDF United Democratic Front

UNESCO United Nations, Scientific, Education and Cultural Organisation



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Contents

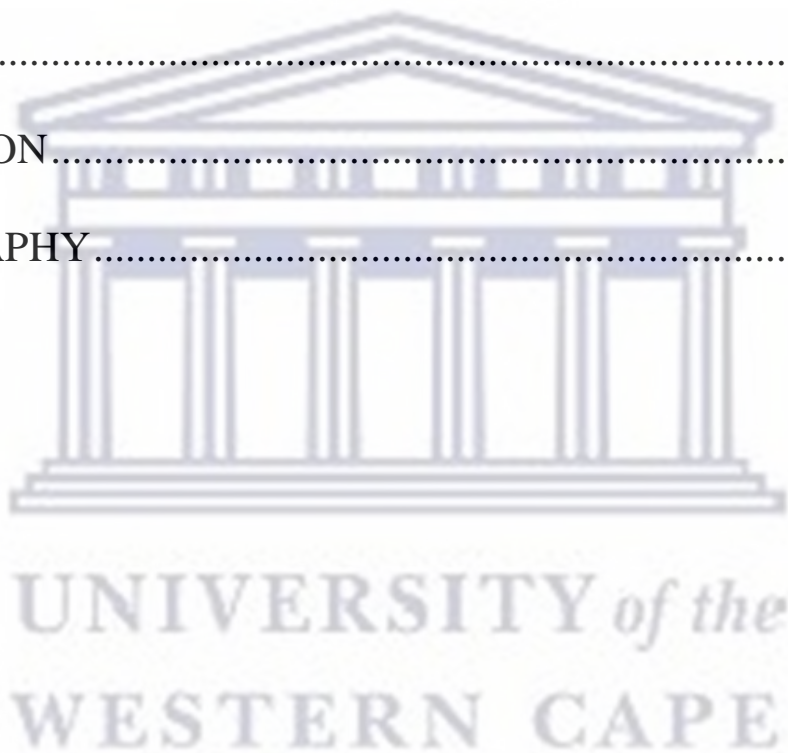
DECLARATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT.....	v
KEY WORDS.....	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
Background.....	1
Defining heritage	4
Conceptualising heritage.....	7
Methodology and ethical issues.....	12
Approach and Chapter outline	15
CHAPTER 1	19
National Culture and Heritage Discourse in Malawi.....	19
Introduction.....	19
The discourse of heritage in Africa.....	21
Kamuzu Banda’s imagination of national culture and Malawi’s identity: 1964 to 1994	27

Language and constructing the idea of the nation in Kamuzu Banda's	
Malawi	36
UNESCO and the emergence of cultural heritage discourse	43
Democracy and Re-evaluation of National Culture.....	47
Conclusion	56
CHAPTER 2	57
Performing the Tribe? Ethnic Based Heritage Associations and Cultural	
Festivals in Malawi	57
Introduction.....	57
Ethnicity and Tribe in Perspective.....	63
Mzimba Heritage Association.....	68
Activities of Mzimba Heritage Association.....	71
Umthetho Cultural Festival.....	74
Heritage and Politics at Umthetho festival	81
Mulhakho Wa Ahlomwe Heritage Association	89
Mulhakho Wa Ahlomwe Cultural Festival	96
Ethnic Heritage Associations as new Native Associations in Malawi	102
Conclusion	105
CHAPTER 3	107

Reinforcing Ethnicity or Tribe? UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Malawi.....	107
Introduction.....	107
UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible cultural heritage	111
Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Malawi	116
Enumerating Culture: The National Inventory of Malawi’s Intangible Heritage.....	118
Gule Wankulu multinational safeguarding project.....	125
Tchopa sacrificial dance safeguarding project.....	136
Conclusion	144
CHAPTER 4	147
Museums of Malawi and Production of National Heritage	147
Introduction.....	147
Society of Malawi and the formation of Museums of Malawi	150
Knowledge Production in the Post-Colonial Museums of Malawi	158
Exhibitions and Narratives at Chichiri Museum.....	179
Exhibitions at Lake Malawi Museum and Mzuzu Museum	185
Conclusion	187

CHAPTER 5	190
Kamuzu Banda’s Memory and Negotiation of Power in Malawi.....	190
Introduction.....	190
Re/constructing sites of public memory in Malawi, A brief history....	192
From Queen’s Day to Kamuzu Day.....	199
Post-Banda memorial/heritage complex; Kamuzu Day, mausoleum and statue	203
Conclusion	216
CHAPTER 6	219
Heritage of Diplomacy Or ‘Scottish Exceptionalism?’: The Memory of David Livingstone and Malawi – Scotland Relations.....	219
Introduction.....	219
David Livingstone, Malawi and Scotland: A historical perspective....	221
Memorialisation of David Livingstone and heritage diplomacy in Malawi	230
‘From Livingstone to Kamuzu Exhibition’ at the David Livingstone Memorial Center	232
Making the Festival: ‘The 150 th Anniversary of David Livingstone Landing in Malawi’	235

‘Protestant saint’ or ‘Patron of imperialism?’ Public imagination of Livingstone in Malawi	238
Cementing partnerships: ‘Warm hearts in Africa, 1859-2009: The David Livingstone 150 th Anniversary Lecture’	244
Memory of David Livingstone and the Scotland-Malawi Partnership	250
Conclusion	253
CONCLUSION.....	255
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	265



INTRODUCTION

Background

The thesis is essentially about how Malawi's national heritage was constituted. In particular it examines how heritage emerged and how it has changed. It largely looks at the period from 1964 to 2009 covering the transition from colonialism to independence, the dictatorship of Kamuzu Banda, and the emergence of multiparty democracy in the 1990s. This study draws upon and extends the debates about history in Malawi that were formulated by Owen Kalinga. I first came across these debates in 2013 when I enrolled for the Post-Graduate Diploma in Museum and Heritage Studies at University of the Western Cape (UWC). It was a programme supported by both the Robben Island Museum and History Department at UWC. One of the sessions of the core course 'Issues in Museum and Heritage Studies' was 'National heritage in Kenya, Malawi and Ghana'. On Malawi the key text was by Owen Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnstone, the influence of Society of Malawi and the Role of Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party.'¹ Kalinga argued and showed how colonial agents, Sir Harry Johnstone and Nyasaland Society had influenced the production of history in the colonial times. He also showed how Kamuzu Banda influenced construction of history after Independence. Even though the conveners of the course presented Banda's role in the production of history during this period by examining Kalinga's argument within the framework of culture there was no attempt to consider and reflect on when and how the discourse of cultural heritage emerged in Malawi and how it had since changed (or not). No distinction was made between Banda's discourse of national culture in terms of

¹ O. Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnstone, The Influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party,' *African Affairs*, Vol .97. No.389, (1998), pp. 523-549.

suppression of other cultures and heritage in terms of its appeal to democratic sensibility post-Banda. This thesis aims to further inform the debates and the discussion about heritage in Malawi that emerged from this session for the programme about the production of national heritage.

The study explores the changing governments during the stated period in relation to how knowledge about Malawi's heritage was constructed and reconstructed using different cultural forms. As the thesis will show the first president Kamuzu Banda embarked on a nation building project that sought to integrate the disparate ethnic groups inherited from colonialism. Dictatorship became a means to his national building project. When Banda's dictatorship came to an end in 1994 Bakili Muluzi came to power under the banner of championing democratic ideals that Banda had suppressed in his autocracy. After serving for two terms Muluzi endorsed Bingu Wa Mutharika as his successor in 2004. When Mutharika dumped Muluzi's party, the United Democratic Front (UDF), that aided Mutharika to power, he placed himself in precarious political situation during which recourse to the past through different cultural forms was one way to try ensuring his political survival. It was during these historical moments that Malawi's identity and national heritage were produced, inscribed and institutionalized through various cultural forms. These cultural forms were national museums, ethnic festivals, cultural performances, national language, commemorations and memorials (monuments and commemorative days, biographical memory) and the framing of traditions and customs into what is referred to as intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO. These important moments provide us with significant political, social, and cultural insight and understanding connected to historical engagement in post-colonial Malawi which impacted on the production of heritage in the country. A focus on this period also brings into view the actors, contenders and institutions that

were active in the production of national identity and heritage. An assessment of this period contributes to a body of literature on the emergent and nascent discipline of heritage in Malawi specifically and understanding of heritage production in Africa in general.

The main objective of the thesis was to assess whether the political change of governments related to changes in the way heritage was constituted in Malawi. I wanted to determine and establish whether the two were aligned. Considering these changing periods of Malawian history and political landscape the central question of the research was what changes were made to national heritage in relation to the changing of governments during this period of differing histories and politics in Malawi? At the commencement of the research for this thesis I worked under the assumption that the different periods with different politics and governments had a direct alignment in terms of change in heritage construction. I was attracted to a large extent to Stuart Hall's assertion that 'heritage inevitably reflects the governing assumptions of its time and context.'² However, as it has turned out in the thesis, this is not that simple. It is thus the main argument of this thesis that while there are some notable changes in heritage with the changing governments over this period, sometimes colonial heritage and elements from older periods remained in place and can actually be stronger when it seems to align with new heritage. The older forms are very powerful hence underlining the residual nature of heritage. As the thesis will show the colonial heritages of ethnicity or tribe, ethnographic objects and the memory of colonial icon David Livingstone have remained strongly in place despite the changes in governments. Actually, what happened was the revaluation of these colonial heritages in the post-colonial times. This assessment resonates with Derek Petersen's observation that cultural

² S. Hall, 'Un-Settling 'the Heritage,' Re-Imagining the Post-Nation: Whose Heritage?' *Third Text*, Vol.13, No.49, (1999), p.6.

forms ‘that had previously represented the colonial era could be revalued in the post-colony as objects and symbols representing the culture of the nation.’³

Defining heritage

It is important to state that heritage as a term has been variously defined and articulated in the heritage literature. In Malawi the idea and notion of heritage particularly as a concept is relatively new. As such few Malawian scholars have engaged with the concept in their work when dealing with instrumentalisation of the past in the present. However, those who have dealt with instrumentalisation of Malawi’s past usually do so by engaging with the cognate disciplines such as history, politics, sociology and anthropology. I have shown and argued in chapter one that the discourse and the appearance of the term heritage in public policy documents in Malawi, and its popularisation through various media outlets, public events and institutional work only gathered currency in the late 1980s due to the work of authorized heritage institutions for example the United Nations Education and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) and the advent of democracy in 1994. Since then the concept has developed into a popular and political concept both in the academy and public domain. In recent past amongst the few Malawian scholars who directly engaged with the discourse of heritage in their work are Comfort Mtotha who showed how the repatriated Cox Collection became objects of national heritage at Museums of Malawi and Ken Lipenga who argued for the fluidity of heritage as embedded in the monuments of Kamuzu Banda and new monument of Bingu Wa Mutharika in Malawi.⁴

³ See D. Petersen, ‘Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,’ in D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures* (Johannesburg: Academic Press, 2015), p.12.

⁴ See C. Mtotha, ‘The Cox Collection, Museums of Malawi and Politics of Repatriation,’ MA Thesis, University of Western Cape (Unpublished, 2016); K., Jnr.Lipenga, ‘Tales of Political Monuments in Malawi: Re-storying National History,’ *Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies*, Vol.5, No.2, (2019), pp.1-20.

More broadly scholars have attempted to understand and define heritage even though there seems to be no consensus on its definition. George Abungu has proposed heritage as ‘a nation’s or people’s resources-both natural and cultural’. And that ‘cultural heritage includes sites, architecture, remains of cultural, historical, religious, archeological or aesthetic value, as well as song, dance, music, language, dress, food and religion.’⁵ UNESCO through its intangible cultural heritage convention sees heritage to encompass elements such as oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and universe and traditional craftsmanship.⁶ Other scholars for example Sabine Marschall, Gary Baines and Martin Murray link heritage to the formation of the new nation state in South Africa.⁷ Similarly, Davison views this notion of heritage production ‘as that body of folkways and political ideas on which new regimes find their identity.’⁸

The more philosophically oriented scholars have sought quite different approaches to understanding heritage. Tunbridge and Ashworth conceptualize heritage as ‘present-centered and is created, shaped and managed by, and in response to, the demands of the present. As such, it is open to constant revision and change and is also both a source and a repercussion of social conflict.’⁹ In a similar tone Littler and Naidoo cited by Tunbridge and Ashworth have defined the term heritage ‘as the use of the past as a cultural, political and economic resource for the

⁵ G. Abungu, ‘Heritage, Community and the State in the 90s: Experiences from Africa,’ paper presented at the Future of the past: The Production of History in a Changing South Africa, Mayibuye Centre, Institute for Historical Research and the History Department, University of the Western Cape, 10-12 July 1996.

⁶ See UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

⁷ S. Marschall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-apartheid South Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); M. Murray, *Commemorating and Forgetting: Challenges for the New South Africa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); G. Baines, ‘Site of Struggle: The Freedom Park Fracas and the Divisive Legacy of South Africa’s Border War/Liberation Struggle,’ *Social Dynamics*, 35: 2, (2009).

⁸ G. Davison, *The use and abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards: Allen Unwin, 2000), p.110.

⁹ J. Littler and R. Naidoo, *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of Race* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005) cited in J. E. Tunbridge and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1996); L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp.2-3.

present'.¹⁰ Their concern being 'with the very selective ways in which material artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions become resources for the present.'¹¹ Also joining in what is implied by 'national heritage' debate, Tunbridge and Ashworth reminds us to think about all heritage 'as potential political instrument[s] whether that was intended or not.'¹² Laurajane Smith has argued for heritage to be understood 'not as a 'thing' but as a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present and that features like sites are but themselves cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for this process.'¹³ Smith also described it as 'an important political and cultural tool in defining and legitimizing the identity, experiences and social/cultural standing of a range of sub national groups.'¹⁴

As Sabine Marschall has argued 'heritage is thus difficult to define not least because it is all-encompassing, containing tangible artifacts and structures of the past, as well as landscapes and intangible aspects of culture, such as traditions, customs and oral memory. Heritage relates both to the past (History) and the present (living heritage).'¹⁵

For the purpose and context of this thesis, following Derek Petersen and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, I propose heritage to be understood and defined as 'a form of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past'¹⁶ in order to meet the current needs. The needs could be political, economic, cultural and social. In the thesis, this heritage or 'cultural production' is expressed and manifested specifically through museums, ethnic festivals, cultural

¹⁰ J. E. Tunbridge and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, pp.2-3.

¹¹ J. E. Tunbridge and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, pp.2-3.

¹² J. E. Tunbridge and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, p.46.

¹³ See L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁴ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.52.

¹⁵ S. Marschall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-apartheid South Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

¹⁶ D. Petersen, 'Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,' pp.367-380.

performance, national language, commemorations and memorials (monuments, commemorative days and biographical memory) and what is called by UNESCO ‘intangible cultural heritage’. How these categories were produced, constituted and institutionalized by different discourses, power relations and actors to render a sense of national heritage, nationhood and identity in Malawi, and what might have changed over time framed the objectives of the thesis. The thesis therefore asks how different governments and institutions reconstructed Malawi’s pasts in the present.

Conceptualising heritage

The discussion and analysis of heritage in this thesis is in direct conversation with some of the important conceptual frameworks and paradigms that help us understand heritage production. The first is what is referred to as the dominant ideology thesis. Here ‘the ruling class is seen as the architect of a systematic ideology supportive of its own continued rule and one with which it then proceeds to indoctrinate subordinate classes.’¹⁷ Roots writes that in its more complicated versions, ‘the instrumentalism of the ruling class is discounted, but the working-class is socialized, willy-nilly, into the dominant world-view or a version of it appropriate to the circumstances of subordinates, an ideology which is the creation of the ruling class, its agents and/or its antecedents, is beneficial to their continued rule, and runs counter to the real interests of subordinate classes.’¹⁸ Put in simple terms what this means is that the dominant ideology perpetuated by the ruling elite and political conditions at a given time shape the perspective of the society. And it is the elite, for example governments, who are at the center of shaping the perspective of the society. This dominant ideology thesis as it has come to be known has been used to explain the modalities of production and interpretation of heritage especially national

¹⁷ C. A. Rootes, ‘The Dominant Ideology Thesis and Its Critics,’ *Sociology*, Vol.15, No.3, (1981), p.436.

¹⁸ C. A. Rootes, ‘The Dominant Ideology Thesis and Its Critics,’ p.436.

heritage. As Tunbridge and Ashworth remind us that at its most extreme the dominant ideology thesis ‘argues that heritage interpretation is endowed with messages which are deliberately framed by an existing or aspirant power elite to legitimize the existing dominant regime, or alternatively developed by an opposition group with the objective of overthrowing a competitor.’¹⁹ They have further argued that the central tenets of the dominant ideology thesis are governments and ruling elites who select a cultural capital upon assuming power.²⁰ The key argument therefore in the dominant ideology thesis and its relation to heritage is that:

Each government regime upon assuming power must appropriate to itself control over this capital if it is to legitimate its exercise of such political power. Public heritage interpretation would be an obviously important target for such appropriation.²¹

Some heritage scholars have placed much emphasis on the influence of dominant ideology in shaping and constructing cultural ideas and heritage. For instance, in his study of construction of cultural heritage for tourism purposes in Cape Town townships Luvoyo Dondolo observed how the dominant ideology and political conditions at a given time shape cultural tourism. He further observed that ‘the internal images of apartheid South Africa were in line with the dominant ideology of that time in South African history, which was centered on separate development and promoted white supremacy.’²² And these cultural images were based on ‘the discourse of ‘exoticism’ and ‘primitiveness’ of those who were classified as ‘Non- Europeans’ in comparison to the modernity of certain racially classified group of people.’²³ It will be therefore interesting in

¹⁹ Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, p.47.

²⁰ Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, p.48.

²¹ Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, p.28.

²² L. Dondolo, ‘The Construction of Public History and Tourist Destinations in Cape Town’s Townships: A study of Routes, Sites and Heritage,’ Masters Thesis, University of the Western Cape, (Unpublished, 2002), p.4.

²³ L. Dondolo, ‘The Construction of Public History and Tourist Destinations in Cape Town’s Townships,’ p.4.

this thesis to see how the changing governments in Malawi reflected different dominant ideologies in the production of national heritage.

The second paradigm is the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) along with the subaltern or dissenting heritage discourse. This was identified by Laurajane Smith. Smith argued that ‘there is a hegemonic “authorised heritage discourse” which is reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenity societies.’²⁴ This hegemonic discourse about heritage ‘acts to constitute the way we think, talk and write about heritage.’²⁵ She observed that ‘the discourse naturalizes the practice of rounding up the usual suspects to conserve and ‘pass on’ to the future generations and in so doing promotes a certain set of Western elite cultural values as being universally applicable.’²⁶ Because of this, ‘the discourse validates a set of practices and performances, which populates both popular and expert constructions of ‘heritage’ and undermines alternative and subaltern ideas about heritage.’²⁷ Smith noted that the ‘authorised heritage discourse privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefacts/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic judgement, social consensus and nation building.’²⁸

Perhaps an important point to note is what this AHD focuses on is production and interpretation of heritage. Smith argued that ‘the authorized heritage discourse (AHD) focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations “must” care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their education, and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past.’²⁹ In

²⁴ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.11.

²⁵ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.11.

²⁶ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.11.

²⁷ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.11.

²⁸ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.11.

²⁹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.16.

further describing the characteristics of AHD Smith noted that ‘the power relations underlying the discourse identify those people who have the ability or authority to ‘speak’ about or ‘for’ heritage . . . and those who do not. The establishment of this boundary is facilitated by assumptions about the innate value of heritage, which works to obscure the multi-vocality of many heritage values and meanings.’³⁰ Thus ‘the discourse works to identify particular forms of expertise that may be called upon to make pronouncements about the meaning and nature of heritage, and to mediate and adjudicate over any competing heritage discourses.’³¹

This discourse is also identified by its ‘preoccupation with two sets of heritage practices, those focused on management and conservation of heritage sites, places and objects, and those tied to the visitation of sites and institutions within tourism and leisure activities.’³²

Because of its dominant approach to heritage production through its monopoly on interpretation and meaning of what constitutes heritage the AHD has prompted the emergence of another discourse. This opposing discourse is referred to as the ‘subaltern’ or ‘dissenting discourse.’ This is concerned with the ‘subaltern discourses of community participation in heritage management and conservation process.’³³ Its subaltern as it stands outside the framework of the AHD. In other words, this discourse is the critique of the dominant AHD.³⁴

In her in-depth analysis of the AHD Smith outlined some of the criticisms that have been levelled against it in the way it produces and constructs heritage. She pointed that:

Embedded within this discourse is the idea that the proper care of heritage, and its associated values, lies with the experts, as it is only them who have the abilities, knowledge and understanding to identify the innate value and knowledge contained at and within historically important sites and places.... Principally, it is architects, historians and archaeologists who act as stewards for the past, so that

³⁰ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.16.

³¹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.16.

³² Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.16.

³³ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.16.

³⁴ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.35.

present and future publics may be properly educated and informed about its significance.³⁵

She further criticized that ‘what is absent in the AHD is a sense of ‘action’ or critical engagement on the part of non-expert users of heritage, as heritage is about receiving the wisdom and knowledge of historians, archaeologists and other experts. This obscures the sense of memory work, performativity and acts of remembrance that commentators such as Nora (1989), Urry (1996) and Bagnall (2003) identify as occurring at heritage sites.’³⁶ Smith argues that ‘ the primary targets for criticism on AHD are those with the intellectual authority and power to define how the past is used to legitimize (or not) certain forms of identity within Western societies – so criticism is particularly targeted at archaeologists, anthropologists, museum curators and historians.’³⁷ Smith, therefore, problematizes the monopoly of experts in making of public pasts through their conservation and management practices. The practical example she draws to illuminate this is the way the World Heritage Convention of 1972 (an instance of instrument of the AHD) has been challenged by non-Western nations and scholars for advancing western concepts of heritage and its values. Thus, one sees that at the core of AHD is the understanding of heritage as a ‘thing’ manifested in sites, places, aesthetic objects, and monuments. It relies for its judgement of interpretation on technical experts who are in institutions of heritage. The discourse ‘perpetuates the Western elite notions of what heritage is and what it is not.’³⁸ It will be interesting therefore to see in the thesis to what extent construction of heritage in Malawi has been influenced by the experts and their interpretation. Or how it has been influenced by what Smith has called ‘subaltern discourse’ that challenges

³⁵ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.30.

³⁶ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p, 30.

³⁷ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p, 30.

³⁸ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.30.

sanctioned discourse of heritage by authorities. Or in what ways do dominant ideology thesis and AHD operate together?

Methodology and ethical issues

My research utilized different but related historical modes of inquiry in order to seek answers to the research questions. These included archival and library research, interviews, desk research, fieldwork, and even conferences and seminars. The archival research involved visits to the following archives and libraries: The Malawi National Archives, Antiquities Archives and Library, Museums of Malawi Library, UNESCO Archives and Library, Society of Malawi Library and Archives, Malawi Broadcasting Cooperation Archives, Times Malawi Archives and Library, University of Malawi Library and Malawiana Archives and University of Western Cape Library.

The Malawi National Archives is a public institution under the Department of Culture based in Zomba, the former Capital city. At the Malawi National Archives, I specifically searched for hansards relating to cultural decisions and policies and also old newspapers that covered cultural and heritage issues relating to my study. The Antiquities Archives and Library in Lilongwe together with the Museums of Malawi Library in Blantyre are under the Department Museums and Monuments. These institutions provided me with documents such as minutes, newsletters, reports and policy papers on various cultural and heritage projects and legislation that the department implemented especially focusing on the period covered under this study. The UNESCO Library in Lilongwe, which is under the Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, also provided important materials such as reports, minutes, magazines and policy documents on heritage activities, projects and legislations in Malawi. The Society of Malawi Library and Archive, is a privately-owned archive in Blantyre. It is an institution that collects documents and

archives Malawi's cultural heritage in terms of literature, institutional and government documents from colonial times to the present. In its archive I specifically looked for the reports, minutes and policy papers on culture while in its library I searched for history books, journals of the Society of Malawi with articles that focus on culture, history and heritage issues. The University of Malawi in Zomba has also a special section in its library called Malawiana which archives Malawian literature and documents. In this section I searched for collections on culture and history. The Times Archives and Library in Blantyre keeps the published newspapers from the colonial period to the present. The archives provided me with newspapers covering various topics and issues on culture, politics and heritage in Malawi. At the library and archives of Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) in Blantyre I used the audio-visual materials such as speeches and documentaries covering the state presidents at various cultural events, commemorations and functions. The University of Western Cape Library provided me with books on conceptual issues on heritage. All these materials from various archives and libraries were reviewed and critically analyzed and synthesized into this thesis.

I also conducted interviews and communicated with current heritage practitioners and those who retired from working with Department of Museums and Monuments (formerly Department of Museums and Department of Antiquities) in Malawi. I was interested in their knowledge, and views, experiences regarding the establishment and development of these institutions, their mandates, roles, structures, decision making processes and operations. My interest was also largely on how the institutions and individuals within them are involved in the making of Malawi's heritage in various ways. The interviews further extended to representatives of various cultural institutions and organizations. These included ethnic heritage organizations (others call themselves as foundations or associations). These ethnic heritage associations offered

information on how they construct, promote and conserve their heritage mainly through heritage festivals and other initiatives. Another important institution was the Malawi National Commission for UNESCO. An interview with their representative gave insight into the workings of UNESCO in Malawi particularly in the implementation of the 2003 Convention of Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Other interviews were with people who were directly involved with Malawi Congress Party during Kamuzu Banda era, for example the women dancers, and the military wing members of Malawi Young Pioneers who shed insight into the workings of Kamuzu Banda's regime. I also conducted interviews with members of the Society of Malawi and the Scotland-Malawi Partnership who are directly involved with activities that relate to the history of Malawi.

The research called for field work which involved visiting heritage sites especially monuments and statues, museum exhibitions and attending cultural festivals of ethnic heritage associations. I analyzed the museum exhibitions of Museums of Malawi, Karonga Museum and Chamare Museum. I analyzed the monuments and their narratives. I also observed and analyzed the ethnic festivals that I managed to attend.

I would like to explain that conducting this research especially as someone who is an insider as a staff member of the Department of Museums and Monuments presented advantages and challenges. Being a staff member, the Principle Researcher in Cultural History Section, I enjoyed the privileges of easily accessing some of the research materials and documents which could have been difficult if I was an outsider. With permission from my authorities and my knowledge of the department it was easy for me to identify and locate the appropriate files and documents that I needed. It was also easy to reach to my colleagues for interviews in their offices and in the field when visiting the museums exhibitions and the heritage sites. The curators were

more than ready to assist and help as they saw me as part of the institution. I also participated in some of the cultural projects discussed in the thesis in my capacity as the museum ethnographer. Such was the advantage of being the researcher who is an insider. However, the challenge was on presenting the critique of the analysis in the thesis. How do you objectively critique an institution that you are currently working with? Here I had to walk a tight rope between being an insider and assuming the role of an outsider who conducts analysis of the institutional practices. Some of the issues that I discovered from the institution seemed to be sensitive but worth discussing as they illuminated the dynamics and politics of heritage production in Malawi. Finding myself in this situation I had to ask consent from the department and the staff members to discuss and analyze their views and perspectives in my work. They were more eager to grant permission in this regard as they felt that some important heritage issues that challenge the institution would become a learning resource in the future through the thesis. I was given liberty and consent to use their names or cite them directly in the thesis. The materials presented and discussed in this thesis therefore meet all ethical issues as governed by my department and the ethics committee of my University. The same consent was also sought and granted from all institutions and persons that I engaged with in this research.

Approach and Chapter outline

This thesis is a historical account which addresses various aspects of cultural forms under rubric of heritage. It attempts to be chronological and maintaining a thread of the analysis while responding to the larger question of historicizing the heritage production in Malawi. The thesis is informed and influenced by a critical heritage studies approach ‘that seeks to move beyond a customary focus of heritage studies on technical issues and management and practice, to one that

emphasises heritage as a political, cultural and social phenomenon and product.³⁹ Thus ‘the discourses that frame our understanding of heritage are a performance in which the meaning of the past is continuously negotiated in the context of the needs of the present. This process is then used in a wide range of ways to stabilize or destabilize issues of identity, memory and sense of place.’⁴⁰ Thus ‘heritage is, as much as anything, a political act and we need to ask serious questions about the power relations that “heritage” has all too often been invoked to sustain’.⁴¹ As Rassool and Witz have argued it is necessary to analyse the ‘discursive processes at work in the construction of heritage.’⁴² The six chapters in the thesis provide such ‘discursive processes’ of the production of heritage. The chapters are thematic in nature but within the scope of the timeframe of the thesis. These chapters can broadly be categorized into three major themes of the thesis. These are ethnicity and tribe, museums and ethnographic representation and lastly memory and biography.

Chapter One is an attempt to track the emergence of heritage discourse in Malawi. It does so by looking at the cultural politics of first president Kamuzu Banda. The chapter argues that what was dominant during Banda’s dictatorship was the idea of national culture. The discourse of heritage only came in towards the end of his regime by UNESCO and with the ideals of democracy. However, both national culture and the new discourse of heritage were bounded in ethnicity and tribe.

³⁹ L. Smith, ‘Editorial,’ *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.18, No.6, (2012), p.535.

⁴⁰ L. Smith, ‘Editorial,’ p.535.

⁴¹ L. Smith, ‘Editorial,’ p.535.

⁴² C. Rassool and L. Witz, ‘Transforming Heritage Education in South Africa: a Partnership between the Academy and the Museum,’ (paper presented at SAMP 2001: Strengthening the Network: a Meeting of Africa Museums of the Swedish African Museum Programme, 22-27 August 1999) cited in L. Witz and N. Murray, ‘Fences, Signs and Property: Heritage, Development and the Making of Location in Lwandle,’ in D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures* (Johannesburg: Academic Press, 2015), p.75.

Chapter Two shows how democratic ideals facilitated the discourse of heritage in Malawi through the activities of ethnic based heritage associations and their festivals. These heritage associations and their activities sought to challenge Kamuzu Banda's discourse of national culture, which as the chapter one showed suppressed other cultural identities and expressions, yet still remained very much bound by the idea of heritage as ethnic.

Chapter Three discusses the work of UNESCO in its implementation of the 2003 intangible cultural heritage convention. It shows the relationship between the ethnic based heritage associations and the 2003 convention. The chapter argues that the intangible heritage convention with its claims to universalism ironically reinforced ideas of tribe and ethnicity in Malawi.

Chapter Four discusses the establishment and development of the National Museums of Malawi. It focuses on its presentation and representation in its exhibitions. The chapter is mainly interested to respond to the question of why after colonialism the Museums of Malawi have largely remained institutions which follow an ethnographic mode of representation?

Chapter Five presents a discussion on the memory of Kamuzu Banda. It focuses on how his memory has been at the core of negotiation of power by the three governments who sought to either appropriate his memory and inscribe it as heritage through monuments and commemorative days or scrap his memory and inscribe counter memory as Malawi's heritage. An important feature in the chapter is how the colonial Queen's Day celebrations have been repackaged into a new cultural form called Kamuzu Day.

Chapter Six discusses why the memory of an imperial and colonial figure David Livingstone has been preserved and survived all the three governments in independent Malawi?

It shows the various ways how the different governments of Malawi promoted his memory for the sake of diplomacy with Scotland.

The conclusion returns to the central questions of this work, and in summary restates the main argument that while there are some notable changes in the produced heritage with the changing governments over this period, sometimes older colonial heritage forms from older periods remain in place and can actually be stronger when it seems to align with new heritage. And that the older colonial forms are very powerful hence underlining the residual nature of heritage.



CHAPTER 1

National Culture and Heritage Discourse in Malawi

‘So far as I am concerned, there is no Yao in this country; no Lomwe; no Sena; no Chewa; no Ngoni; no Nyakyusa; no Tonga; there are only ‘Malawians’. That is all.’- President Kamuzu Banda.¹

‘I am a Chewa’ - President Kamuzu Banda.²

Introduction

When scholars make reference to culture, customs, traditions, rituals, belief systems and oral traditions in works on Malawian history, culture and politics that focus on Kamuzu Banda’s presidency from 1964 to late 1980s the word heritage is hardly ever invoked.³ However, in the more recent literature on heritage, scholars usually see all these elements as constituting heritage. Does this mean that no practice, construction or production of heritage took place during Kamuzu Banda’s era? ⁴ Despite the non-use of the term, is it possible to trace the emergence of a heritage discourse in Malawi and craft its trajectory?

¹ L.Vail, and L. White, ‘Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi,’ in L. Vail, (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), p.146; This was part of the speech of President Kamuzu Banda to the Women’s League at State House in Blantyre on 1st January 1970.

² L.Vail, and L. White, ‘Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi,’ p.146; This was part of the speech of President Kamuzu Banda during the Installation of Paramount Chief Lundu at Chikwawa on 5th July 1969. Lundu belongs to the Manga’nja ethnic group in southern region of Malawi which speaks Chimanga’nja or Chinyanja which is a dialect of Chichewa Language. Banda claimed that the Manga’anja were part of the Chewa and therefore they were Chewas. This was part of his cultural project to appropriate smaller groups related to Chewa into the larger ethnic group of Chewa by referring to all of them as Chewa. However, some scholars like Pascal Kishindo have disputed such claims. For example, P. Kishindo, ‘Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,’ in K.M. Phiri and K. R. Ross, (eds), *Democratisation in Malawi: A Stocktaking* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 1998).

³ O. Kalinga, ‘The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnstone, The Influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party,’ *African Affairs*, Vol.97, (1998), pp.523-549; J. McCracken, *A History of Malawi, 1859-1966* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2012); L.Vail and L.White, ‘Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi,’; R. Rotberg, *The rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965); B.Pachai, (ed), *The Early History of Malawi* (London : The Barleyman Press, 1972); P.Short, *Banda* (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul Ltd, 1974); C. Baker, *The Revolt of the Ministers: The Malawi Cabinet Crisis 1964-1965* (London : L. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001).

⁴ G. Abungu, ‘Heritage, Community and the State in the 90s: Experiences from Africa,’ Paper Presented at ‘The Future of the Past’ Conference. UWC, 10-12 July 1996, pp.1-3; P. Arsenault, ‘Language and Culture: Heritage and Horizons: The 1976 Northeast Conference,’ *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 60, No.5/6, (1976), pp. 282-285;

This chapter argues that it is possible to historicize the emergence of a heritage discourse in Malawi from the period of independence in 1964 through to 2009. Of interest to the chapter is the way in which ethnic elements crafted into traditions, customs, performances and language were used in an attempt to create a sense of national identity during Kamuzu Banda's era. During Kamuzu Banda's presidency from 1964 to mid-1980s the use of the concept 'heritage', especially in the phrase 'cultural heritage', to describe culture, tradition, customs and other elements that are presently understood as intangible cultural heritage was infrequent. Thus, during the time of Kamuzu Banda's presidency what was dominant was the idea of national culture rather than cultural heritage. It appears it was only during the mid-1980s, and prominently post-1994 after the implementation of democracy that these mentioned elements came to be reconstructed as heritage. Both Kamuzu Banda's discourse of national culture and the new discourse of heritage sought recourse to the past to reconstruct Malawi's national identity.

The chapter will show that it was through the work of authorizing institutions of heritage, particularly UNESCO with its conventions, which inaugurated the discourse of heritage in Malawi. This heritage discourse as propagated by UNESCO seems to have influenced the legislation of some of the cultural institutions in Malawi. Furthermore, the assertions of democracy post-1994 seem to have added value to the meaning of heritage with its claims to inclusivity of marginalized pasts and traditions. Thus, the appropriation and use of the term 'heritage' came to mean something different to national culture after 1994. The appearance of a democratic state seems to have found a concept that would supposedly embrace the cultural values of all groups constituted as ethnic, unlike the idea of national culture during

C. Waelde, et al, (eds), *Research Handbook on Contemporary Intangible Cultural Heritage : Law and Heritage* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2018); H. Oppenheimer, 'UNESCO 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage: Practical Implications for heritage Management approaches in Africa,' *South Africa archeological Bulletin*, Vol.61, No.184, (2006), pp.166-171.

KamuzuBanda's time that was manipulated and sometimes intimately linked to his Chewa ethnic group and other forms of cultural inventions in an effort to create the identity of the nation while propping up his authoritarian rule. I argue that during the Kamuzu Banda period what was dominant was the discourse of national culture which sought to establish a unique and single Malawian cultural identity as Chewa while suppressing differences within the country. I further argue that the emergence of cultural heritage discourse especially from 1994 challenged Kamuzu Banda's discourse of national culture as Chewa as it promoted the idea of ethnicity as the basis of cultural differences within the country.

The discourse of heritage in Africa

A history of heritage in Malawi is closely linked to wider heritage discourse in Africa. A number of scholars have explored issues of heritage in Africa from different vantage points that range from linguistics to arts and performances, museums, monuments, ethnicity, memorials among others.⁵ Significantly they have located the emergence of the discourse of heritage in Africa within the framework of European colonial enterprise on the continent. Derek Petersen reminds us that a historical approach to understanding the emergence of heritage discourse in Africa is essential 'for it was under the colonial government that both the physical infrastructure and the political rationale for many heritage projects were established.'⁶ Petersen identified two important areas in which the colonial state sought to reconstruct African heritage, these were the

⁵ See D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa*; P. Harries, 'Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity among the Tsonga Speakers of South Africa,' in L.Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, p.77; P. Harries, 'The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of Language Construction in South-East Africa,' *African Affairs*, Vol.87, No.346, (1988), pp 25-52; T. Ranger, 'Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe, in L.Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, p. 325 ;J. E.Tunbridge and G. J.Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Belhaven: John Wiley and Sons, 1996).

⁶ D. Petersen, 'Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,' in D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures* (Johannesburg; Academic Press, 2015), p.3; H. Tilley, (ed), *Ordering Africa: Anthropology, European Imperialism and the Politics of Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.3.

ethnographic museums, albeit in a cruel and objectifying way, and indirect rule. Thus ‘the colonial state had set out to order Africa by developing museum collections, conducting ethnography and sponsoring linguistic research that uncovered the foundations of Africa’s cultural life.’⁷ The colonial policy of the indirect rule proved to be another potent vehicle for the production of the heritage discourse. Thus, for instance, the British administrators supported the legal authority of the local chiefs and other African intermediaries by ‘codifying apparently ancient traditions.’⁸

In their study of heritage in southern Africa Joan McGregor and Lyn Schumacher observed a similar trend in the emergence of heritage in this region. They have argued that ‘in southern Africa no less than in Europe, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a time of particular investment in heritage construction linked to colonial and settler state-building and related nationalisms, and developing ideas about race.’⁹ Furthermore ‘there were dramatic changes to the iconography of urban and rural landscapes as whole new towns were laid out, access to land was transformed, and imposing monuments were designed. The latter were deliberately intended to foster white national pride....’¹⁰ It becomes clear to see that the heritage discourse that emerged under colonial rule was purposefully to govern the subjected societies.

This scenario was to be quite different when the era of self-rule was ushered in the late 1950s and 1960s in most parts of the continent. Thus, in the 1960s ‘the ethnographic order of colonialism was subjected to a challenge during the first decade of African independence.’¹¹ The newly independent African states and their leaders embarked on a project of constructing and

⁷ D. Petersen, ‘Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,’ p.3.

⁸ D. Petersen, ‘Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,’ p.3: See also E. Steinhart, *Conflict and collaboration in the Kingdoms of Western Uganda* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).

⁹ J. McGregor and L. Schumaker, ‘Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and marketing public culture and history,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32, 4, (2006), p.651.

¹⁰ J. McGregor and L. Schumaker, ‘Heritage in Southern Africa,’ (2006), p.651.

¹¹ J. McGregor and L. Schumaker, ‘Heritage in Southern Africa,’ p.651.

building their nations with distinctive African identities. The new leaders sought to rework the architecture of their cultural life which they felt had either been distorted or altogether wrought and destroyed by colonialism. As Frantz Fanon reminds us:

The claim to a national culture in the past does not only rehabilitate that nation and serve as a justification for the hope of a future national culture. In the sphere of psycho-affective equilibrium, it is responsible for an important change in the native. Perhaps we haven't sufficiently demonstrated that colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today.¹²

Again, McGregor and Schumaker pointed out that 'African cultural nationalist movements of the 1950s and 1960s provided the momentum for a new surge of popular interest in African history, and a new context for validating African culture and tradition, challenging colonial constructions of heritage and settler nationalisms.'¹³

Thus, the early years of independence in Africa saw African states entering what Daniel Herwitz has termed as the 'heritage game.' Herwitz has argued that 'by denying the colony its own heritage of origins, the colony was denied its own destiny: a future to be lived on its own terms. By denying the colony a heritage of values and artefacts accreted over time, the colonizer denied it a culture that was capable of being passed on to future generations.'¹⁴ Because of this cultural devaluation, Herwitz observed, the 'decolonizing societies find it essential to enter the heritage game, make themselves heritage.... And so the central part of the post-colonial dialectic is reconceptualising the precolonial past as heritage, finding a way to reclaim that past as the origin of one's future. Heritage becomes the origin of one's future.'¹⁵ In this way, the

¹²See F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1968).

¹³ J. McGregor and L. Schumaker, 'Heritage in Southern Africa,' p.651.

¹⁴ D. Herwitz, *Heritage, Culture and Politics in the Post Colony* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p.20.

¹⁵ D. Herwitz, *Heritage, Culture and Politics in the Post Colony*, p.20.

construction of heritage became ‘intimately linked to identity politics and had a particularly close relationship with the nation and state-building projects.’¹⁶ It was, therefore, no surprise to see how the first African leaders took recourse to the past through such aspects as art, performances and dances, tradition and customs and language as building blocks for post-colonial African heritage and identities. ‘They promoted and supported particular views of the African past as cultures of power were elaborated after independence.’¹⁷ Such nation-building projects by such leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Milton Obote of Uganda, though having some variants, are well documented in post-colonial literature on Africa.¹⁸ In a similar fashion, Ciraj Rassool has explored the social and political dynamics in post-apartheid South Africa that have given rise to heritage and reconstitution of history for post-apartheid identities and new ‘rainbow nation’.¹⁹

Malawi under Kamuzu Banda was no exception in replicating this trend. Valdimar Hafstein has provided an important analytical distinction in understanding the differences between ‘national culture’ and ‘cultural heritage’ in relation to the cultural works in Africa and elsewhere at different periods. He has argued that the idea of ‘national culture’ came before that of ‘cultural heritage’. National culture suppresses internal differences while cultural heritage promotes internal differences. Hafstein writes that

Whereas cultural heritage obscures class difference, it highlights cultural differences. Formed in essential respects in the second half of the twentieth century, the patrimonial regime succeeds and partially supersedes the earlier regime of ‘national culture’, the heyday of

¹⁶J. McGregor and L. Shumaker, ‘Heritage in Southern Africa,’ p.650.

¹⁷ See D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa*; J. Hess, ‘Exhibiting Ghana: Display, Documentary and ‘National’ Art in the Nkrumah era,’ *African Studies Review*, 44, (2001): 59-77

¹⁸ See D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa*; J. Hess, ‘Exhibiting Ghana: Display, Documentary and ‘National’ Art in the Nkrumah era,’ *African Studies Review*, 44, (2001): 59-77; E. Mutesa, *The Desecration of My Kingdom* (London: Costable, 1967); P. Mutibwa, *The Buganda Factor in Uganda Politics* (Kampala: Fountain, 2008).

¹⁹ C. Rassool, ‘The Rise of heritage and reconstitution of history in South Africa’, *KRONOS*, Vol. 26, (2000), pp.1-21.

which was in the latter half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. *If national culture was a tool for forging cultural differences along state border while suppressing difference within borders, cultural heritage is a more versatile instrument for representing and orchestrating differences within the state as well as between states. The patrimonial regime presents a postmodern strategy for coping with difference as states come to terms with the failure of the modern regime of national culture.* [my emphasis]²⁰

In a similar vein to the above, Michael Akuupa following John and Jean Comaroff argued that ‘postcolonial states found themselves faced with enormous diversity and very few unifying elements as they sought to reconstruct themselves.... They struggled with competing demands of difference and unity. African leaders developed different approaches to the problem of internal unification and almost all placed much dependence on the production of national culture.’²¹ Similarly Derek Petersen has observed that in the 1960s and 1970s what was common was that ‘African politicians sought to build the nation by integrating disparate ethnicities, constituting the basis for unitary national cultures.’²² Thus ‘nationalists saw tribalism as the leading impediment to unity, and they used the power of the state to re-engineer political identities.’²³ But as the case of Banda shows he was being tribalistic in the re-engineering of these identities. Desmond Phiri, a Malawian historian holds strongly that the authoritarian regime of Kamuzu Banda had restricted the way culture should be practised and suggested that it was in total contrast to how this is understood presently. Thus in Kamuzu Banda’s time, public gatherings had to be under the umbrella and consent of his party, the Malawi Congress Party. Therefore it was not permissible for a certain group of people to gather and pronounce themselves as

²⁰ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage: Elcondor Pasa and other Stories from UNESCO* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2018), p.8.

²¹ M. Akuupa, ‘The formation of “National Culture” in Post- Apartheid Namibia; A focus on State sponsored Festivals in Akavango region,’ Doctoral Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of the Western Cape (Unpublished, 2015), p.42.

²² D. Petersen, ‘Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,’ p.1.

²³ D. Petersen, ‘Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,’ p.11.

celebrating a certain different kind of culture. Doing so would have attracted the accusation of emphasizing one's tribal identity: 'somebody would say look they are organizing a subversive party and you would be in trouble.'²⁴ People had to be very extra cautious not to project themselves as promoting specific types of ethnicity that ran counter to the official script. It seems Kamuzu Banda did not encourage many different groups of people to mobilise themselves and express themselves in cultural forms in ways that would challenge what he thought was national culture. For example, in 1965, evidently one year after the cabinet crisis, when the non-Chewa ministers had challenged Banda's policies, *The Times* newspaper reported that 'the Office of the Prime Minister announced yesterday that Dr. Banda has deposed chief Nsomba of Blantyre district. A spokesman said this action had been taken because it has come to the Prime Minister's notice that the ex-chief has engaged in subversive political activities under the guise of organizing a co-operative society in Mpemba area.'²⁵ Chief Nsomba is a Yao chief and not Chewa.²⁶ Desmond Phiri comments:

We used to speak of Malawian culture believing that there was a Malawian culture which we all practice. But there was the Lomwe culture, Yao culture, Sena, Ngoni culture and so forth but these were not emphasized. But we had to speak of Malawian culture which was more very general. There was really an expressed fear that if we emphasise this it will be seen as promoting disunity. Because Dr Banda used to say now there is no Chewa, there is no Lomwe no Yao so forth. At the same time, he was promoting Chewa.²⁷

Phiri above was referring to Kamuzu Banda's speech to the Women's League at State House in Blantyre on 1 January 1970. Kamuzu Banda had spoken of how he wanted to have one single Malawian culture. This would mean that expressions of other cultures should not compete with

²⁴Interview with Malawian Historian, D. D Phiri, Blantyre, 8 February 2018; Same ideas were expressed during an interview with Upson Thole, Secretary for Mzimba Heritage Association, in Mzuzu on 29 June 2018.

²⁵'P. M deposes chief Nsomba,' *The Times*, 5 March 1965, p.1

²⁶'P. M deposes chief Nsomba,' *The Times*, 5 March 1965, p.1.

²⁷ Interview with D.DPhiri, Blantyre, 8 February 2018.

the national culture. Kamuzu Banda's appeal resonates with Barhu Zwede's argument that 'the post-colonial state has not been particularly successful in establishing a pluralist order that could accommodate multiple identities. Indeed identities have tended to be manipulated by the political elite in the interest of political power.'²⁸ What Kamuzu Banda was promoting was actually his Chewa culture as Malawian or national culture while suppressing other groups.

Even though at different time period, Hafstein's analytical distinction above is crucial in understanding Kamuzu Banda's politics at the time in relation to culture as well as the emergence and significant meanings of the cultural heritage discourse in Malawi. In the next section I will explore and discuss in detail the post-colonial cultural production in Malawi by examining Kamuzu Banda's political works in relation to politics of nation-building and Malawi's post-colonial identity in order to argue for the fact that during this period what was dominant was the notion of constructing a national culture based upon a singular ethnicity which sought to suppress internal cultural differences in order to produce a single Malawian cultural identity.

Kamuzu Banda's imagination of national culture and Malawi's identity: 1964 to 1994

In this section I argue that Kamuzu Banda used the cultural symbols, iconography, traditions and customs from his Chewa ethnic group to construct the notion of Malawi national culture and identity. Issues of cultural policy of the nation were dictated by Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party and most of the times announced as presidential decrees at party functions or public rallies. Effectively, the autocratic regime of Kamuzu Banda exercised strong state intervention led by extensive regulation and manipulation of culture that made his

²⁸ B. Zwede, 'Introduction,' in B. Zwede, (ed), *Society, State and Identity in African History* (Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies, 1998), p.7.

government the biggest resource provider, planner and coordinator of all cultural works in Malawi.²⁹

Chijere Chirwa has divided Kamuzu Banda's rule into four distinct periods. The first period was of political mobilization spanning from his return home in 1958 to the attainment of independence in 1964. After this was the period in which Kamuzu Banda sought to consolidate his power, from 1965 to 1969, during which he eliminated elements of internal opposition and began to position himself as the main person in Malawi's politics. Chirwa argued that 'the early 1970s up to the late 1980s was the zenith of Banda's 'dictatorial leadership with political deportations, detentions (sometimes without trial) and in some cases, the killing of those who did not subscribe to his autocracy.'³⁰ While the early 1990s, between 1992 and 1994, was a period of the decline and fall of Banda's dictatorship and the introduction of a multi-party democracy in Malawi.³¹ The history of Kamuzu Banda has been extensively written and variously theorized by many scholars.³² It is Kamuzu Banda's politics of 1964 to 1994 that I focus on when discussing and analyzing his ideas, works and activities on issues of Malawi's national culture in as far as cultural symbols and language are concerned.

I would like to draw on two important analytic frameworks suggested by Clive Gaby in trying to understand the different ways in which Kamuzu Banda sought to create Malawi's national culture and identity. Gaby argued that 'Kamuzu Banda's life and practice illustrated a

²⁹ See P. Kishindo, 'Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi.' In K..M Phiri and K.R. Ross, (eds), *Democratisation in Malawi: A Stocktaking* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 1998).

³⁰ W.Chirwa, 'Dancing Towards Dictatorship: Political Songs and Popular Culture in Malawi,' *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 10, (1),(2001), p.3.

³¹ W.Chirwa, 'Dancing Towards Dictatorship,' p.3.

³² P.Short, *Banda* (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul Ltd, 1974); C.Baker , *The Revolt of the Ministers: The Malawi Cabinet Crisis 1964-1965* (London :L.B.Tauris Publishers, 2001); J.McCracken, *A History of Malawi, 1859-1966*(Woodbridge: Boydell& BrewerLtd, 2012); J. Lwanda, *Kamuzu Banda of Malawi: A Study in Promise, Power, and Legacy* (Zomba, Malawi: Kachere Series, 2009); J.Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi: Building Kwacha*(Rochester, NewYork:University of Rochester Press, 2010).

complex interplay between two types of conservatism: a more radical anti-colonial conservatism and a more, reactionary post-colonial conservatism.³³ Even though Gaby does not explicitly define these frameworks it is easy to grasp their meanings in the way he applies and contextualizes them. Here what he calls ‘radical anti-colonial cultural conservatism’ refers to the way Kamuzu Banda promoted Malawian customs, belief systems and older practices presented as traditional against western customs as a way of asserting the sovereignty and identity of the newly independent nation. In other words, it was radical in the sense that it was supposedly against the colonial system but it was conservative in the ways that it promoted an idea of precolonial ‘tradition.’ ‘Reactionary post-colonial cultural conservatism’ then points to the way he responded to internal politics. Consequently, this resulted in promoting the cultural symbols and customs of his ethnic group Chewa to represent the national culture and identity.

Gaby wrote that Kamuzu Banda’s cultural politics was premised on a strong rejection of British imperialism and its espoused western standards and culture in order to protect Malawian customs and culture. Drawing on Kamuzu Banda’s earlier experiences and involvement with radical elements in America in the 1920s and with the anti-colonialists and pan-Africanists in Great Britain in 1940s Gaby argued that ‘Banda’s politics were revealing of anti-colonial conservative cultural nationalism and pan-Africanism that continued to inform some of his pronouncements concerning cultural politics in independent Malawi.’³⁴ For example, Kamuzu Banda contended that the western culture which he had experienced for a long time was inferior to Malawian traditions and cultures. Gaby notes that Banda could occasionally express his shock to see so-called educated Africans...imitate the missionaries and their English values in

³³ C.Gaby, ‘The Radical and Reactionary Politics of Malawi’s Hastings Banda: Roots, Fruits and Legacy,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 6, (2017), p.1119.

³⁴ C. Gaby, ‘The Radical and Reactionary Politics,’ p.1124.

disregard of their African values; ‘You are a Chewa: why then, should you imitate an Englishman...or any other foreigner?’ Banda would argue.³⁵

According to Gaby ‘this affirmation of indigenous culture was, of course, by now about more than simple anti-colonial sentiment. It was also about post-colonial nation-building, conferring national prominence on one ethnic identity Chewa.’³⁶ Gaby noted that like other leaders of his generation, Kamuzu Banda was ‘an enthusiastic advocate of a style used at the time, which involved resurrecting a narrative of historical-cultural greatness to justify both the anti-colonial struggle and the importance of the strong leader with that struggle.’³⁷ Gaby further observed that ‘in this way, Banda reserved some of his most scathing anti-colonial statements for the theme of indigenous consciousness.’³⁸ For instance, Kamuzu Banda could retort that,

Europeans made a mistake ... Just because they came here and found us with no bible ... they thought we were savages and called us savages, but we were not. We had our own code of ethics which was in many, many ways even superior to the Europeans’ code of ethics, much superior.³⁹

Commenting on the above passage Gaby observed that ‘this illustrates how an indigenous conservatism can actually be radical and anti-colonial in asserting the rejection of Eurocentric cosmologies and ways of being. Simultaneously, however, there is also a significant instrumental and political agenda in play, which transforms that anti-colonial radicalism into a post-colonial reactionary conservative cultural nationalism.’⁴⁰

Kings Phiri wrote that the interest in African culture which Kamuzu Banda began to develop while he was a student in the USA was one he was able to sustain when he was in

³⁵ C. Gaby, ‘The Radical and Reactionary Politics,’ p.1124.

³⁶ C. Gaby, ‘The Radical and Reactionary Politics,’ p.1124.

³⁷ C. Gaby, ‘The Radical and Reactionary Politics,’ p.1124.

³⁸ C. Gaby, ‘The Radical and Reactionary Politics,’ p.1124.

³⁹ C. Gaby, ‘The Radical and Reactionary Politics,’ p.1124.

⁴⁰ C. Gaby, ‘The Radical and Reactionary Politics,’ p.1124.

Britain ‘as a mature student and medical practitioner between 1938 and 1953.’ While in Scotland he took pains to present what he claimed was an authentic interpretation of the African way of life to western audiences, ‘and demonstrate that ethical and civic virtues were not a monopoly of the western world.’⁴¹ A turning point in Kamuzu Banda’s effort at the vindication of African culture was his co-authorship in 1946 of *Our African Way of Life* which he wrote with Thomas Cullen Young, who was for twenty-seven years (1904-1931) a Livingstonia missionary in northern and central Malawi. In fact, as Leroy Vail has argued the Livingstonia missionaries were crucial in the reconstruction of culture and identities in Malawi.⁴² *Our African Way of Life* was about the traditional Malawian way of life in which Banda and Young tried to construct and demonstrate, to a largely skeptical western audience, what was good and worth preserving about what he termed ‘traditional Africa’. Phiri wrote that ‘the material that went into the book was compiled in 1943/44 by three young Nyasas or Malawian writers as stories for the African writers competition sponsored by the International African Institute.’⁴³ Banda and Young prepared the material and presented it in ‘an enlightening anthropological framework, on the understanding that dissemination of such material and information was the best way of promoting the interpretation of African ways and thought by African themselves.’⁴⁴ Phiri pointed that following the publication of *Our African way of life*, Banda continued to exchange ideas with Rev. Young on the future of African culture and on the Africa continent and the importance

⁴¹ K. M. Phiri, ‘Dr Banda’s Cultural Legacy and its Implications in Malawi,’ in K. M. Phiri and K. R. Ross, (eds), *Democratisation in Malawi: A stocktaking* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 1998), p.130.

⁴² The Livingstonia missionaries were also crucial in constructing the northern region identity based on Tumbuka culture especially language. This regional identity has become a critical discourse in the politics of identity, tribalism and power in Malawi as will be elucidated in the next chapter. See L. Vail, and L. White, ‘Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi,’ in L. Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, pp.151-185.

⁴³ K. M. ‘Dr Banda’s Cultural Legacy,’ p.140.

⁴⁴ K. M. ‘Dr Banda’s Cultural Legacy,’ p.145.

of preserving worthwhile traditional African values. In parallel views to Kings Phiri, Clive Gaby also argued that

The seemingly more radical sentiments that Banda exhibited in the post-independence period drew on the genuine anti-colonial cultural nationalism he developed during his time in the UK. He had worked then as a propagandist for the Nyasa struggle for independence, and, with a former missionary in Nyasaland, Cullen Young, particularly on an edited volume on Chewa culture, which they published in the 1940s. By the time he acceded to the presidency, however, this anti-colonial cultural nationalism had become largely subsumed by a reactionary post-colonial cultural nationalism. Cultural nationalism gave him 'radical' legitimacy while also serving to bolster his rule against what he perceived as domestic and foreign enemies (which, in the case of the 'cabinet crisis', turned out to be real).⁴⁵

It is worth mentioning that Kamuzu Banda's 'reactionary post-colonial cultural conservatism' was also framed in the invention of some new traditions as well as manipulating the Chewa customs and other customs from other groups to make his governance appear as one based on what was perceived as African ways of life anchored in pre-colonial customs. Reuben Chirambo, John Lwanda and Lisa Gilman have illustrated how some Chewa traditions for instance that of *Mbumba* and *Nkhoswe* were adopted and incorporated by Kamuzu Banda in his cultural and political discourses of the nation.⁴⁶ *Nkhoswe* explains a relationship between men (*nkhoswe*) and women siblings (*mbumba*) particularly in the matrilineal society of the Chewa of central Malawi. Following Young and Banda, Chirambo described the relationship as follows:

All the male members of a Chewa family on the mother's side are *nkhoswe* to all the female members on the mother's side. That is to say, if you are a male, all your mother's brothers, all your own brothers from the mother, you yourself, and all sons of your mother's sister are *nkhoswe* to your mother and to her mother, to all of her full sisters, to all daughters of your

⁴⁵ C. Gaby, 'The Radical and Reactionary Politics,' p.1125.

⁴⁶See R.Chirambo, 'Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship: Song, Dance, and Politics in Malawi, 1964–1994.' Doctoral Thesis, University of Minnesota (Unpublished, 2005); L.Gilman, 'The Tradionalisation of Women's Dancing, Hegemony and Politics in Malawi,' *Journal of Folklore Research*, Vol.41. No.1, (2004), pp.33-60; J. Lwanda, *Kamuzu Banda of Malawi: A Study in Promise, Power and Paralysis* (Glasgow: Dudu Nsomba Publications, 1993).

mother.⁴⁷

The women form what is called *mbumba*. Thus, even typically matrilineal societies recognize the male members of the family or household as overall in charge of their female counterparts. Young and Banda explain the implications of the relationship between *nkhoswe* and *mbumba* as follows: ‘And being *nkhoswe* to them [*mbumba*\ you, as a male and no matter how young you are, are a Responsible Relative....When you say “They are my *mbumba*”, or, “She is my *mbumba*\ you are admitting a responsibility in law; you are *not* claiming them or her as particular sort of relative such as aunt, cousin, sister or daughter. All *nkhoswe* are responsible in law not only for the well-being but also for the good conduct of their *mbumba*... *nkhoswe* [is] an “advocate” and a “sustainer” of his *mbumba*.’⁴⁸

Young and Banda explained that ‘it is the *nkhoswe*, for example, who is sued for offences committed by the *mbumba*. Also, the *nkhoswe* sues if his *mbumba* is wronged. The *nkhoswe* is, therefore, the guardian, protector, and in case of need, the provider for his *mbumba*. He is sometimes called *Mwini-mbumba*, (literally, the owner of *mbumba*).’⁴⁹ Thus, ‘when Kamuzu Banda became *Nkhoswe* No. 1, it was an appropriation of a specific cultural tradition and extending it over the entire nation. Now all women in Malawi and by implication those associated with them were Banda’s *mbumba*. Through this, Kamuzu Banda placed women in Malawi under his direct tutelage and protection, guiding their lives and providing for their needs. Kamuzu Banda took his responsibility as *nkhoswe* literally.’⁵⁰ Chirambo argues that ‘it was never a symbolic title. In his public speeches, for example, Kamuzu Banda frequently threatened that as *nkhoswe* he would deal with any man abusing *his mbumba* in Malawi.’⁵¹

⁴⁷ R. Chirambo, ‘Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship,’ p.52; See C. Young, and H.K. Banda, (eds), *Our African Way of Life* (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1946).

⁴⁸ R. Chirambo, ‘Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship,’ p.52.

⁴⁹ R. Chirambo, ‘Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship,’ p.52.

⁵⁰ R. Chirambo, ‘Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship,’ p.52.

⁵¹ R. Chirambo, ‘Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship,’ p.53.

Chirambo has argued that Kamuzu Banda exploited this paternalistic relationship to gain the people's support and trust, particularly women. For example, in the 1970s and 1980s, which were probably the peak of the hegemony of Kamuzu Banda and MCP, 'some of the people that were detained for political reasons were betrayed to the party by their spouses, especially women.'⁵²All this was both to legitimize his rule as different from the British and also to build the nation based on ethnic iconography which was largely Chewa. Joey Power succinctly captures this:

Banda mined the precolonial past to legitimate his present, ostensibly in the service of national unity...It came to include the cavalier use of traditional symbols and metaphors to support nation-building and his central place in it. As *Nkhoswe* number one, for example, he changed kinship relationship into a political relationship playing the role of guardian uncle to the nation's women. ...As with the title of *Nkhoswe*, he often invoked the kinship idiom to support order. A good nation like a good village was where the headmen and all the leaders are respected by all: and where the young respect parents and where no one tries to harm another. If there is even one person who belittles another person or works harm, then the village is spoiled.⁵³

Thus Kamuzu Banda could also manipulate tradition in such a way to homogenize Malawi's culture through symbols, ceremonies and legislation. As Joey Power has observed this in many ways resonated with many Malawians especially those in the rural areas who felt that Kamuzu Banda was incorporating them into the larger politics of the country.⁵⁴ It can also be argued that though the above traditions were perceived to be precolonial Kamuzu Banda had made them politically very new and in the process invented them in Malawi's political arena.

It is also important to note that while Kamuzu Banda was imagining the national culture and identity of Malawians to be purely based on what he constructed as African traditions his

⁵² R. Chirambo, 'Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship,' p.54.

⁵³ J. Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi: Building Kwacha* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2010), p.192.

⁵⁴ J. Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, p.192.

personality was a contradiction. Kamuzu Banda's 'British culture and his sartorialism' questioned his espousal of what he maintained were 'African', 'Malawian' values. On Kamuzu Banda's anglophile personality Gaby has argued that

The pride that Banda seemed to take in his own dress and his famed British fashion sense reinforces the importance of paying attention to the anti-colonial and post-colonial tensions in his conservative approach to culture. On the surface, his adherence to British dress would seem to contradict the anti-colonial message implicit in the miniskirt ban. However, this pride in dress was linked by Banda to its opposite – nakedness – thereby implicitly articulating a discourse on autonomous national development.⁵⁵

Citing Kamuzu Banda's obituary in one paper in London Gaby provides a vivid picture of Banda's Britishness: '[h]e was becoming eccentrically European ... [and] very British, [he] parted his hair and adopted a Homburg hat, furred umbrella and dark three-piece suit.'⁵⁶ Thus Kamuzu Banda was mostly promoting western values for himself while making claims to African tradition for his people. While he was expressing profound commitment to a conservative Malawian culture he could also give some room for change if necessary to adopt British values. Look at the following remarks Kamuzu Banda made five years after independence:

My view, the reason why Britain is the most stable country in the world ... is that the British people are sensible enough not to throw overboard their old and ancient institutions overnight I want the same here. While I want us to adopt new ways of life; while I want us to copy the good from other people, I do not want us to just throw away everything that is ours by tradition. We must change gradually.⁵⁷

I would argue that while Kamuzu Banda was invoking tradition for Malawians in the sense of making it inflexible and unchanging like the colonial mentality he was also willing to adopt the

⁵⁵ J. Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, p.192.

⁵⁶ C. Gaby, 'The Radical and Reactionary Politics,' p.1123.

⁵⁷ C. Gaby, 'The Radical and Reactionary Politics,' p.1123.

old British values and traditions that he evoked. Kamuzu Banda's imagination of Malawi's national culture and identity, I would argue, was based on African traditions that he either promoted or manipulated and to some extent invented. His imagination of Malawi's culture and tradition was also through Victorian tradition by his emphasis on some British values. I would further argue that Kamuzu Banda's cultural production during this period was not one only reinforced by the interplay and tensions between the two forms of cultural nationalism as suggested by Clive Gaby, 'radical anti-colonial conservatism' and 'the reactionary post-colonial conservatism' but also what I would call 'British traditional conservatism'. Kamuzu Banda's promotion of traditional dances, cultural symbols and the promotion of Chichewa as the national language and English as official language seem to support this argument.

Language and constructing the idea of the nation in Kamuzu Banda's Malawi

Apart from the cultural symbols and iconography from his ethnic group Kamuzu Banda proceeded to promote other cultural values of his ethnic group Chewa and transposed them as cultural markers of the new nation of Malawi. For instance, the name of the new nation 'Malawi' was derived from the precolonial polity of Maravi in which the Chewa was a dominant ethnic group. As Kalinga observed 'the choice of the name Malawi was very much in keeping with Banda's own understanding of the history of the region.'⁵⁸ Kalinga reckons that 'Kamuzu Banda always insisted that the current boundaries of Malawi were not a reflection of the historical situation of the area because the Maravi state was much bigger than the entity created by the British at the end of the nineteenth century.'⁵⁹ Lwande has argued that 'by giving the new nation a name of a once a powerful kingdom of Maravi, Kamuzu Banda's vision appeared to be that of

⁵⁸ O. Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s,' p.539.

⁵⁹ O. Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s,' p.539.

recreating a greater Chewa nation.’⁶⁰ Kamuzu Banda saw the language of his ethnic group Chewa as instrumental in his vision for constructing the idea of the nation of Malawi. This promotion of Chewa customs reflects the ‘reactionary post-colonial cultural conservatism’. There was cultural production that was Malawian but biased towards his ethnic group. Thus it was ethnic nationalism that had embraced ethnocentrism.

It is important to point out that the debates over the issue of national language in Malawi had not risen during Kamuzu Banda’s time. During the colonial time, this was one of the contentious issues between the colonial government and the missionaries who evangelized in local languages especially Chitumbuka, as was the case with Livingstonia Mission in the northern Malawi and Chinyanja as was the case with the other missionaries. Because Chinyanja was spoken by the majority population in the colony it was adopted by the colonial administration. However, in two different cases, the Livingstonia mission won the debate of maintaining Chitumbuka as the main language for evangelization and education in the northern region. Thus ‘in 1947 Chitumbuka and Chinyanja were given official status despite the fact that the former was spoken by a small fraction of the population.’⁶¹ When Malawi had attained self-

⁶⁰ See J. Lwanda, *Kamuzu Banda of Malawi: A Study in Promise, Power and Paralysis* (Glasgow: Dudu Nsomba Publications, 1993).

⁶¹ For detailed discussion on the debates of Chinyanja and Chitumbuka between missionaries and colonial government see National Archives of Malawi, File number MP-No 449/32, ‘Chinyanja as A subject and as Medium of Instruction in Schools for Africans in the Protectorate; Inclusion as a Subject in School Curriculum’. Letter Ref. Number 79/1/7, 11 /09 1932; National Archives of Malawi, File number MP-No 449/32, ‘Chinyanja as A subject and as Medium of Instruction in Schools for Africans in the Protectorate; Inclusion as a Subject in School Curriculum’, Letter Titled ‘Nyanja in Tumbuka Schools, Loudon Station, Mzimba’. 15 /01/ 1933; National Archives of Malawi, File number MP-No 449/32, ‘ Chinyanja as A subject and as Medium of Instruction in Schools for Africans in the Protectorate; Inclusion as a Subject in School Curriculum’, Letter Titled ‘Dutch Reformed Church Mission, Nkhoma Nyasaland,’ 18.8.32; National Archives of Malawi, File number MP-No 449/32, ‘ Chinyanja as A subject and as Medium of Instruction in Schools for Africans in the Protectorate; Inclusion as a Subject in School Curriculum’, Letter Titled ‘White Fathers Mission, Bembeke, Dedza, Nyasaland.’ 10/08, 1932; National Archives of Malawi, File number MP-No 449/32, ‘ Chinyanja as A subject and as Medium of Instruction in Schools for Africans in the Protectorate; Inclusion as a Subject in School Curriculum’, Letter Titled, ‘To the Hon. Chief secretary,’; National Archives of Malawi, File number MP-No 449/32, ‘ Chinyanja as A subject and as Medium of Instruction in Schools for Africans in the Protectorate; Inclusion as a Subject in School Curriculum’, Letter by The Livingstonia Mission Church of Scotland titled ‘ Statement on the Proposal of Government to Enforce The Teaching of Chinyanja in Village Schools After 1934 As Minuted by the Mission Council of the Livingstonia

rule it maintained the colonial policy of having these two languages enjoying official status. It was only in 1968 at the Malawi Congress Party's annual convention that Kamuzu Banda announced his interest and decreed that Chinyanja be made a national language. In solidarity with the president's declaration, a resolution was passed. The delegates unanimously claimed that 'the declaration was in the interest of national unity and cohesion that Malawi adopt Chinyanja as national language, that the name Chinyanja should henceforth be known as Chichewa, that Chichewa and English should be the official languages of the state of Malawi and that all other languages would continue to be in everyday private life in their respective areas.'⁶² To expedite and effect what Kishindo referred to as 'Chichewaisation' of Malawi 'the high status of Chichewa was strengthened by, among other strategies, the creation of a Department of Chichewa and Linguistics at the University of Malawi, the establishment of the Chichewa Board to monitor and steer the development of Chichewa, the launching of a project to compile a monolingual dictionary of Chichewa, the use of Chichewa as the medium of instruction in junior primary schools throughout Malawi, the existence of Chichewa as a subject of study in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions of learning, and the existence of Chichewa as the only indigenous language accepted in the print and electronic media and in government notices.'⁶³ According to Kishindo there were limited opportunities for others who did not identify themselves

Mission of the Church of Scotland', July ,1933; E. Kayambazinthu, 'Language Planning Situation in Malawi,' in R. Baldauf and R. Kaplan,(eds), *Language Planning and Policy in Malawi Vol.1: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa*.(Clevedon: Cromwell Press, 2004); G. Kamwendo, 'Language, Identity and Politics of Recognition in Post-Banda Northern Malawi,' *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 31 (1-2)(2005); L.Vail and L.White., 'Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi' in L. Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*; B. Mkandawire, 'Ethnicity, Language and Cultural Violence', *The Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol.63, No.1(2010),pp.23-42.

⁶² P. Kishindo, 'Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,' p.375; E. Kayambazinthu, 'Language Planning Situation in Malawi,' p252-280.

⁶³ G. Kamwendo, 'Ethnic revival and language associations in the new Malawi,' p.141; E. Kambayambazinthu, 'Language Planning Situation in Malawi,' p.114; P. Kishindo, 'The Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,' p.252-280.

as Chewa to show pride in indigenous languages. The then sole radio station, the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), though officially bilingual in Chichewa and English, tolerated what were referred to as traditional songs in many of the numerous Malawian languages. However, most of the cultural programs tended to portray Chewa perspectives of life. The radio had two programs, *Tiphunzitsane Chichewa* (Let's teach each other Chichewa) and *Chichewa cha kumudzi* (Chichewa of the village), whose goal was to promote 'good' Chichewa.⁶⁴

As Kayambazinthu has noted, 'the message in the late 1960s and 1970s was clear: The Chewa people and the Chewa culture were the identity markers of post-colonial Malawi by virtue of being perceived as the most ancient and least compromised by colonialism and Malawi culture would be considered synonymous with Chewa culture.'⁶⁵ Among the non-Chewa to learn to speak Chichewa was regarded as progressive and advanced and speaking one's local language was perceived as being primitive and backward.⁶⁶ As such, some people from other ethnic groups especially the Lomwe started to identify themselves as Chewa, an issue which would have a long term effect on a Lomwe identity and language as the next chapter will show. Kishindo argued that 'the adoption of the resolutions ignited a wave of resentment not only from those who feared that it would have an adverse impact on the development of major local languages like Chitumbuka in the north and Chiyao in the south but also among those who resented the suppression of Chinyanja by Chichewa.'⁶⁷ The notable effect of this declaration 'was the proscription of Chitumbuka on the radio, print media and as the language of instruction

⁶⁴ P. Kishindo, 'The Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,' p.258.

⁶⁵ E. Kambayazinthu, 'Language Planning Situation in Malawi,' p.114.

⁶⁶ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda, The Chief Curator at Department of Museums and Monuments in Malawi, Blantyre, 5 February 2018.

⁶⁷ Chinyanja is the main language spoken by the various groups of the people who belonged to Maravi Kingdom of which Chewa people are among them. Chichewa therefore is a variant or dialect of Chinyanja. After 1968 Chitumbuka was still used for liturgical purposes by the Livingstonia Mission in the northern Malawi.

in the first five years of primary education in the north where Chitumbuka is predominantly spoken.⁶⁸ However, even though there was such resentment they were unable to challenge the autocratic rule of Kamuzu Banda.⁶⁹ For example, Gregory Kamwendo highlighted that ‘an ordinary person who criticised or lamented the ban on Chitumbuka attracted the wrath of the heavy-handed Kamuzu Banda regime. Some critics of the ban were arrested whilst others were harassed in various ways.’⁷⁰ Kamuzu Banda used to claim that all other groups who spoke Chinyanja were actually Chewa people and it was not wrong to make Chichewa a national language. This is an assertion which has been challenged by many Malawian scholars who have shown that Chinyanja is the main language and Chewa is just a dialect and that Kamuzu Banda promoted a dialect over the parent language for his political reasons.⁷¹ Thus what Banda did was tantamount to the ethnicisation of the language.

Today a poignant question that is always in the public and academic discourse in Malawi is whether Kamuzu Banda’s declaration of Chichewa achieved the national construction and unity that he claimed and whether it was cultural homogenization or ethnic particularism? Some argue that there were good reasons for declaring Chichewa as a national language. Their basis of justification lies in the country’s demographics. They point that during the time the Chewa as a so-called ethnic group was the majority and also the larger population was able to speak

⁶⁸ E. Kambayazinthu, ‘Language Planning Situation in Malawi,’ p.114.

⁶⁹ These resolutions meant that Chitumbuka’s official status had been taken away. This was a big setback to those people in the northern region who had hoped that the advent of independence would create a climate conducive to the further development and promotion of Chitumbuka. Whilst during the colonial era the Livingstonia Mission had rallied the northern region in protest against the colonial government’s decision to make Chinyanja the national language, the church could not do the same in the wake of the MCP’s resolutions. The cost of daring to oppose Dr Banda and his MCP government was just too high.

⁷⁰ G. Kamwendo, ‘Ethnic revival and language associations in the new Malawi: The case of Chitumbuka,’ in H. Englund, (ed), *A democracy of chameleons: Politics and culture in the new Malawi* (Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 2002), p.142.

⁷¹ Interview with D. D Phiri; See P. Kishindo, ‘Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,’ In K..M Phiri and K.R. Ross, (eds), *Democratisation in Malawi: A Stocktaking* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 1998), p.254-255.

Chinyanja which is the root of Chewa. So it was easy to recognize the language that was common to the larger percentage. They also see it on the economic side. Thus it was easy and cheaper to publish in Chichewa to the larger audience than in other languages.⁷² On unity, some feel that it achieved unity especially in creating an identity not as Chewa but as Malawians. And that this 'did not mean everyone should be Chewa but everybody should be Malawian by identifying yourself with that language.'⁷³ Others while recognizing the effect this had in enhancing communication across the people of different ethnic backgrounds never hesitate to point the problems which this policy engendered. They argue that because of the declaration there was retardation in the development of Chitumbuka and other languages. They also argue in terms of the aesthetics of the language because not everybody could be creative in written Chichewa.⁷⁴ Kamuzu Banda's declaration of Chichewa is also seen by some as 'cultural violence' which he committed against Malawians when he censored languages of other ethnically designated groups in preference for his own.⁷⁵ Yet others feel that Kamuzu Banda's declaration did not achieve unity at all. In fact, it was just renaming of the language as the *Nyansas* (how Malawians were commonly called during colonial times especially when outside the country) their common language was Chinyanja. And that what Kamuzu Banda did was promoting an element of tribalism when he declared that people from the south who were Nyanja speakers were actually southern Chewa.⁷⁶ Joey Power argues that 'choosing Chichewa as the official

⁷² Interview with Aaron Maluwa, The Education officer of Department of Museums and Monuments of Malawi, Chichiri Museum, Blantyre, 5 February 2018; Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda, The Chief Curator at Department of Museums and Monuments in Malawi, Blantyre, 5 February 2018.

⁷³ Interview with Aaron Maluwa; Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

⁷⁴ Interview with Aaron Maluwa; Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

⁷⁵ B. Mkandawire, 'Ethnicity, Language and Cultural Violence,' *The Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol.63, No.1, (2010), pp.23-42.

⁷⁶ Interview with Malawian Historian, D.D Phiri, Blantyre, 8 February 2018.

language of the state alongside English far from encouraging unity, it alienated those who by virtue of being no-Chewa felt less “national”.⁷⁷

Scholars have written against the type of nation-building that was promoted by Kamuzu Banda. They argue that ‘nation-building amounts to nation killing with the dominant group homogenizing diversity under its hegemonic claims.’⁷⁸ They further caution that

The use of nationalist terminology is dangerous since it feeds on the myth of a collective personality and creates wrong expectations in the minds of citizens while not preparing them to accept the difficult challenges to create a democratic culture which accommodates individuality and plurality.⁷⁹

Others like Kishindo have maintained that although Chichewa did not fulfil its goal of creating national unity, the idea of national language was a step in the right direction. He further stated that ‘Chichewa has maintained its status as a lingua franca in the region something that can not be said about the other contending languages.’⁸⁰ He further added that ‘the rise of Chichewa has stemmed perhaps not so much from it being a national language but rather from its usefulness as a lingua franca.’⁸¹

While this continues to generate much debate, what is incontrovertible is the fact that Kamuzu Banda had officially suppressed the cultural markers of other groups constituted as ethnic in Malawi, specifically language, in his quest to construct a nation that he claimed would be unified through a common language. It is also clear that the state discourse took centre stage through language issues during this time. It is interesting to see that the controversy this cultural project triggered echoes what McGregor and Shumaker observed on post-colonial heritage

⁷⁷J. Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, p.192.

⁷⁸K. Moodley and H. Adam, ‘Race and Nation in Post- Apartheid South Africa,’ *Current Sociology*, Vol.48, No.3, (2000), p.50.

⁷⁹ K. Moodley and H. Adam, ‘Race and Nation in Post- Apartheid South Africa,’ p.50.

⁸⁰ P. Kishindo, ‘The Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,’ p.277.

⁸¹ P. Kishindo, ‘The Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,’ p.277.

projects in southern Africa when they argued that ‘rather than promoting national unity as intended, state heritage projects have often provoked controversy and resistance, particularly when combined with mounting popular disaffection, shifts towards authoritarianism and closure of the public sphere.’⁸² If Malawian culture, the national culture, were synonymous with Chewa identity during the Kamuzu Banda era, democracy would seek to challenge this.

UNESCO and the emergence of cultural heritage discourse

There are two related theses I would like to advance in this chapter for the emergence of heritage discourse in Malawi. One is around the definitions and ideas of heritage developed by national and international agencies such as the United Nations, Scientific, Education and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The other is about the perceived ideals of heritage to democratic sensibilities.

In this section, I would like to argue that the intervention of UNESCO as a ‘patrimonial regime’ ushered in the discourse of cultural heritage in Malawi. I will discuss this more in Chapter 3 on UNESCO but we do have some of the interventions even under Kamuzu Banda’s time. Professionalization and specialization in management and governance of culture by UNESCO experts contributed to the emergence of this discourse not only in Malawi but across the globe. Tim Winter claims that the notion and idea of heritage had emerged with the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Writing about the East-West Major Project in 1957 that stimulated cultural relations and an interchange of cultural values he noted that:

UNESCO’s archives extensively document the numerous conferences, exchanges, reports and funded initiatives advanced under the Major Project umbrella. The focus on cultural exchange and cultural values meant themes such as history, folklore, traditional craft, archaeology and so forth featured prominently. Interestingly, whilst such areas would today be labelled as ‘heritage,’ the term features sparingly over the course of the project as it was yet to be part of the

⁸² J. McGregor and L. Schumaker, ‘Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 4, (2006), p.55.

parlance of cultural policy or international discourse. The rise of heritage in the intergovernmental arena would come some years later, most notably via the 1972 World Heritage Convention.⁸³

What this means is that the notion of heritage principally entered common parlance following the convention in 1972, and for each individual state after it ratified the convention. This observation resonates with Hafstein in his discussion on the genealogy of various conventions of UNESCO. He has argued that ‘the term ‘cultural property’ gained universal currency following the adoption of the Hague convention in 1954. Likewise, the proliferation of cultural heritage in recent decades only gained momentum as the result of the World Heritage Convention in 1972.’⁸⁴

It is important in this chapter to ascertain the motivations or reasons which might have compelled the Kamuzu Banda government to welcome and adopt the heritage discourse promoted by UNESCO. Even though there is little scholarly literature at all in Malawi that can directly illuminate us to explain why the Kamuzu Banda government adopted the UNESCO heritage discourse in the 1980s there are possibilities to reconstruct with confidence when we consider the politics and some of the developments happening in the cultural institutions at that time. First, we must understand that because of discretionary alignment as a foreign policy Malawi under Kamuzu Banda forged strong diplomatic relations with apartheid South Africa. This made Kamuzu Banda an isolated leader among his pan-Africanist colleagues who were against such a move. Considering the international stature and the visibility that comes with an association with the conventions of UNESCO it might have been possible that Kamuzu Banda’s government saw an opportunity and attraction to enhance and boost its image at the international arena. Again the 1980s was a period when Kamuzu Banda’s grip on power and the apartheid regime as well, were

⁸³ T. Winter, ‘Heritage diplomacy,’ *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.21, No.10, (2015), p.1002.

⁸⁴ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible heritage*, p.12.

beginning to wane. Perhaps Kamuzu Banda's government felt its association with UNESCO, through its conventions, might offer a way out of his isolation.⁸⁵ Related to this, however, the need to professionalize the cultural sector in order to synchronize with international standards could have attracted and compelled the Kamuzu Banda government to embrace UNESCO's conceptualization of heritage in Malawi during the 1980s. This perhaps could be explained and evidenced, as would be shown in chapter 5 when in 1968 Kamuzu Banda's government hired a heritage expert, an archaeologist Desmond Clarke, from UNESCO, to seek ways of how Malawi's cultural sector could be professionalized to meet international standards advanced by the heritage body UNESCO.⁸⁶ Clarke's recommendations were mostly implemented in the 1980s. These two related factors I argue could have necessitated the Kamuzu Banda's regime to adopt the discourse of heritage in Malawi. As chapter 3 will show Malawi ratified the UNESCO's World Heritage Convention of 1972 only in 1982.⁸⁷ In 1984 Lake Malawi National Park was inscribed on World Heritage list as a natural heritage site. An examination of the cultural legislation in Malawi seems to point to the influence of UNESCO on the emergence of this discourse. Going through the cultural legislations for the different institutions of culture and heritage in Malawi one encounters for the first time the concept and mention of 'cultural heritage' in the 1987 'Museums and Monuments Act'.⁸⁸ The act sets out to define the operational definitions in the Museums and Monuments Department, the roles and responsibilities of the minister in preservation and conservation of monuments, the establishment of the advisory

⁸⁵ On Banda's Discretionary alignment as Malawi's Foreign Policy and his diplomatic relations with Apartheid South Africa and the consequent isolation from his fellow Pan-Africanist leaders see P. Short, *Banda* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1974).

⁸⁶ See J. D. Clark, 'Antiquities Malawi UNESCO Programme,'(UNESCO,1968).

⁸⁷ Interview with Elizabeth Gomani Chindebvu, Director of Department of Museums and Monuments of Malawi, Lilongwe, 28 April, 2018.

⁸⁸ Museums and Monuments Act, p.1.

council to help the minister on matters relating to monuments and museums and the penalties to those who breach the regulations as regards the act.⁸⁹

However, the establishment of the Museums and Monuments Department was never realized. Senior staffs from both the Antiquities and Museums were reluctant to forgo their comfortable positions and merge to have a new department with new organogram.⁹⁰ Due to the failure to merge Antiquities with Museums into one single department, another set of legislation was promulgated and adopted, the Museums Act 1989.⁹¹ However, it was silent in mentioning ‘cultural heritage’ in its description of the functions of the museums. This was different from the 1987 Museums and Monuments Act mentioned earlier.⁹² The very absence of the term and concept of heritage can be observed as well in the 1990 Arts and Crafts Act which is there to ‘provide for the development, promotion, preservation, presentation and study of arts and crafts and folklore in Malawi; the establishment of the Arts and Crafts Advisory Council; and for matters incidental thereto or connected therewith.’⁹³ However, it was the Monuments and Relics Act of 1991 which was specific for the Department of Antiquities that explicitly and categorically expresses the notion of ‘cultural heritage.’⁹⁴

It seems that if the discourse of heritage had started in Malawi in early 1980s owing to the UNESCO’s world heritage convention of 1972, then that discourse was largely referring to heritage only in tangible or physical forms. It was only in later years through other conventions as the next chapter will show that heritage became more associated with intangible elements previously understood as culture. Apart from the Monuments Act 1991, the other two Acts,

⁸⁹ Museums and Monuments Act, p.15.

⁹⁰ Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko; It was only in 2017 that the two departments have been formally merged as Department of Museums and Monuments.

⁹¹ See Museums Act 1989.

⁹² See Museums Act 1989.

⁹³ See Arts and Crafts Act 1990, p.1.

⁹⁴ See Monuments and Relics Act 1991.

Museums Act 1989 and Arts and Crafts Act 1990, that deal with intangible forms of culture do not explicitly mention cultural heritage to refer to what they deal with.

The above discussion has attempted point to the role of UNESCO in promulgating the discourse of cultural heritage in Malawi. The elements which hitherto in Malawi were generally understood as culture later became heritage due to UNESCO and its conventions. If UNESCO had inaugurated the cultural heritage discourse in Malawi it seems the change to the democratic system of government provided the significant meaning of the discourse in relation to the notion of national culture.

Democracy and Re-evaluation of National Culture

Hafstein, following Laurajane Smith, argues that ‘it is no accident that the very discourses of ‘heritage’ and concerns about its loss arose in a period perceived to mark major social and cultural changes.’⁹⁵ And that ‘a major factor in the recent prominence and concern for cultural heritage is that it represents an attempt to deal with, negotiate and regulate change.’⁹⁶ While Smith’s concern was with a change in dominant authorized heritage discourse, Malawi’s concern was with a change from the dominant national culture common in Kamuzu Banda’s era. This change took shape during the onset of a more democratic form of government after 1994. I argue that because of this change in the form of government, cultural heritage, as opposed to national culture, appealed to a democratic sensibility as it incorporated aspects from below and appeared to promote cultural differences. It is not that it was democratic but rather it became a discourse of democracy. As Hafstein has shown, cultural heritage discourse entails highlighting of cultural differences as opposed to suppression as was the case during Kamuzu Banda’s

⁹⁵ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible heritage*, p.10.

⁹⁶V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible heritage*, p.10.

era.⁹⁷ And when citizens began to emphasize their ethnic uniqueness coupled with issues of access to resources and ethnic recognition in the time of freedom the state adopted the unity in diversity narrative that encouraged tolerance of difference.

After being in absolute power for over two decades Kamuzu Banda's rule began to crumble. Many scholars on Malawi's political history have attributed both internal and external factors as being responsible for the collapse of his power.⁹⁸ The emergence of opposition in the early 1990s, Kamuzu Banda's old age, and general dissatisfaction with the regime and donor pressure from the west exerted pressure that eventually saw the end of the dictatorial rule. Kamuzu Banda's failing health and age and increasing discontent from the Malawian populace played a role in undermining Kamuzu Banda's grip on power. Chirambo has noted that 'Kamuzu Banda had grown senile and became ineffective in public speeches as he would forget some points and was visibly being aided to the podium by his aides.'⁹⁹ Jack Mapanje has argued that 'it was in effect Kamuzu Banda's inner circle which comprised of John Tembo and the Kadzamira family that was at the helm of power during this time.'¹⁰⁰

Two underground political groups had formed in late 1991 aided the transition to Multiparty democracy in Malawi. The first underground opposition group was the United Democratic Front (UDF) with Bakili Muluzi at the helm. These members had served in the Kamuzu Banda regime but had fallen from grace with Kamuzu Banda for expressing different

⁹⁷ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible heritage*, p.10.

⁹⁸ H. Englund, (ed), *A Democracy and Chameoleans: Politics and Culture in the New Malawi* (Blantyre: Christian Literature Association of Malawi, 2002); C. Mweso, 'Legacy of One Party Dictatorship: Collective Memory and Contestation in Malawi, 1964-2004', Masters Thesis, University of Cape Town (Unpublished, 2014); R. Chirambo, 'Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship'; B. Muluzi, *Mau Anga: The Voice of the Democrat- Past, Present and Future* (Skotaville Media, 2002).

⁹⁹ R. Chirambo, 'Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship,' p.256.

¹⁰⁰ J. Mapanje, 'Afterword. The Orality of Dictatorship: In Defence of My Country,' in H. Englund, (ed), *A Democracy and Chameoleans: Politics and Culture in the New Malawi* (Blantyre: Christian Literature Association of Malawi, 2002), p.181.

views against him. Many of them came from the southern region and earned their living as businessmen. ‘This underground movement started circulating anonymous letters to public institutions that revealed secret dealings of the one-party regime.’¹⁰¹ Mweso writes that ‘the second opposition group to emerge was the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) led by Chakufwa Chihana and was dominated by professional and intellectuals mostly from the northern region. All these worked as a force inside Malawi against Kamuzu Banda.’¹⁰²

The Catholic Church also played a significant role during the transition compelling Kamuzu Banda to recognize the need for a change of the system of politics. Mweso noted that ‘in the ninety years that the Roman Catholic Church had been operating in Malawi, it had not been known to take a frontline position on public affairs. The church actually took a bold step on 8 March 1992 when six Catholic bishops and a monsignor issued a pastoral letter titled ‘Living Our Faith’ in support for Malawian people’s quest for freedoms of association, speech and freedom from want. Ten thousand copies were issued in Chichewa (Chinyanja) five thousand in Chitumbuka and one thousand in English. The copies were read in almost all Catholic churches and prayer houses.’¹⁰³ The pastoral letter condemned the regime’s severe censorship of mass media, violation of academic freedom, and denounced numerous detentions of Malawians. The bishops’ letter called for social and political reforms, asserting that it was not disloyal for Malawians to ask questions about matters that concern them. The pastoral letter and its critical message opened an opportunity for Malawians to express their views on the one-party regime. Following the release of the pastoral letter, there were a series of events that showed defiance to the one-party regime and ignited the possibility of change. ‘Notably, the students of the

¹⁰¹C. Mweso, ‘Legacy of One Party Dictatorship: Collective Memory and Contestation in Malawi, 1964-2004’, Masters Thesis, University of Cape Town (Unpublished, 2014), p.26

¹⁰² See C. Mweso, ‘Legacy of One Party Dictatorship.’

¹⁰³C. Mweso, ‘Legacy of One Party Dictatorship,’ p.25.

University of Malawi encouraged by the bold step taken by the bishops made public demonstrations in their support and later chanted demands for a change to political pluralism.¹⁰⁴ External factors in the name of international donors responded to the events by refusing further economic assistance to the regime until human rights were respected and political liberalisation was initiated. The western donors had previously been supporting the Kamuzu Banda regime for years due to its strong stance against communism in the era of cold war politics.¹⁰⁵ Again the apartheid regime, mentioned earlier, that was supporting Kamuzu Banda, was seen to be coming to an end with the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990.

Following donor pressure in the form of suspension of aid in May 1992 and increasing domestic political unrest, president Kamuzu Banda softened his stand on some political issues. He called for a referendum to ask the population whether they wanted a continuation of a single-party state or introduction of multi-party democracy. The referendum occurred the following year in June 1993 and an overwhelming sixty-three per cent of those who voted endorsed a change of the system of politics. Following the referendum results, political parties were legalised and Kamuzu Banda remained in power in an interim capacity while the country geared for the first multi-party general elections. These took place in May 1994. There were four presidential candidates. The Malawi Congress party fielded Kamuzu Banda, Alliance For Democracy fielded Chakufwa Chihana, United Democratic Front had Bakili Muluzi and the Malawi Democratic Party settled for the youngest candidate Kamlepo Kalua. The parliamentary results were 85 seats for UDF, 50 for the MCP and 36 for AFORD. The results reflected regional biases in voting. The largest region, the south, got most of the seats, while AFORD had fewest seats mostly because its base was the northern region, the smallest region. Bakili Muluzi won

¹⁰⁴C. Mweso, 'Legacy of One Party Dictatorship,'p.26.

¹⁰⁵C. Mweso, 'Legacy of One Party Dictatorship,'p.28.

47.16 per cent of the vote Kamuzu Banda won 33.45 per cent, Chakufwa Chihana 18.90 per cent and Kamlepo Kalua scored 0.52 per cent. Phiri wrote that 'there was no provision in the constitution for a re-run when none of the presidential candidates won at least fifty per cent of the votes. Hence Bakili Muluzi was declared a winner. He went ahead to form a minority government.'¹⁰⁶ Muluzi was later succeeded by Bingu Wa Mutharika in 2004. Mutharika ruled up to 2009 and died while in office before he could finish his second term.

What is interesting for this thesis is how these first two successive leaders in the multi-party era dealt with issues of culture and heritage in the new dispensation of Malawi's imagination as a nation. The first years of the Muluzi presidency saw culture and public memories reconstructed and re-interpreted in ways that appeared to counter what Banda had imagined. The years of Muluzi's successor, Bingu Wa Mutharika, witnessed the reverse, the reinscribing of Banda's memories in the national discourse and public domain that were once suppressed by Muluzi. This will be discussed in detail in chapter five.

In his assessment of Bakili Muluzi's presidency, Desmond Phiri has argued that Muluzi's achievements had been more in the areas of liberties and human rights than anywhere else. Phiri has maintained that 'there was no freedom of association during the MCP era,' that is in Banda's time as president, 'every citizen had to belong to the Malawi Congress Party.... There was freedom only to sing songs of praise for the Ngwazi, to grumble or question what he was doing was less- majesty. You could lose your liberty, property or life.'¹⁰⁷ But this changed under Bakili Muluzi. Jack Mapanje, a renowned poet and literary critic, evaluated Muluzi's term in similar ways to Phiri. Mapanje observed that the 'preservation and consolidation of freedom of

¹⁰⁶ D. D. Phiri, *History of Malawi Volume 2* (Blantyre: College Publishing Company, 2010), p.364.

¹⁰⁷ See D. D. Phiri, *History of Malawi Volume 2* (Blantyre: College Publishing Company, 2010),

democracy' and 'democratic culture' were the flagship achievements of Muluzi.'¹⁰⁸ It was the quest for liberties that paved the way to reforms and transformations that took place in the cultural sector and other domains of cultural traditions in Malawi. Bakili Muluzi's cultural reforms and re-constructions should be understood within this new framework of national reconstruction based on universal human rights in which all cultural expressions were recognized and appreciated.¹⁰⁹ This was in contradistinction to Kamuzu Banda whose cultural production was based more on promoting his ethnicity and also marked with elements of cultural repression.

It should be mentioned that during the transition period especially on the eve of the national referendum of 14 June 1993 vigorous debates had already begun to surface in the daily papers on the subject of Chichewa as the national language. As Kishindo noted the days nearing the referendum had witnessed a mushrooming of independent newspapers that were permitted to publish. Other papers belonging to some of the parties that were opposing the MCP regime, for example, the *UDF News* and *The New Voice* had begun their publications in local languages, for instance, Chilomwe, Chisena, Chiyao and Chitumbuka.¹¹⁰ This venture was against Kamuzu Banda's government which restricted any publication of such indigenous languages in the public domain. As Kishindo has argued the papers were openly defying an issue that was still 'a sacred cow'. The participants in the debate engaged each other on whether Chichewa had achieved its purported objective of unifying a nation that had many ethnic differences.¹¹¹ This debate in the transition period was to shape and influence the cultural reforms in the democratic government.

¹⁰⁸ J. Mapanje, 'The Orality of Dictatorship: In Defense of My Country,' in H. Englund, (ed), *A democracy of chameleons: Politics and culture in the new Malawi*, p.187.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Aaron Maluwa Blantyre, 5 February 2018; Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda, Blantyre, 5 February 2018.

¹¹⁰ See P. Kishindo, 'The Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,' p.261.

¹¹¹ See P. Kishindo, 'The Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,' p.262.

As if it were in response to the debates on language that had permeated the dailies during the transition period, on 25 June 1994, Bakili Muluzi, the first president of the multi-party era, decreed that Chitumbuka should be reinstated on the state radio.¹¹² Later in November 1996, other languages were considered to be broadcast on the national radio. On 31 July 1995 Chichewa was further undermined. Kishindo wrote that ‘the Chichewa Board, the main engine for ‘Chichewaisation’, was officially abolished by the cabinet directive, ostensibly to be replaced by an establishment that would reflect the linguistic diversity of the country. Following this directive, the Ministry of Education and the Department of Statutory Corporations mandated the University of Malawi, Chancellor College, to establish a centre for local Malawian languages. The centre which would be funded by the government of Malawi would formulate the country’s language policy as well as promote the teaching and learning of non-African languages of social-economic and political relevance to Malawi....’¹¹³ Kishindo further added that ‘the mission of the centre for language studies was the development and promotion of indigenous languages in Malawi in order to contribute towards the country’s social-economic development. Its main objectives were to establish orthographic principles of Malawian languages, to develop descriptive grammars for Malawian languages, to promote and preserve Malawian languages and to promote research in language studies.’¹¹⁴

Following these changes, president Bakili Muluzi created the new Ministry of National Heritage. The philosophy behind the establishment of the Ministry of National Heritage was ‘whose culture?’ The idea of national heritage seemed to be all-encompassing and inclusive.¹¹⁵

¹¹² See P. Kishindo, ‘The Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,’ p.264.

¹¹³ P. Kishindo, ‘The Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,’ p.273.

¹¹⁴ P. Kishindo, ‘The Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,’ p.274.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Julio Magomero, Executive secretary responsible for culture at Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, Lilongwe, 28 April 2018.

The new ministry was relevant bearing in mind of the multi-party era in which this was happening. It was when everyone was focused on opening up and ensuring that government policies and structures were no longer used to perpetuate or promote the culture of one section of the Malawi community.¹¹⁶

This invites one to think about what heritage means and what heritage does. Heritage invokes the idea of a culture that is international and beyond the territorial borders. It is also supposedly about unrestricted expressions and celebrations of cultural values that are not suppressed, silenced or coerced. The latter were all traits of Kamuzu Banda's presidency. It seems therefore that when the multi-party government was installed it sought to put a statement that all people and groups would be free to mobilize themselves and express their culture hence the establishment of Ministry of National Heritage.

Thus the democratic era appears to have enabled the debate around political recognition. And this recognition finds its expression in the discourse of heritage. As Laurajane Smith argued 'the important point for understanding the political nature of heritage is that firstly, the politics of recognition allows for the observation that different community groups, with different histories, needs, aspirations and identities, make claims for recognition in both symbolic and material forms, and that these claims for recognition will have material consequences for equity and justice. Secondly, heritage in both material and intangible forms have become taken up as a specific resource in the negotiations of recognition and identity claims; it is a political resource.'¹¹⁷ Smith further argued that 'heritage, entangled as it is in the contemporary politics of diversity and recognition, is a concept or a discourse that has acquired the power to represent and

¹¹⁶ Interview with Julio Magomero, Lilongwe, 28 April 2018.

¹¹⁷ L. Smith, 'Intangible Heritage: A challenge to the authorized heritage discourse?' *Revista d'Etnologia de Catalunya* No. 40, (2015), p.139.

legitimise senses of place and belonging, all of which are embroiled in conflicts within the politics of recognition.’¹¹⁸ In Malawi, this is more glaring when one considers how the heritage discourse of recognition began to be advanced by various ethnic-based heritage organisations, espousing the idea of heritage as a political resource for ‘negotiations of recognition and identity claims.’ Thus ‘heritage has emerged as an important discourse for publically redefining the past and imagining’ a democratic nation.’¹¹⁹

In the following chapter it becomes clear that all groups of people whom Kamuzu Banda mentioned in the epigram of this chapter in the democratic era formed their own groups called heritage associations or heritage foundations. They claim to express culture in a manner that would have been deemed as subversive if it was in Kamuzu Banda era. They organize festivals in consultation with the paramount chief or the ethnic group. And they have chapters in all districts of the country.¹²⁰ Thus cultural heritage came to be more associated with the cultural productions of these ethnic-based heritage associations or foundations through their activities like cultural festivals in which various forms of the intangible heritage of the ethnic concerned are showcased and celebrated and also where the history and development of the ethnic group is narrated. Cultural heritage in this case, as opposed to national culture, is understood as a discourse that does not suppress but promotes multiple cultural expressions. Heritage to these ethnic-based heritage associations appears to be a discourse of liberal democracy. This shows how cultural production in Malawi shifted from the discourse of national culture to that of cultural heritage. However, while this has been so, it is merely a restatement of older forms of culture that have been dressed up as heritage as cultural heritage continues to be bound by

¹¹⁸Smith, ‘Intangible Heritage,’ p.139.

¹¹⁹ G. Minkley, ‘A fragile inheritor’: The post –apartheid memorial complex, A.C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape,’ *KRONOS: Southern African histories*, Vol.34, (2008), p.32.

¹²⁰ Interview with Khombe. Historian at Department of Museums and Monuments, Lilongwe, 12 April, 2018.

ethnicity and tribal forms as the next chapter will show. Thus as a paradox heritage became a way to claim ethnicity as being what constitutes culture and cultural heritage despite the multiplicity of cultural forms and practices.

Conclusion

The chapter has located and historicized the emergence of the discourse of heritage in Malawi. It has argued that during the time of Kamuzu Banda the cultural elements such as customs, language, belief systems and oral traditions were expressed within the discourse of national culture which sought to create a single Malawi culture by suppressing other cultures. The chapter has shown how Kamuzu Banda promoted Malawian customs in general and also the customs and traditions of his ethnic group Chewa as markers of Malawian identity and vehicles for national building. The chapter presented the argument that in Malawi the emergence of the discourse of heritage is because of UNESCO. Its conventions helped to popularize the discourse of heritage in Malawi and also impacted on the frameworks of some of the cultural legislation. It has also been argued that because of democracy, cultural heritage, as opposed to national culture, acquired new meaning as it appealed to democratic sensibility and promoted multiple cultural expressions unlike the notion of national culture which suppressed multiple expressions. However, regardless of this shift, or change, from discourse of national culture, cultural heritage in Malawi still remains largely bound by ethnic formation and identity. This is evident in the ethnic based heritage organisations which emerged in the 1990s and which are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Performing the Tribe? EthnicBased Heritage Associations and Cultural Festivals in Malawi

‘I have been encouraging all ethnic communities to make sure that they understand their history and what our traditions were. Therefore observing our traditions does not mean we are being discriminatory or being tribalistic.’¹- President Bingu Wa Mutharika, 2010.

‘Are Festivals intangible heritage?’²-Valdimar Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage*, 2018.

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, under the presidency of Kamuzu Banda some Malawians claimed to have experienced ‘cultural violence’ which refers to the ways in which his government suppressed the cultural expressions and political freedoms of his adversaries from outside his own cultural group, the Chewa.³ Even though Kamuzu Banda encouraged dances that were cast as traditional and customs from various ethnic groups to exhibit the nation these were also performed to serve and support his regime in what Reuben Chirambo called *Kamuzism*.⁴ Kamuzu Banda had his own approach; unity and singularity were important principles in his authoritarian state. As has been pointed out in the previous chapter he was of the idea that all the people should only be identified as Malawians.⁵ However, there were many contradictions

¹ President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Umthetho Festival 2009, DVD Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

² V. Hafstein, ‘Making Festivals,’ in V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage: El condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), p127.

³ B. Mkandawire, ‘Ethnicity, Language and Cultural Violence,’ *The Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol.63, No.1, (2010), pp.23-42.

⁴ R. Chirambo, ‘Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship: Song, Dance, and Politics in Malawi, 1964–1994,’ Doctoral Thesis, University of Minnesota (Unpublished, 2005), p.20-25.

⁵ Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko, Chief Research officer with Department of Museums and Monuments of Malawi, UNESCO’s Southern Africa Facilitator in Capacity Training on Implementing the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention, Blantyre, 28 May 2018; Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda, The Chief Curator at Department of Museums and Monuments in Malawi, Blantyre, 5 February 2018; Interview with Julio Magomero, Executive Secretary responsible for culture at Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, Lilongwe, April 27 2018.

between Kamuzu Banda's speeches and his policy. As the previous chapter has shown Kamuzu Banda had embarked on building Malawi through 'Chewalisation' of Malawian identity through language policy and political iconography as evident through the explicit promotion of Chewa traditions, customs and language.⁶ Ideals of 'one nation' 'one leader' and 'one language' were commonly touted by his party loyalists. Consequently this had an effect on other groups who claimed ethnic affiliations to be forced to adopt it and weakened their languages. As have been argued in chapter one the discourse of national culture suppressed other cultures while elevating and promoting one culture of the Chewa as the symbolic culture of the nation. Others have argued that the 1964 cabinet crisis whereby the young ministers from the north and south had openly challenged Kamuzu Banda's authority had made Banda sensitive toward any grouping from these regions. This situation had made many people live in constant fear of organizing themselves in an ethnic form as they could have been perceived as a potential threat and 'rebels' by Kamuzu Banda's autocratic regime.⁷ To a large extent, this had a negative impact on the formation of cultural heritage associations in Kamuzu Banda's time as they could have been seen as an obstacle to his nationalist agenda.⁸

The end of Kamuzu Banda's regime and transition to a multi-party form of government meant not only the dawn of political freedoms but also cultural freedoms. Thus due to multipartyism and particularly democratic constitution sections 32 and 33 which provide for every person's right to freedom of conscience, religion, belief and thought, and also to academic freedom there was a significant development and mushrooming of different forms of cultural

⁶ D. Kaspin, 'Tribes, Regions and Nationalism in Democratic Malawi,' *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, Vol. 39, (1997), p.48.

⁷ Interview with Malawian Historian, D. D. Phiri, Blantyre, 8 February 2018; C. Baker, *The Revolt of the Ministers: The Malawi Cabinet Crisis 1964-1965* (London: L.B. Tauris Publishers, 2001).

⁸ Interview with Malawian Historian, D. D. Phiri, Blantyre, 8 February 2018; Same ideas are expressed during an Interview with Upson Thole, Secretary for Mzimba Heritage Association, in Mzuzu on 29 June 2018.

organisations among which were ethnic organizations. These ethnic organizations were claiming to be concerned with preserving and protecting local religious beliefs and cultural practices. The period from 1993 and beyond could be referred to as the turn of cultural heritage associations in Malawi.⁹ Or, following Valdimar Hafstein, it was a period of ‘festivalisation, heritagisation and folklorisation.’¹⁰

The freedoms of democracy had meant two things. First, it had allowed Malawians to assert that they live in multiethnic, multilingual and multiracial Malawi, not one dominated by the particular group as it were.¹¹ For instance it allowed communities to mobilize themselves around forms of ethnicity through heritage. Thus heritage was bound by ethnicity and came to be more associated with the cultural productions of these ethnic-based heritage associations. These heritage associations do not challenge ethnicity but promote it. Thus ethnicity remains the basis of heritage but in multiplicity, as expressed in the catchy phrase of unity in diversity.

Among the core objectives of these heritage associations are to celebrate, promote and preserve cultural heritage which they claim is increasingly vulnerable in the democratic era due to forces of globalization.¹² However, as this chapter will show, heritage associations in Malawi are not only for revival, preservation and promotion of culture. They are also platforms on which ‘communities’ claimed as ethnically based engage and negotiate with the state and developmental organizations to realize their social, economic and political needs. The politicians also have found these heritage associations as their fertile ground to sell their policies and win

⁹ W. Zee, ‘Democratic Constitution and Ethnic Organisations in Malawi; Preserving Good Culture or Promoting Regionalism, Nepotism or Tribalism,’ *Historical Research*, Vol.5,3, (2015), p.189; Interview with Julio Magomero, Executive Secretary responsible for culture at Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, Lilongwe, April 27,2018.

¹⁰ V. Hafstein, ‘Making Festivals,’ p.127.

¹¹ V. Hafstein, ‘Making Festivals,’ p.127.

¹² V. Hafstein, ‘Making Festivals,’ p.127.

the support of ethnically based assertions for electoral gains. Ethnicity is used as heritage. And this heritage is used to mobilize politically at the local level.

Annually each heritage foundation or association has a specific day on the calendar in which it holds its own cultural festival. It is at these cultural festivals where a heritage spectacle is staged and exhibited through cultural performances, narration of memory and history of the community as ethnic, re-enactments, myth-making, royal processions, traditional food, vernacular architecture and other aspects of cultural heritage claimed as intangible. It is where one becomes a member of 'tribe' and learns to perform as a 'tribe'.

Cultural festivals as practices and representations of what is designated as tradition are not limited to Malawi. Other countries in the southern African region also practice for example the Kuwomboka Festival in Zambia and what are called national cultural festivals in Namibia. Michael Akuupa has shown how in post-apartheid Namibia in 1995 the state placed 'emphasis on cultural pride in new ways, and on identifying characteristics of Namibianess.'¹³ He argued that 'while the performers at these national cultural festivals represent diversity through dance and modes of cultural representations the importance of belonging to the nation and larger constituency is simultaneously highlighted.'¹⁴ However, two aspects distinguish the cultural festivals in Malawi and those from Namibia. In Malawi these are not 'state sponsored cultural festivals' and not organized and mediated by the state. They are not owned by the state. Rather they are festivals initiated, organized and mediated by different designated groups that claim to be ethnic which are responsible for sponsoring it. And most significantly while in Namibia the

¹³ M.Akuupa, 'The formation of 'National Culture' in Post-Apartheid Namibia; A focus of state sponsored festivals in Akavango region,' Doctoral Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of the Western Cape (Unpublished, 2011), p.17.

¹⁴ M.Akuupa, 'The formation of 'National Culture' in Post-Apartheid Namibia,' p.17.

cultural festivals appear to simultaneously celebrate difference together with ‘national’ in Malawi there is more of an emphasis on difference.¹⁵ I argue that while the festivals perform the ‘nation’ in Namibia in Malawi they perform the ‘tribe’.

By discussing the way ethnic heritage associations in Malawi reconstruct and perform their cultural heritage through cultural festivals the chapter connects to the central question of the thesis by pointing to the shift in cultural production from one that was dictated by the discourse of national culture to the one that is defined by discourse of cultural heritage which appears to appeal to democratic sensibilities as it is apparently championed by communities from below. But as the chapter will show it is a community-based heritage that is ethnically based and driven and produced by those actors perching on the high social strata of their communities. The chapter argues that the democratic dispensation in Malawi paved the way to new mode of heritage production in the form of cultural festivals staged by ethnic-based heritage associations. Furthermore, it argues that while this kind of heritage production celebrates ethnic pride and identity it has increasingly become a site of party politics and campaign ground where the notions of tribe and tribalism are reproduced, reinforced and reaffirmed.

Malawi has nine major legally designated ethnic groups sometimes referred to as nine official ethnic groups. These are Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngonde, Ngoni, Sena, Tonga, Tumbuka and Yao.¹⁶ Writing on the ethnic history of Malawi John McCracken stated that ‘most pre-colonial Malawians’ identified themselves as members of these mentioned ethnic groupings.

¹⁵ For Kuwomboka cultural festival of the Lozi people in Zambia see L. Flint, ‘Contradictions and Challenges in representing the past: The Kuwomboka festival of Western Zambia,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 49, (2006). And the national cultural festivals in Namibia see M. Akupa, “The formation of ‘National Culture’ in Post-Apartheid Namibia; A focus of state sponsored festivals in Akavango region,” Doctoral Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of the Western Cape (Unpublished, 2011).

¹⁶ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/39 Vol 2, ‘Malawi National Commission for UNESCO. Project Document on Promotion, Transmission and Protection of GuleWamkulu (The Great Dance of Chewa People),’ Blantyre.

However, he argued that ‘these groupings were flexible and did not preclude individuals possessing further identities related to clan, village or cheiftancy.’¹⁷ McCracken points to how indirect rule contributed to ‘the strengthening of tribal identities in the colonial period.’¹⁸ These rigid ethnic identities continued to be recognized during Kamuzu Banda’s era even though he wanted also to suppress them as discussed in the previous chapter. In the 2015, ‘Republic of Malawi: National Cultural Policy’ document these groupings continue to be identified in their rigid terms.¹⁹ As discussed in the previous chapter the national language is Chichewa and the official language is English. However, there are more than fifteen indigenous languages spoken in various parts of the country.²⁰ These languages are Chichewa, Chimabwe, Chinamwanga, Chindali, Chingonde/Chinkhonde, Chingoni, Chisena, Chisukwa, Chitinga, Chitumbuka, Chilomwe, Chinyakusa, Chiyao, Chinyika and Chiwodya.²¹ The heritage associations that have been formed, and continuously being formed, draw from these ethnic groups and their languages (those that lost their languages and use the adopted languages are on the quest to revive their ‘original’ language). Presently Malawi has ten ethnic heritage associations. However, this chapter will discuss in detail the works of two cultural heritage associations: Mzimba Heritage Association of Jere Ngoni ethnic group in northern Malawi and Mlakho Wa Alomwe Heritage Association of the Lomwe ethnic group in the southern Malawi. The reasons for a focus on these two associations is that they are well-established heritage associations in Malawi with consistent

¹⁷ J. McCracken, ‘Contours of colonialism,’ in J. McCracken, *A history of Malawi, 1859-1966* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2012), p.230.

¹⁸ J. McCracken, ‘Contours of colonialism,’ p.230.

¹⁹ See Republic of Malawi: National Cultural Policy (Unpublished, 2015); For example the Malawi National Commission For UNESCO. Project Document on Promotion, Transimition and Protection of Gule Wamkulu (The Great Dance of Chewa People/ Museums of Malawi/ UNESCO/144 Vol. 2, 2. describes these 12 ethnic groups as the ‘major’ ethnic groups in the country but also recognising having other minor groups.

²⁰ ‘Malawi National Commission For UNESCO. Project Document on Promotion, Transimition and Protection of Gule Wamkulu.’

²¹ Note that Chi- is a prefix that is added to the ethnic name to denote a language spoken by that ethnic group.

and organized cultural festivals, while most of the others are new and some are yet to organize functional and elaborate cultural festivals. Again, as a museum ethnographer I had opportunity to document these festivals. While Chewa Heritage Foundation could be one of the oldest and well organised, its cultural festival, *Kulamba* is held outside Malawi in Zambia. However, all these ethnic-based heritage associations are characterized by what Valdimar Hafstein has described as ‘folkloric spectacle which celebrates traditional costume, music and dance’ in colourful performances of ethnic pride and harmony.²² They all have branches, called chapters, especially in main towns to help coordinate their activities. However, the major event which is the annual festival is held in one of the districts in which the particular ethnic group is dominant. As the chapter will show there is an interesting pattern in the formation of these heritage associations as they appear to be the reincarnation of the former colonial native associations.²³ The discussion of heritage associations in this chapter will, therefore, help us ‘think of heritage, not as an immutable entity but as a discursive practice shaped by specific circumstances through interests, histories, patterns, collisions and politics.’²⁴

This chapter is anchored in the discourses of ethnicity, tribe and heritage. It is therefore important to explore and engage these key concepts and see how they resonate with the politics and activities of heritage associations in Malawi.

Ethnicity and Tribe in Perspective

Sabelo Ndhlovu Gatsheni has noted that the key terms of tribe, ethnicity and sometimes nation need to be problematised. He observes that ‘the terminology problem is compounded by

²² V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage*, p.47.

²³ On the activities of Native Associations in Malawi during colonial period see R.Tangri, ‘The Development of Modern African Politics and the Emergence of Nationalists African Movements in Colonial Malawi, 1891-1958,’ Doctoral Thesis, University of Edinburgh (Unpublished, 1970), p.60.

²⁴ J. Littler and R. Naidoo, (eds), *The Politics of Heritage : The Legacies of ‘Race’* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p.1.

the reality that human beings as subjects of study use these terms of tribe, ethnicity, and nationality interchangeably as forms of identity and as labels as well as definitions of self.²⁵ According to Ndhlovu-Gatsheni there are scholars who see no difference between tribe and ethnicity and there are some who view ethnicity and tribe to have distinctions. He states that other scholars 'formulate that a group of clans under a chief form a tribe and there is no clear demarcation between tribe and ethnic group.'²⁶ Ndhlovu-Gatsheni writes that 'in previous studies of tribe and tribalism there was an emphasis on primitivity, barbarity and antiquity of tribes and tribalism but then when defined with specific reference to contemporary African politics tribe means an ethnic group and tribalism mean ethnicity.'²⁷ He further argued that 'avoid the term tribalism in preference to ethnicity is merely being polite.'²⁸ Ndhlovu-Gatsheni suggested that 'perhaps one can tentatively define tribalism as the pride and prejudices of an ethnic group as it considers itself as superior and others inferior. All this in the context of the hatred of the other.'²⁹

At a more advanced conceptual level, there are those who have theorized ethnicity in two different ways. At one pole, as already indicated there are 'essentialists' or primordialists, and at the other end are constructivist historians. Primordialism is an old school of thought or paradigm for understanding 'tribes' or ethnicity in Africa. It views African tribes as 'atavistic survivals of primordial stages of social development'.³⁰ Thus tribes or ethnicity are primordial in nature, something that has existed since time immemorial. 'Tribes are ancient, stable (if not stagnant) communities governed by rigid and unchanging custom and clearly and unambiguously

²⁵ S. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 'For the Nation to Live the Tribe Must Die': The Politics of Ndebele Identity and Belonging in Zimbabwe,' in B. Zewde, (ed), *Society, State and Identity in African History* (Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies, 1998), p.176.

²⁶ S. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 'For the Nation to Live the Tribe Must Die,'p.174.

²⁷ S. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 'For the Nation to Live the Tribe Must Die,'p.174.

²⁸ S. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 'For the Nation to Live the Tribe Must Die,'p.174.

²⁹ S. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 'For the Nation to Live the Tribe Must Die,'p.176.

³⁰ B. Berman, 'Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa,' in *Ethnic Diversity and Economic Instability in Africa: Policies for Harmonious Development*, Jica –RI Working Paper, No.22, p.2.

separated from each other.’³¹ Debora Kaspin has argued that ‘these assumptions are the legacy of nineteenth-century social theory which sought stages in the evolution of civilization and placed the tribe, synonymous with the primitive, near the front end of the evolutionary continuum. Modern primitives of the colonial world were thought to be frozen in evolutionary time, unable to become politically modern without external assistance.’³² Kaspin has explained that ‘twentieth-century anthropology disputed social evolutionism but retained the ‘tribe’ within its lexicon as it sought greater specificity in the ethnographies of particular primitives. Ultimately the ‘tribe’ was challenged as a unit of study because of its linkages to evolutionary essentialism and the conspicuous invisibility of colonialism which required this category of subordinate and essential ‘other.’³³ Kaspin further wrote that ‘a new vocabulary used such terms as ‘ethnicity’ and ‘peasant,’ separating identity from political economy and putting first and third world politics in the same conceptual framework.’³⁴ This accounts for the emergence of constructivism as a new paradigm in understanding ‘tribe’ or ethnicity. This understanding is well summed up by Bruce Berman:

Rather than atavistic survivals of stagnant primordial ‘tribal’ identities and communities, African ethnicities are new not old, part of complex responses to colonial modernity. In the precolonial world, the most striking features of African identities and communities was their fluidity, heterogeneity and hybridity; a social world of multiple, overlapping and alternate identities with significant movement of peoples, the intermingling of communities and cultural and linguistic borrowing. The boundaries of communities were frequently ambiguous and identities contextually variable. The African states encountered by European colonizers in the 19th century were largely of relatively recent historical origin and by contemporary conceptions multi-ethnic in composition, ruling with rather loose tributary relationships over linguistically and culturally diverse groups. Both ethnic political movements and territorial nationalism in Africa are of the

³¹ B. Berman, ‘Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa,’ p.2.

³² D. Kaspin, ‘Tribes, Regions and Nationalism in Democratic Malawi,’ *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, Vol. 39, (1997), p.464.

³³ D. Kaspin, ‘Tribes, Regions and Nationalism in Democratic Malawi,’ p.464.

³⁴ D. Kaspin, ‘Tribes, Regions and Nationalism in Democratic Malawi,’ p.465.

same recent historical origins; neither is 'natural' and both are responses to the colonial introduction of the institutions of modernity in the state and market.³⁵

In similar vein Berman also wrote,

Research on African ethnicity over the past thirty years has exploded the primordial myth. Instead, as noted above, African ethnicities are now understood as open-ended and dynamic processes of social and political creation rather than static categories before, during and after colonial rule. Groups appear and disappear, change their names, adapt their cultures, fight over who is or is not a real member of the group, and address a myriad of demands to public institutions and other ethnic group.³⁶

Similarly, following John Comaroff, Ndhlovu-Gatsheni has also suggested the constructivist nature of ethnicity. He proposed that 'contrary to Weberian tradition that viewed ethnicity as a function of primordial ties ethnicity has its genesis in specific historical forces which are simultaneously structural and cultural.'³⁷

In contrast to these two paradigms, Sandra Greene and Malyn Newitt have advanced a different perspective. They have argued that ethnicity is neither primordial nor constructed. Ethnic formation was fluid, malleable and had its own precolonial form of formation quite different from primordialism and constructivism. There were different kinds of ethnicity but it was not necessarily tribal ethnicity or colonial kind of ethnicity. Greene similarly has argued that 'ethnic identities defined as notions of 'we' and 'they' based on geographical origins, as well as the time of residence and kinship relations, had existed well before the impact of colonialism.'³⁸ Newitt agrees with Greene. Newitt argued that 'ethnic or national identity is not, however,

³⁵ B. Berman, 'Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa,' p.2.

³⁶ B. Berman, 'Ethnicity Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism,' *African Affairs*, Vol. 97, (1998), p.305.

³⁷ S. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 'For the Nation to Live the Tribe Must Die,' p.177.

³⁸ S. Greene, 'In the Mix: Women and Ethnicity among the Anlo-Ewe,' in C. Lenz and P. Nugent (eds), *Ethnicity in Ghana: The Limits of Invention* (London: Mcmillan, 2001), p.29.

something imposed or manipulated by the ruling elites.’³⁹ Rather ‘self-identification is equally important. This exists at a number of levels and takes a variety of forms; the recognition of the immediate blood kinship (lineage) and the acknowledgement of belonging to a wider clan; the acceptance of cultural affinity with those speaking the same language, practicing the same religion and following same social customs; the description of oneself in terms of occupation or geographical location; and ofcourse the recognition of the political authority to whom one is subject.’ Newitt further asserts that ‘separate and distinct ethnic identities often seem to have been adopted as a device for establishing or asserting the autonomy or independence of a particular society’.⁴⁰ He further notes that ‘when a group broke away from whoever exercised overrule, it was important to adopt a new name, even though such a distinction did not necessarily imply a different language or different social customs or different origin from the neighbouring groups.’⁴¹ Newitt and Greene show us the kind of ethnic groupings and ethnic formation which was not the same as those constituted as tribe under colonialism.

In a comparative study of the development of ethnic consciousness and tribalism in the southern African region, Leroy Vail and John Landeg Wright have provided a new ‘Model’ to conceptualize ethnicity. Vail stresses ‘historical creation’ of such ideologies over time.⁴² While Wright argued that ‘ethnicity is never a fixed, primordial form of identity, but one which is always a product of historical processes.’⁴³ These paradigms are helpful in understanding why ethnic-based heritage associations in Malawi claim their ethnic histories from a distant past and

³⁹ M. Newitt, ‘Kinship, Religion, Language and Political Control: Ethnic Identity Among the Peoples of the Zambezi Valley,’ in Alexander Keese (ed), *Ethnicity and the Long-term Perspective* (Bern: International Academic Publishers, 2010), pp. 68-69.

⁴⁰ M. Newitt, ‘Kinship, Religion, Language and Political Control’, pp. 68-69.

⁴¹ M. Newitt, ‘Kinship, Religion, Language and Political Control’, pp. 68-69.

⁴² L. Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, p.11.

⁴³ J. Wright, ‘Reflections on the Politics of Being ‘Zulu,’ in B. Carton, J. Laband and J. Sithole, (eds), *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present* (KwaZulu Natal: University of KwaZulu Natal Press, 2008), p.35.

also why ethnic awareness that leads to the formation of these associations is a response to factors of modernity like material needs and demands of capitalism and also a response to current historical processes in Malawi.

Mzimba Heritage Association

Each group that is defined as ethnic in Malawi constructs its own history of origins either through its so called oral traditions or its intellectual historians that narrate how it migrated from somewhere to modern day Malawi. These are ethnic histories of migration which serve as founding stories. Mzimba Heritage Association, a cultural grouping for the Jere Ngoni of Mzimba in northern Malawi, has also its own founding 'ethnohistory'. Through the association the Jere Ngoni claims to be an offshoot of the 'Zulu' ethnic group of South Africa. The story that is told is that the Jere Ngoni of Mzimba migrated northward to Malawi as the result of the 'mfecane'⁴⁴ in the Zulu Kingdom.⁴⁵ It is told that from Natal, the Ngoni had remained a united people under the leadership of Zwangendaba. Following his death in 1848 at the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika, and subsequent succession disputes, the Ngoni dispersed in different directions. The majority of the Ngoni under Mbelwa are said to have trekked southwards and resettled in the Mzimba district of northern Malawi in 1850.⁴⁶

⁴⁴The idea of 'mfecane' is a strong and seemingly unresolved debate in Southern Africa's historiography. For example See L. D. Ngcongco, 'The Mfecane and the rise of new Africa States,' in J. F. Ade Ajayi, (ed), *Africa in the Nineteenth Century until 1880s: General History of Africa, VI* (Berkeley:University of California Press, 1989) ; J. Cobbing , 'The Mfecane as Alibi:Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo,' *The Journal of African History*,Vol. 29 No.3, (1998), pp.487-519; J. D.Omer-Cooper, 'Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.19, No.2, (1993), pp.273-294.

⁴⁵ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole, General Secretary of Mzimba Heritage Association, Mzuzu, 26 June 2018, Mzuzu.

⁴⁶ For more about the history of the Ngoni of Malawi see M. Read, *The Ngoni of Nyasaland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956); B. Pachai, *Malawi: The History of the Nation* (London: Longman, 1973); M. Read, 'Tradition and Prestige Among the Ngoni,' *Africa*, 9 (1936): pp.435-484; A. D. Mtenje and B. Soko, 'Oral traditions among the northern Malawi Ngoni,' *Journal of Humanities*, Vol.12, (1998), pp 1-18.

The formation of Mzimba Heritage Association can arguably be credited to one man, Upson Wilson Ndawazake Thole. A museum professional, Thole was a curator of Mzuzu Museum, a branch of Museums of Malawi in the northern region. Thole comes from Inkosi Mtwalo in Mzimba district. His interest in forming the association came in 1996 when the manager of Mzuzu Museum, Mike Gondwe, had delegated him to attend a coronation of Inkosi Kampingo Suwande. While there he claimed to have had a productive conversation with senior chiefs that included Inkosi Yamakosi Mbelwa IV about Ngoni culture and tradition. The chiefs asked him how the museum could intervene in reviving the dying Ngoni language. Mike Gondwe granted him consent to start programs of reviving the language at the Museum. Thole brought in two people from the community Tembo and his son, both of whom had stayed in Bulawayo and could fluently speak Ndebele, a sister language to Ngoni. The son became the teacher, teaching Ngoni/Ndebele language in the museum. Thole also brought in two other gentlemen together with Jere, the messenger at the museum, and formed an association called Abenguni Revival Group. Thole became its chairman.⁴⁷

The Group's proclaimed objectives were: 'to revive the language which they said was not being passed on from their forefathers to younger generations; to bring unity to the Ngoni from both central and northern regions; to foster Ngoni identity.'⁴⁸ According to Kishindo some of the activities of the group included drafting their constitution and reviving their dances particularly Ingoma. The group had also a club at Mzuzu Museum 'which practised old songs and provided entertainment to museum visitors.'⁴⁹ According to Kayambazinthu 'a handout based on Nyembezi's *Learn Zulu* and Cope's *A Zulu Comprehensive Course* formed the basis of the

⁴⁷ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁴⁸ P. Kishindo, 'Flogging a Dead Cow?': The Revival of Malawian Chingoni,' *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 11, 2, (2002), p.215.

⁴⁹ P. Kishindo, 'Flogging a Dead Cow?', p.215.

course.⁵⁰ Kayambazinthu further wrote that ‘the group hoped to have village-based clubs where Zulu learning lessons would be offered and teachers would be provided by the chiefs.’⁵¹ Here it is interesting to note that the teaching of Zulu on a group that identifies itself as Ngoni could be argued as the revival of Zulu imperialism in the southern African region. The group’s ultimate goal ‘was to have Chingoni included in the school curriculum.’⁵² Pascal Kishindo has provided a study on Ngoni language revival projects and has argued that ‘the futility of the exercise can be likened to flogging a dead cow.’⁵³ Thus Kishindo was referring to the difficulties and challenges that are encountered in trying to revive an almost moribund language.

The Abenguni Revival Group was later to evolve into Mzimba Heritage Association owing to the efforts and initiative of Upson Thole. In 1997 while attending a one-year course with Prevention in Museums in Africa (PREMA) in Blantyre Thole had sought to discuss the work of Abenguni with prominent figures who were academics. These included D.D Phiri the historian, Tito Banda and Professor Boston Soko, the latter were both lecturers at the University of Malawi. The three suggested to expand the group into a bigger organization that would not only focus on the language but other issues affecting Mzimba, for example, the unity of the Ngoni Chiefs in that district. When he returned to Mzuzu in 1998 Thole consulted other notable figures in Mzimba that included former cabinet minister in Kamuzu Banda’s government Robson Watayachake Chirwa, Professor Suwande, Rev Dr Mazunda who suggested to call a meeting. Thole identified twenty-two people who came for the first meeting in February 2000. After a long debate on the right name of the new organization, Thole finally suggested Mzimba

⁵⁰ E. Kayambazinthu, ‘The Language Planning Situation in Malawi,’ in R. Baldauf and R. Kaplan (eds), *Language and Policy: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2004), p.126.

⁵¹ E. Kayambazinthu, ‘The Language Planning Situation in Malawi,’ p.126.

⁵² Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁵³ P. Kishindo, ‘‘Flogging a Dead Cow?’’: The Revival of Malawian Chingoni,’ p.220.

Heritage Association. He argued that Mzimba means body and by that, it means all Ngoni chiefs and their people are one family.⁵⁴ He also argued that it must be a 'heritage association' and not a 'cultural association' because they would also be dealing with issues of natural history such that if they claim a river or mountain or land no one should question them.⁵⁵ In this way, as Laurajane Smith argued, 'heritage in both material and intangible forms became taken up as a specific resource in the negotiations of recognition and identity claims' by the Mzimba Heritage Association. Heritage became a political resource.⁵⁶ The Abenguni Revival Group was then dissolved. Robson Watayachinga Chirwa was elected as the first Chairman of Mzimba Heritage Association and Thole as its general secretary at this first meeting. Later in April of that year, the executive of Mzimba Heritage Association sought an audience with Paramount Chief Mbelwa and his council to brief them on the objectives of the newly formed association. The Inkosi and his councils gave approval and Inkosi Mbelwa became the patron of Mzimba Heritage Association. At its inception, the association had more than 100 members comprising Ngoni chiefs, journalists and some intellectuals.

Activities of Mzimba Heritage Association

According to the minister of Department of Culture, heritage associations in Malawi have the aim of reviving, preserving and promoting the heritage of the people of Malawi, their way of life, food, history and language.⁵⁷ However, these objectives differ for each specific heritage association in the way they are implemented. For the Mzimba Heritage Association, it presents its specific objectives as promoting Ngoni unity, enhancing what it calls proper traditional

⁵⁴ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole, General Secretary of Mzimba Heritage Association, 26 June 2018, Mzuzu.

⁵⁵ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁵⁶ L. Smith, 'Intangible Heritage: A challenge to the authorized heritage discourse?' *Revista d'Etnologia de Catalunya*, No. 40, (2015), p.139.

⁵⁷ Speech of Chazama, Former Minister of Culture at Umhlangano Festival of the Maseko Ngoni, 2014, Ntcheu, MBC DVD, MBC Library, Blantyre.

governance, identifying and conserving important Ngoni heritage sites and promoting unity and tourism through organizing its flagship cultural festival of *Umthetho*.⁵⁸ The association is first and foremost concerned with the construction or what they call 'rebuilding' a 'sustainable identity' for every person resident in Mzimba. The association believes that the meaning of Mzimba, that of a body, symbolizes and signifies unity that must exist among the Ngoni in the area. The association claims to be involved in matters that it refers to as 'traditional governance' in the district. It claims to monitor proper leadership in the district. For example, it can summon the local chiefs including the Paramount Chief Mbelwa, through its council, to adhere to what the association says is 'proper leadership based on the Ngoni traditions.'⁵⁹ The association is also at the forefront of identifying sites and places that it claims have historical and cultural significance to the Jere Ngoni in order to conserve them. For instance, they promote the site of Hora mountain. A museum and royal house have been constructed on the site and there are plans to build guesthouses.⁶⁰ Hora features prominently in the memory of the Jere Ngoni of Mzimba for a number of reasons. It is where the Ngoni waged their last war and triumphed over the Tumbuka people who were under Chief Baza Dokowe. It is the earliest Ngoni settlement where the first Mbelwa was buried. It is where Loudon Mission by Scottish missionary Robert Laws started and where the first district commissioner of Mzimba signed a treaty with the Ngoni chief that incorporated the Ngoni Kingdom into the British protectorate in 1904 ; it is also where the Ngoni hold their annual festival of *Umthetho*.⁶¹

Mzimba Heritage Association also casts itself as a tool for political empowerment to negotiate and bargain for social and economic needs with state and corporate authorities. One

⁵⁸ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁵⁹ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁶⁰ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁶¹ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

example is that of land and agrarian issues in the district in which the Mzimba Heritage Association makes claims that it is only the Ngoni Paramountcy which is the main authority on land issues in Mzimba and not the state.⁶² The Mzimba Heritage Association in this regard through its leadership makes claims to the land through its invocation of the old indirect rule governance and the 1904 agreement with the British colonial government.⁶³ The persistent assertions to autonomy made by the Mzimba Heritage Association are rooted in colonial history. It is this colonial link which serves as the basis for the heritage claims of the association in Mzimba district. This has wider implications to modern day politics between the state and the claimed Kingdom of Mombera which the Association always uses against the government to make its claims on land and governance in Mzimba. The claims to land resources by the Jere Ngoni through Mzimba Heritage Association also resonates with Hamilton and Wright's understanding of ethnicity when they assert that they 'see ethnicity as a form of consciousness which emerges when a group with material interests to promote or defend comes into conflict over access to socially necessary resources with another group differentiated from it by language or culture or claimed historical origins.'⁶⁴

At this juncture, it is important to reflect on the implications of some of the activities of the association. The issue of ethnicity and ethnic awakening is clear in the work of Mzimba Heritage Association. Its reference to the treaty with the British in 1904 evokes the reproduction of colonial tribe to be attached to an ethno-space and territory. The constant reminder by the

⁶² Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁶³ On the discussion on the agreement between the Jere Ngoni and the British which led to incorporation of the Mombera Kingdom into the Protectorate of Nyasaland see R.Tangri, 'The Development of Modern African Politics and the Emergence of Nationalists African Movements in Colonial Malawi, 1891-1958,' Doctoral Thesis, University of Edinburgh (Unpublished, 1970), p.60; L.Vail and L.White, 'Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi,' in L. Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); J. McCracken, *A History of Malawi, 1859-1966* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2012).

⁶⁴ C. Hamilton and J. Wright, 'The Making of the Amalala: Ethnicity, Ideology and Relations of Subordination in Pre-colonial Context,' *South African Historical Journal*, Vol .22, (1990), p.14.

association of the precolonial Kingdom of Mombera that was once powerful and independent has the implication of casting itself as a tribal entity that must be governed by the traditional dictates. And this mobilizes people to regard themselves in tribal terms.⁶⁵ Mzimba Heritage Association appears to court separatism as they invoke rights of self-determination and flirt with secession.

However, Mzimba Heritage Association considers itself not as a threat to the nation and its unity. According to Thole, its secretary general, the government finds more advantages with the association than what others would regard as its disadvantages. According to him, the government takes advantage of the Association because when the government speaks through the Paramount Chief everyone accepts what the chief directs them from the government. Moreover, because the Association disciplines its chiefs on matters of governance Ngoni chiefs of Mzimba distance themselves from NGOs which mobilize local chiefs in the country to protest and demonstrate against the government.⁶⁶ So, the evoking of ethnicity becomes a way to undermine local dissatisfaction and resistance.

Umthetho Cultural Festival

An important event for the Mzimba Heritage Association annually is Umthetho Cultural Festival. In Malawi since 1994, cultural heritage festivals have increasingly become arenas of discourse enabling the ethnic group concerned to express their views on wider cultural, social and political issues. Often the debates polarise into those advocating change and those wishing to preserve 'traditional' or local culture in the face of modernization and globalization. Thus festivals 'take on a wider range of roles as their significance increases, extending from

⁶⁵ During the debate of Land Bill, the Mzimba Parliamentarians used to invoke the 1904 treaty between the British and the Ngoni People. The legislatures from Mzimba consistently threatened to break away from the republic and form their own Mombela Republic named after the pre-colonial Ngoni Kingdom of Mombela.

⁶⁶ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole, General Secretary of Mzimba Heritage Association, 26 June 2018, Mzuzu.

mechanisms to sustain cultural groups, to mechanisms for assuring the acceptance of a particular cultural discourse to a means of generating local pride, identity and income.’⁶⁷

Plans for the Umthetho Cultural Festival were first conceived in 2004. It was in response to the land bills which the Ministry of Lands and Housing was pushing. The Mzimba Heritage Association sought to ‘create awareness to claim that Mzimba is a kingdom with land rights by staging a festival annually that would bring the Mzimba Ngoni together.’⁶⁸ The first Umthetho Cultural Festival was held in 2008. In 2005 the Association failed to host the event because of other issues such as finances. In 2006 it was not possible to host the festival because Inkosi yamakosi Mbelwa IV fell ill. In 2007 it failed because the association was under investigation by central government authorities. Rumours were rife that the Ngoni of Mzimba were planning to declare secession from the republic at Hora. It was later in 2008 when then-president Bingu Wa Mutharika gave the Mzimba Heritage Association permission to host the event. The theme hatched by the Association for the 2008 festival was ‘From kingdom to protectorate and beyond.’ The idea behind the theme was to inform people of Mzimba’s pre-colonial kingdom and that any time it can return to the old kingdom.⁶⁹ This theme implied that the Association harboured the desire to secede from the republic and become a kingdom in the possible future even though this is categorically denied by its leadership.

Umthetho festival derives its name from the Ngoni verb ‘*Ukuthetha*’, which means to govern. It is a display of the Jere Ngoni in terms of governance, traditions, customs and beliefs.⁷⁰

From the Mzimba Heritage Association’s perspective, according to Thole, *Umthetho* means

⁶⁷ M. Crespi-Vallbona and G. Richards, ‘The Meaning of Cultural Festivals,’ *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol.13, No.1, (2007), p.103.

⁶⁸ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁶⁹ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁷⁰ ‘Report on Fifth Umthetho Traditional Festival held on Saturday, 8 August 2015, at Hora Mountain, Mzimba,’ Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2015), p.2.

customs, laws and traditions. Basically, *Umthetho* is about laws or customs that govern the Ngoni heritage.⁷¹ In this regard, Umthetho festival is presented as being about promoting values of the Ngoni as traditional. This includes not only the Ngoni in Mzimba but even those of their counterparts from Mpezeni Jere, Gomani Maseko and outside the country as is evident by their presence and participation at this festival. Above all, *Umthetho* is used as an occasion when the Paramount Chief presents himself to his subjects. He normally delivers his speech after he has heard from what the chiefs have presented to him.⁷²

It is important to note that while the 2008 festival could be understood as the first *Umthetho* organized by Mzimba Heritage Association, earlier in 1957 during the colonial period, Inkosi Mbelwa II had organized anniversary celebration at Mabili to commemorate the first arrival of the Ngoni in Malawi. Perhaps for the reasons stated in the introduction there had been no anniversary of the Ngoni until 2001. Desmond Phiri has shown that on 22 September 2001 paramount chief Mbelwa VI held a celebration to commemorate the anniversary of their founding father Zwangendaba's arrival in 1839 at Mabili.⁷³ Here Ngoni culture and tradition was on display. The occasion was honoured with the presence of former President, Bakili Muluzi, who was accompanied by the first vice-president of his party, the UDF, and cabinet ministers. The Ngoni of Mzimba, even without the Mzimba Heritage Association, had nurtured ethnic consciousness through these commemorations directly organized by the royal court. The Mzimba Heritage Association led by the cultural brokers who are mostly the elite professionals seem to have other motives that are beyond culture and heritage but political as shown in the discussion.

⁷¹ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁷² 'Report on Fifth Umthetho Traditional Festival,' p.3.

⁷³ D. D. Phiri, 'Some Notes on the Ngoni Clans of Malawi and Ngoni Celebrations at Mabili of September 2002,' *The Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol. 55, No.2, (2002), p.68.

What actually happens at Umthetho festival? The festival is a three-day event. On the first day, Inkosi yamakosi Mbelwa leads the chiefs in a caucus at Hora heritage site where they discuss Ngoni traditions and heritage in general. In addition, they share ideas on how to deal with contemporary social issues such as HIV/AIDS and food security depending on the theme of that year. Most importantly, they discuss what they assert as traditions that are supposedly on the verge of being forgotten or have been forgotten. In this regard, they discuss what needs to be done in order to revive, preserve and promote their heritage. There are also discussions amongst the youth based on the theme of the day. Thus, in a conference format, the youth, mostly under twenty years, discuss issues that affect them. These are then reported to the chiefs' council for solutions.⁷⁴ The second day which is designated as the cultural day is laden with connections being made to ancestors and what are called traditions. It commences with a visit to *Mzalangwe* which is designated as a burial place of 'the father and founder of Mombela Kingdom', Inkosi Mbelwa 1. The chiefs parade with *Umgubo* dance around the tomb of Mbelwa 1. It is a solemn occasion. According to Thole, they remember him as the founding father of the Jere Ngoni Kingdom, as the one who signed a treaty with the Scottish missionaries and the 1904 treaty with the British authorities. It is during this occasion when the Jere Ngoni's colonial history of resistance to British rule is invoked. The tomb of the paramount is enlisted on the tentative list of national monuments to be gazzeted by the Malawi government on the basis of his role to resistance to British rule. It is asserted by members of the Association that paying homage to the spirits ensures a good Umthetho festival. The day reaches a climax with the ascent to Hora Mountain where the Ngoni fought the last battle with the Tumbuka people under Baza Dokowe.

⁷⁴ The theme for 2017 was 'Women and Youth and Ngoni Culture.' Cultural issues about factors leading to early marriages and school dropout were discussed in clusters of boys, girls and men. In 2016 the theme was about culture and environment.

Ngoni from various parts of the country, meet, interact, eat traditional food and drink locally brewed beer. It is where they imagine themselves to be Ngoni. They also hold dancing competitions to select the best performances for the next day. It is important to notice how some of the rituals and practices at this festival are actually ‘invented traditions’ or created by the Association. For example, the choreographed activities at the tomb and the climbing of the mountain to drink and eat. They are recent and not emanating from the imagined distant past.⁷⁵ On the third day which is the zenith of the festival, dress rehearsals commence as early as 7.30 a.m. ‘Traditional’ dance groups start gathering at the venue for their presentations. As people begin to gather at Hora, Inkosi ya Makosi Mbelwa stays in his royal hut at the foot of Hora Mountain awaiting the arrival of the guest of honour and the start of the official program. In the afternoon the guest of honour arrives. He is either the state president or his representative, usually the minister responsible for culture. His Royal Highness Inkosi yamakosi Mbelwa leaves his royal hut to welcome the guest of honour.⁷⁶ The women give ululations as the royal procession heads for the podium. Immediately after the Paramount Chief has reached the podium to take his seat there is an approximately five-minute-long recital of ‘*Chithokoza*’ [Chichewa], ‘*Izithokoza*’ [Isizulu/ Chingoni] by one of the Impi members and Ngoni elders. ‘*Chithokoza*’, can be defined as praise song usually done in Ngoni (Zulu/ isiZulu language) at important events such as the coronation of Ngoni chiefs and important Ngoni festivals such as *Umthetho*. It is normally recited by male Ngoni elders. The main essence is to complement, congratulate, praise

⁷⁵ On how some traditions are invented and made to appear to have come from a primordial past see E. Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions,’ in E. Hobsbawm, and T. Ranger, (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), p1-14.

⁷⁶ ‘Report on Fifth Umthetho Traditional Festival Held on Saturday, 8 August 2015, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,’ Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2015), p.5; ‘Report on Second Umthetho Cultural Festival Held on Saturday, 10 August 2009, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,’ Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2009); ‘Report on third Umthetho Cultural Festival Held on Saturday, 09 August 2010, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,’ Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2010).

and celebrate the achievements of the paramount chieftaincy. Moreover, ‘*Chithoko*zo’ enhances the preservation of a history of the chieftaincy and acts as a reminder of the high and low points in the history of Ngoni people. Soon after ‘*Chithoko*zo’, Mzimba Ingoma performs *Mgubo* to welcome the guest of honour and the Inkosi.⁷⁷ On this occasion men who identify themselves as Ngoni adorn themselves in what is presented as Ngoni traditional regalia, some carrying shields, and others wearing clothes printed with leopard skins. Women are conspicuously visible with their bright and colourful beads. When all are seated the director of ceremonies welcomes the guest of honour, distinguished guests and all the patrons gathered before he asks the moderator of Livingstonia Synod of Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) to say an opening prayer. Then what follows are speeches by Chairman of Mzimba Heritage Association, his Royal Highness Inkos yamakosi Mbelwa, the minister responsible for culture and the state president if he is available. It is important to highlight that the ‘*Chithoko*zo’ or ‘*Izithoko*zo’ is recited in Ngoni/Zulu language. Later the master of ceremonies interprets this in English for the guest of honour. The speeches by the members from the Association are mostly in Chitumbuka, the dominant regional language of northern Malawi. It is only the Chairman of the Association and the guest of honour who speaks in English. After the speeches, the event turns into a cultural entertainment segment in which dance presentations are done. The performances come from the various parts of Jere Ngoni and not only Mzimba district. When the state president gets excited with the performances he or she goes into the dancing arena to join in dancing Ingoma.⁷⁸ At the

⁷⁷ ‘Report on Fifth Umthetho Traditional Festival Held on Saturday, 8 August 2015, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,’ Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2015), p.6; ‘Report on Second Umthetho Cultural Festival Held on Saturday, 10 August 2009, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba’, Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2009); ‘Report on third Umthetho Cultural Festival Held on Saturday, 09 August 2010, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,’ Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2010).

⁷⁸ ‘Report on Fifth Umthetho Traditional Festival Held on Saturday, 8 August 2015, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,’ Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2015), p.6; ‘Report on Second Umthetho Cultural Festival Held on Saturday, 10 August 2009, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,’ Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2009); ‘Report on

event, there is normally an involvement of young people in the dances, especially in Ingoma dance aged under fifteen years. This is considered to be the perfect strategy with which to inspire other youth to start participating in Ingoma and to ensure its viability and continuity in the future.⁷⁹ The official program ends at about 3 pm. The guest of honour leaves the venue of the event followed by the other dignitaries. Thereafter, Inkosi ya Makosi flanked by other Ngoni chiefs from Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and South Africa leave the podium for his royal hut in a procession led by the royal impi doing *Umgubo* dance pattern of Ingoma.⁸⁰

As the above description of Umthetho Festival shows the main objective is to perform a claim to togetherness as Ngoni people and share experiences regarding the Ngoni heritage. Thole, the secretary general of Mzimba Heritage Association summarises what the festival is all about and what it has so far achieved:

At the same time, it is where we bring people to display our culture but again bringing other ethnic groups to share with us their experience and our experience. At the same time when we are at the annual festival its where we bring all the Ngunis in east and southern Africa.⁸¹

The above passage resonates with what Montserrat Crespi-Vallbona and Greg Richards observed in their study of cultural festivals in Catalunya. They have argued that 'the idea of the festival as a transforming moment in society is underlined by the extent to which festivals are seen as a means of developing community spirit and participation. In particular, festivals play a role in developing social cohesion.'⁸² Thus Umthetho Festival has become a performance of social cohesion among the Ngoni people in Malawi. The festival constitutes the category of the Ngoni.

third Umthetho Cultural Festival Held on Saturday, 09 August 2010, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,' Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2010).

⁷⁹ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁸⁰ 'Report on Fifth Umthetho Traditional Festival held on Saturday, 8 August 2015, at Hora Mountain, Mzimba,' Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2015).

⁸¹ Interview with Upson Ndabazake Thole.

⁸² M. Crespi-Vallbona and G. Richards, 'The Meaning of Cultural Festivals,' p.112.

In his study of festivals Valdimar Hafstein observed that in the heritagisation of ‘traditional festivals’ folklorists, ethnologists and anthropologists take an active part in that process. In the case of Mzimba Heritage Association, it was Upson Thole, the museum professional, who assumed the active role of ethnologist or anthropologist in guiding the formation of the Mzimba Heritage Association and its cultural activities such as the Umthetho Festival.⁸³

Heritage and Politics at Umthetho festival

In this section, I consider how Umthetho festival has become a fertile ground for politicking by the political party in power. It is a convenient platform for the ruling party to articulate its plans, visions or issues that concern a particular region or group of people and the assertion of nation in general. It is where the ruling party leaders antagonize their opponents and those whom they perceive as their critics. It is where state leaders openly engage the public on issues that seemingly they could not have vented elsewhere. It is also the best platform where issues of identity, tribalism and belonging are intensely debated, interrogated and justified. Umthetho has become a centre of political manipulation heightened with ethnic awareness that has reminders of colonial tribalism. A discussion of proceedings at some few previous Umthetho festivals affirms the above assessment.

At the *Umthetho* of 2009, held at Edingeni, which coincided with the silver jubilee of Inkosi yamakosi Mbelwa IV, the former president, Bingu Wa Mutharika, responded to a number of issues that were prevalent in the public discourse. He spoke against the criticism from his political opponents that he did not deserve to have the title of *Ngwazi*. At the previous *Umthetho* in 2008 held at Hora, the president was accorded the honorific title of *Ngwazi* by the Ngoni Chief. According to what is claimed as Ngoni tradition, this is a title that is bestowed upon

⁸³ V. Hafstein, ‘Making Festivals,’ p.139.

someone who has displayed prowess and capability in society. Mostly it was bestowed on men because of their valour, brilliance and courage in war during the pre-colonial times. But for the president according to the Inkosi, it was because of his achievements especially his success in ensuring food security in the country. Earlier during Kamuzu Banda's era, the then Inkosi of Mzimba had given the same title to Kamuzu Banda claiming it was for aiding Malawi in attaining independence. President Bingu Wa Mutharika was now being regarded by the Association as the successor of Kamuzu Banda, one who was emulating his development programs on infrastructure development and food security of the nation. This ignited some debate especially from the Malawi Congress Party, the party of Kamuzu Banda which asserted that Bingu Wa Mutharika was using the title of Ngwazi for his own political gains. President Bingu Wa Mutharika had this to say:

I am very happy that our inkosi ya Makhosi and all other chiefs that you have been on the throne for 25 years over Ngoni people and also contributing towards the development of the country. I am also happy because it is here where the Inkosi accorded me the title of *Ngwazi*. So, when I come here to Edingeni I am coming home. Some haters were saying the title *Ngwazi* is only for one personality. It is not for one personality. Anyone who delivers success can be called *Ngwazi*. But it's the chiefs who decide that.⁸⁴

President Bingu Wa Mutharika went on to respond to criticisms of the university entrance quota system as not targeting the people of the north.⁸⁵ The quota system which the government refers to as 'Equitable Access to Education' requires higher education institutions to admit students based on where they are coming from. It is aimed at discouraging a trend under the merit system that saw people from the north entering education in greater numbers than students from the

⁸⁴ 'President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Umthetho Festival 2009' DVD Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

⁸⁵ 'President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Umthetho Festival 2009.'

south.⁸⁶ The president used to argue that he wanted to ensure that all districts in the country provide students to the public universities after noticing that students from the north were dominating the selection at University of Malawi.⁸⁷ The system was once implemented during the late Kamuzu Banda's rule and abolished during Bakili Muluzi's time. It was reintroduced by the administration of Bingu Wa Mutharika. The debates on the quota system always raise the discourses of nationhood, tribalism and regionalism in Malawi with the people of the north perceived to be targeted 'victims' of the policy.

Using the metaphor of a loving mother who equally dishes food to her children the president responded to the criticism of the quota system by justifying that it is meant for all Malawians to benefit access to the university. He emphasized that the program was not meant to target and exclude the northerners from the public universities as other critics and people from the north were putting it.

The president also censured the people of the north for what he perceived as their proclivity for regionalism, ethnic particularism and separatism. The president had this to say:

Wherever you can give me a house to stay I will stay because it is Malawi. But some always want to portray themselves as northerners. What is the matter with them? The north is just an area. This area was just arbitrarily mapped by the colonizers by simply drawing a line. ... And now the north has become a nationality. You always say we are the northerners as if that is your nationality and Malawi becomes second. I am saying you are wrong, Malawi first, second where you are coming from. Because I am Malawian and I do not come from anywhere else but Malawi. So, starting from today we must unite. We must work together. We are different people but, in our diversity, there is strength. So let us unite.⁸⁸

⁸⁶Quota system. <https://www.nyasatimes.com/synod-hits-at-quota-system-malawi-university-selection/>, accessed 12.8.2018; Quota system, <https://www.nyasatimes.com/education-activist-says-quota-system-discriminatory-to-cdss-students/>, accessed 13.8.2018.

⁸⁷ The people of the northern region had benefitted immensely from the education brought by the Scottish missionaries than any other region in the country. Other traditional cultural practices in the central and southern region have also been pointed as leading to school drop outs among the youths in these regions.

⁸⁸ President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Umthetho Festival 2009.'

The president also retaliated against allegations that his government was against the people of the north. He told the gathering that during his secondary school days his desk mates were all from the north and that people used to think that he was from the north as he was in the company of students from the north. He also maintained that since independence he was the only president who had initiated important projects in the north. He further contended that unlike the previous governments and political parties, his party had never persecuted any chief in Malawi as he valued their role in assisting government efforts on development.⁸⁹

At this point, it is important to put into perspective and consider the historical circumstances that had engendered the 'northern region identity' and the anti-northern discourse in Malawi. Leroy Vail and John McCracken agree on the role of the Livingstonia Mission in the construction of the northern identity that previously never existed. Vail has shown that 'the growth of ethnic consciousness in northern Malawi occurred among the people who in the middle of late nineteenth century had a very heterogeneous culture, the differentiation of which historical change increasingly eroded until all were united by a common Tumbuka language, among other cultural facets, and that this particular factor became the most potent base for a new ethnic identity.'⁹⁰ Thus, 'the Livingstonia Mission contributed to the growth of northern identity by employing Tumbuka language in all its schools at a time when Chinyanja/Chichewa was being used in the central and southern regions.'⁹¹ Subsequently, 'this had provided a unifying linguistic base for the previously different northern ethnicities. As a result, ethnic awareness

⁸⁹ The president was making reference to two previous governments before him. Kamuzu Banda's government and Bakili Muluzi's government. During Banda's time it was common for his youth wing to beat up the chiefs who seemed not to support Banda's policies. Some of chiefs were even deposed or the chieftaincy abolished. The same trend emerged in the later years of Muluzi where the party's youth wing could beat up the chiefs that were alleged to challenge the president.

⁹⁰ See L. Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).

⁹¹ See L. Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).

became a vital force in the lives of the people from northern Malawi, particularly when policies of the post-Independence Banda regime threatened them by fostering a new Chewa ethnic identity.⁹² In comparison to the Scottish question, John McCracken has argued that ‘just as the Scottish nationalism was shaped by the relationship of Scotland within Britain to its more powerful neighbour England, so northern identity was strengthened by the projection on a national scale of Kamuzu Banda’s particular brand of Chewa ethnicity.’⁹³ McCracken argued that ‘to the outside world at least ‘Tumbuka’ and ‘northern’ became interchangeable categories with a hard and apparently unbridgeable cultural divide being created between the matrilineal Chewa or Chinyanja speaking inhabitants of central and southern Malawi and the patrilineal Tumbuka-speaking inhabitants of the north.’⁹⁴

Debora Kaspin has also shown that Malawi’s regional factions and ethnic discourse are the results of Banda’s program of nation-building with focus on Chewa and the central region. She has written that ‘the region’s depressed economy was already in evidence during the colonial period, a function of inadequate farmland, lack of commercial development, and the drain of labour out of the region. The northern economy continued to stagnate under the Banda government in part because there was no fledgeling commercial industry (like tobacco production) to cultivate, and in part because there was no effort made by the state to fuel development.’⁹⁵ Its one project was not well subsidized, roads and communications were modernized grudgingly or not at all, and the medical and educational facilities received little

⁹² See L. Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).

⁹³ See J. McCracken, ‘The Ambiguities of Nationalism: Flax Musopole and the Northern Factor in Malawian Politics,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.23, No.1, (2002), pp. 67-87.

⁹⁴ See J. McCracken, ‘The Ambiguities of Nationalism: Flax Musopole and the Northern Factor in Malawian Politics,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.23, No.1, (2002), pp. 67-87.

⁹⁵ See D. Kaspin, ‘Tribes, Regions and Nationalism in Democratic Malawi,’ *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, Vol.39 (1997), pp.464-503.

attention. She argued that ‘the dead economy’ was critical in consolidating the region as strong opposition to Banda.⁹⁶ During Muluzi’s presidency from 1994 to 2004, it is alleged by his opponents that he did not develop the region because it had always voted against him during the two terms he was in power.⁹⁷ All these taken together fed into the ‘northern–identity’ and the anti-northern discourses in Malawi.

President Bingu nonetheless encouraged Malawians to form more heritage associations in order to preserve their heritage. He played down the fears of heritage associations being the harbinger of regionalism and disunity. He highlighted the importance of heritage associations and diversity and unity that might come:

I would also like to say that the organizations that you have established for instance Mzimba Heritage Association are important organizations. There is Mzimba Heritage Association, Mlakho Wa Alhomwe, Chewa Heritage Foundation, Tumbuka Heritage Association and others. I would like to encourage you to form more heritage associations. Forming heritage associations does not mean we are dividing the nation of Malawi. You cannot build a strong nation if the ethnic communities of the nation are not strong. You cannot build a house without a strong foundation. What I want here in Malawi is that each ethnic group must research its customs and traditions. Some of those bad customs can be abandoned. The good ones can be promoted. So from all the different ethnic communities, we must unite to form one community of Malawi. You must understand this very well because even in the United States of America they are not one ethnic group. In the UK they are not one ethnic group. In Europe, they are not one ethnic group. They are different ethnic groups with different languages.⁹⁸

At the Umthetho of 2010 (even though this is after 2009 when my thesis ends it does show some of the tendencies in this festival and I was able to attend this specific event), the president had also some scores to settle with his political enemies. He once again gave the rationale behind the

⁹⁶ See D. Kaspin, ‘Tribes, Regions and Nationalism in Democratic Malawi,’ *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, Vol.39 (1997), pp.464-503.

⁹⁷ See H. Englund, (ed), *A democracy of chameleons: Politics and culture in the new Malawi* (Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 2002).

⁹⁸ ‘President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Umthetho Festival 2009,’ DVD Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

quota system which was still a hot issue in the country, especially among the northerners. He directly attacked the clergy in the north for being the main antagonists and instigators against the quota system. The festival was also an occasion in which the president reacted to public criticism of his involvement as a patron of Mlhakho Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association, the one he had founded. As the next section will show, many Malawians accused the president of tribalism because of his support for this association that belonged to the ethnic group he was supposedly part of, the Lomwe. The president ventured into what seemed like a public lecture defining what constitutes tribalism, and why it is important for Malawians to have ethnic based heritage associations. The president claimed that he understood tribalism as forcing other people to adopt and practice the traditions of another ethnic group. He explicitly pointed to Kamuzu Banda's time as the era in which tribalism was institutionalized in the country. His main argument was that it was important for each group to identify itself and celebrate its customs, history without being dominated by any other hegemonic cultural group as was the case during Kamuzu Banda. Visibly full of intense anger and sometimes beating the podium the president had this to say:

So right now I would like you to understand this very well because some were saying that Bingu is tribalistic because I established Mlhakho Wa Alhomwe. Then you don't know what tribalism is all about. Tribalism is when we are all forced to be Chewas. I am not Chewa. I have nothing against the Chewa. But we were all forced. Chinyanja language was changed to Chichewa. One tribe, one person that was tribalism. I want to explain it I don't want to hide. I want you to know this. If one ethnic group is suppressing other ethnic groups then that is tribalism. But what I am encouraging is for all ethnic communities to bring forth their traditions and customs.⁹⁹

⁹⁹‘President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Umthetho Festival 2010,’ DVD Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

Another issue that the president had to contend with was the behaviour of the clergy of Livingstonia Mission who would go to funerals and castigate the president and his policies. They criticized the president of practising tribalism by excluding the educated northerners in most of the government portfolios. The president advised the Livingstonia missionaries to always present their issues to him at his official residence and seek proper channels. The president called for mutual dialogue for development in the country. The president also defended himself by claiming that he does not exclude the people of the north from national development projects. Like in the previous festival he repeated the claim that he was the only president in the history of Malawi to have prioritized development issues of the northern region. The president outlined what he said were the development achievements that his government had made in the northern region which were neglected by previous governments. Such developments, he maintained, included hospitals, schools, roads, and he announced his government's plan to construct the University of Mombera in the northern region named after the pre-colonial Kingdom of the Jere Ngonis of Mzimba.¹⁰⁰

As the above discussion has shown the Umthetho cultural festival is not merely a festival in which heritage is re-created but also where party politics take centre stage and those in power confront their declared opponents. In relation to this assessment Crespi-Vallbona and Richards have argued that 'participation of politicians can also become a political subject when the number of people attending a festival is seen either as a large potential audience (which is a source of power) or as an indirect endorsement for a particular political view.'¹⁰¹ They noted that 'this is particularly evident at major festivals where the staging of events reflecting cultures can

¹⁰⁰ 'President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Umthetho Festival 2010,' DVD Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

¹⁰¹ M. Crespi-Vallbona and G. Richards, 'The Meaning of Cultural Festivals,' p.112.

also be seen as an attempt to communicate indirectly with communities in the city.¹⁰² They further observed that ‘local politicians are careful to be seen attending the major festivals because these provide useful photo opportunities as well as the chance to identify with a popular event or a particular location or community.’¹⁰³ This political situation at Umthetho festival is also replicated at a festival of Mulhakho Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association.

Mulhakho Wa Ahlomwe Heritage Association

It is not known when exactly the idea for Mulhakho Wa Alhomwe¹⁰⁴ to be established was hatched. But it is known that the association was officially launched on 25 October 2008 at Chonde in Mulanje. Its formation was the idea and initiative of the president Bingu Wa Mutharika, who was president between 2004 and 2012. Its launch in 2008 combined with the elevation of Lomwe Chief, Mkumba, from senior chief to paramountcy. The Lomwe people, one of the predominant ethnically designated groups in southern Malawi, had no paramount chief since colonial times. The absence of the paramountcy is usually explained by the fact that when they had migrated from Mozambique the Lomwes settled among the Yao and Manga’anja Chiefs and technically became subjects of these chiefs. The colonial authorities had also already recognized the Yao and Mang’anja chiefs as their intermediaries through the indirect rule and not the Lomwe. The situation made the Lomwe as subjects of Yao and Manga’anja.¹⁰⁵ Speaking at the launch the Minister of Local Government responsible for chiefs, George Chononda, a Lomwe,

¹⁰² M. Crespi-Vallbona and G. Richards, ‘The Meaning of Cultural Festivals,’ p.112.

¹⁰³ M. Crespi-Vallbona and G. Richards, ‘The Meaning of Cultural Festivals,’ p.112.

¹⁰⁴ There is no standard orthography of how to write/spell this association and its ethnic group. Some documents prefer Mlahkho Wa Alhlomwe. Other variations include Mlako Wa Alomwe, Mlahkho wa Alomwe, Mlahko Wa Alomwe. This is because the Lomwe language has just been revived in writing and people are not sure about its standard orthography. The same also applies when writing the ethnic name Lomwe, others use Lhomwe. So I use in this thesis according to the document or source I engaged with.

¹⁰⁵ See L. Vail and L. White, ‘Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi’ in L. Vail, (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); J. McCracken, *A history of Malawi, 1859-1966* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2012).

praised the president for promoting the welfare of the chiefs in the country by among other things raising their salaries. He also criticized those who were against the title of *Ngwazi* which the president was accorded by the Ngoni chiefs at Umthetho festival earlier in the year. Speaking on behalf of the association the Minister of Tourism and Culture Ken Lipenga, a Lomwe, speaking fluently in Lomwe, justified the formation of the association. He argued that just as other ethnic groups in Malawi have their heritage associations it should not be an issue for Lomwe people to establish a heritage association.¹⁰⁶ He further contended that those who were accusing the president of tribalism did not know what the term meant.

The formation of Mlakho Wa Ahlomwe can be well understood when the prevailing political climate at the time is considered. The need for president Mutharika to seek grassroots support when he had broken away from the United Democratic Front, the party that helped him to power, was directly responsible for the reconstruction of the Lomwe as people and a memory of a troubled past that subsequently led to formation of their heritage association in an era when ethnic groups in Malawi were busy reconstructing their past. In 2004 when President Bakili Muluzi had failed to push for the third term he endorsed Mutharika to be his successor. Muluzi vigorously and relentlessly campaigned for Mutharika. Muluzi introduced Mutharika to public rallies all over the country. 'He would always assure the Malawians that while he was a political engineer, Mutharika was an economic engineer for he had been an economic advisor to many presidents in Africa.'¹⁰⁷ It must be noted that Muluzi's choice of Mutharika as the presidential candidate for the UDF did not please some senior party members who were aspiring to succeed him. Mutharika's nomination led to massive resignations of some elites in the party some of

¹⁰⁶ 'President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Mlahkho Wa Ahlomwe Festival 2008,' DVD Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

¹⁰⁷ See D. D. Phiri, *History of Malawi Volume 2* (Blantyre: CLAIM, 2004).

whom went to establish their own political parties. The most prominent one was Justen Malawezi who had been vice president to Muluzi since 1994.¹⁰⁸ It appeared that by personally choosing Mutharika as his successor Muluzi hoped to influence Mutharika on some of the important decisions of the party and government. But as subsequent events would dramatically unfold this would turn out to be a miscalculated move on the part of Muluzi.

It was in his inaugural speech on 24 May 2004 that Mutharika set out agendas that would be in complete contrast to the party that had aided him to power. When he began his first term, he separated party functions from government business, stopped giving monies to people as gifts at party functions, waged an anti-corruption drive against the former cabinet ministers and was publicly declaring that he would not shield even the former president from the corruption charges if there be evidence.¹⁰⁹

In the assessment of one hundred days of Mutharika's presidency, Desmond Phiri highlighted some of his actions. Phiri noted that contrary to expectations Mutharika had acted fast to distance the state from the UDF machinery. Among other things, this had involved refusing to fund party functions from state coffers and limiting the number of party rallies that could be covered live by the electronic media. Phiri also cited cutting government expenditure by among other things reducing the size of the cabinet and foreign trips. And, unlike his predecessor, Mutharika repeatedly praised contributions that he claimed the late Kamuzu Banda had made to the development of Malawi despite his human rights record.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ D. D. Phiri, *History of Malawi Volume 2* (Blantyre: CLAIM, 2004), p.376.

¹⁰⁹ 'Bingu Discourages UDF slogans at State Functions, *The Nation*, 31 August, p.3: *The Nation*, 1 September, 2004, p.1.

¹¹⁰ D. DPhiri, 'Bingu's first 100 days, The man we did not want to trust,' *The Nation* (Supplement), 1 September, 2004, p.1.

These developments did not augur well with the United Democratic Front, especially the former president who had supported Mutharika. As a result, a rift and political animosity emerged between the former president and his successor. The discord between the two began to surface in the public. On 18 October 2004 during a meeting with the Malawi Human Rights Commission Mutharika complained that Malawi must have one president at a time and not two leaders as some people in the UDF wanted: 'I want to change things but some people are pulling my jacket and behaving as if Malawi must have two presidents. I don't understand this. Malawi like any other country must have one president. You must assist in making people understand this.'¹¹¹

This schism came to a head on 5 February 2005 at Kamuzu Institute of Sports where Mutharika was attending a government function. Mutharika announced his resignation from the party that had sponsored him to power. The president argued that his zero-tolerance for corruption had made him enemies in the party which had been fighting him incessantly for the previous seven months.¹¹² Two weeks after announcing his resignation Mutharika launched his party, the Democratic Progressive Party which had lured a chunk of members of parliament from both the two dominant opposition parties, the Malawi Congress Party and the United Democratic Front. Virtually all independent members of parliament also joined his new party.¹¹³ Nonetheless, the president lacked the majority in parliament. During his first term, therefore, he led a minority government against a strong majority opposition. The UDF, disgruntled by Mutharika's betrayal was determined to impeach him with the help of MCP. They petitioned the speaker of Parliament to invoke Section 65 of the Constitution of Malawi which forbids MPs to 'cross the floor' i.e.

¹¹¹ 'One President at a time- Bingu,' *The Nation*, 19 October 2004, Vol.11 No. 200, p.1.

¹¹² 'Bingu Resigns From UDF,' *the Nation*, 9 February 2005, Vol.12. No.6, p.3.

¹¹³ 'Lawyers Decide on UDF's Future,' *The Nation*, 9 February 2005, Vol. 12. No.6, p. 2.

leave parties that sponsored them into parliament to join other parties represented in parliament. Mutharika was threatened. This would have cut the patched-up numbers of his new party in parliament and expose his presidency to real impeachment possibilities. 'This threat, plus the fact that his party lacked a political grass-roots infrastructure to cultivate popular support, and establish a power base, led him to seek ways to undermine the opposition. While he was able to stall the process of expulsion from the parliament of members of the legislature who had 'crossed the floor' to support him through protracted court battles and by using his prerogative powers to prorogue parliament whenever the issue of Section 65 was raised, it was popular support of his government that he needed most.'¹¹⁴ In the first term, 'Mutharika governed under the shadow of illegitimacy because of his refusal to have presidential fresh elections to confirm his own mandate following his resignation from UDF and establishing his own party while in government.'¹¹⁵ His own popular support was untested. Chirambo argued that 'he needed any form of popular support he could get and it seems this led him to adopt the cultural populism that had characterized Banda's reign. He began salvaging Banda's praise-titles for example 'Ngwazi' to claim qualities for himself that would help him to connect with Banda's sympathisers and gain their affection.'¹¹⁶

In addition, while Muluzi and the UDF had removed Banda's name from several public infrastructures in the euphoria of the transition to democracy (this will be discussed fully in chapter 5 which deals with the memory of Kamuzu Banda) Mutharika reinstated the name and started honouring Banda as a founder of the nation, hoping to elicit popular support for this move. However, the most important move was to turn to an officially designated ethnic group

¹¹⁴ R. Chirambo, 'Democracy as Limiting Factor,' p.79.

¹¹⁵ R. Chirambo, 'Democracy as Limiting Factor,' p.79.

¹¹⁶ R. Chirambo, 'Democracy as Limiting Factor,' p.79.

which he claimed as his, the Lomwe. There are important political points to highlight here. First; the UDF that he had earlier on abandoned had a huge command in the southern region of Malawi in which many of the people who were officially ethnically designated as Yao and Lomwe are to be found. When he had ditched the UDF whose chairman, Bakili Muluzi, the former president and whose ethnicity was designated as Yao, he lost much popular support from these southern districts. His official ethnicity Lomwe is according to national statistics the second largest group after Chewa in Malawi.¹¹⁷ It was therefore prudent for Mutharika to seek support from within Lomwe ethnic structures. As already indicated the Lomwe had a founding narrative of being suppressed by other ethnic groups as the last group to migrate to present day Malawi from Mozambique and had to seek a settlement from other groups by offering themselves as labourers or slaves to their hosts. They were also subjugated to derogatory and disparaging terms such as Anguru, meaning people who speak gibberish. They were mocked as snake eaters and known for practising witchcraft and sorcery. In a similar context to that of the Lomwe of Malawi Carlorlyn Hamilton and John Wright have shown how the Zulu dominant group in South Africa gave an ethnic designation of contempt to amalala whom they had conquered.¹¹⁸ Because of their involvement in a rebellion led by John Chilembewe against the colonial masters in 1915 the Lomwe were the less favoured ethnic group by the British colonial masters.¹¹⁹ All these factors contributed to the decline and loss of assertion as an ethnic group and some adopted the names of other ethnic groups and assimilated themselves with other cultural groups. To be called Lomwe,

¹¹⁷ Malawi includes ethnic affiliation in its census.

¹¹⁸ C. Hamilton and J. Wright, 'The Making of the Amalala: Ethnicity, Ideology and Relations of Subordination in Pre-colonial Context,' *South African Historical Journal*, Vol .22 (1990), p.18.

¹¹⁹ See L. Vail and L. White, 'Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi,' in L. Vail, (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).

therefore, was disgraceful and shameful. Again, because they had adopted the language of another ethnic group their language was seen to be dying.

The launch of the Mlhakho Wa Alhomwe marked the remaking of Lomwe as an ethnic cultural entity. Mutharika appeared to have capitalized on this past and their potential electoral demographic statistics when he decided to form the association with aims of reviving a Lomwe heritage that included their language. The timing of the formation of the association was crucial as it was in 2008 one year prior to the 2009 general elections.

All of a sudden in Malawi the Lomwe became a proud ethnic identity. To be Lomwe was to be associated with the ruling party and its elite. And people who had earlier identified or associated themselves with other ethnic groups began to freely identify themselves as Lomwe. The association that was formed became fully involved in activities to construct its heritage. Other institutions of public history and culture began various projects on documenting Lomwe heritage. For example, the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) became fully involved in the nomination process of Tchopa as a flagship dance of the Lomwe which finally was inscribed on the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of Humanity (this will be critically discussed in the next chapter on UNESCO).¹²⁰ The Museums of Malawi also found itself in a massive project of collecting ethnographic objects of the Lomwe people (this will be critically discussed in Chapter 4 on Museums of Malawi) to boost its collection as it had no artefacts from this ethnic group.¹²¹

Mutharika's political action in awakening the Lomwe's consciousness by reconstructing its heritage is in agreement with Tunbridge and Ashworth who have asserted the dominant

¹²⁰ See Nomination File No. 00999 for Inscription of Tchopa on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2014.

¹²¹ Museums of Malawi 'Report on Research and Documentation of Lhomwe Culture,' 23rd – 31st July 2012.

ideology thesis by arguing that each government regime upon assuming power must appropriate itself control over cultural capital. To achieve this, public heritage interpretation becomes a valuable asset and target for such appropriation.¹²² Mutharika's actions also enable us to rethink the notion of ethnicity. It is also important to consider it as 'essentially a political phenomenon exploited by self-interested groups or classes of people in order to articulate informal (but sometimes formal) organizational functions that are central to the struggle of these groups for power (and advantage) within a formal political structure.'¹²³

Mulhakho Wa Ahlomwe Cultural Festival

As already pointed the first festival of Mulhakho Wa Ahlomwe took place at its launch in 2008. The festival is celebrated annually in the last week of October. Muhlakho means 'the gateway to'. As such, Muhlakho Wa Ahlomwe means 'the gateway to Lomwe culture'.¹²⁴ The claimed purpose of the festival was to enhance unity and bringing a sense of belonging among the people who identify themselves as Lomwe from all the districts they live in.¹²⁵ The organizers of the festival also assert that they aim to preserve and promote a Lomwe culture which they maintain is very rich with traditional dances, food and traditional medicine.¹²⁶

The festival is a two-day event. As a museum ethnographer responsible for documentation of cultural history I have had the privilege of attending most of these cultural

¹²² Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, p. 28.

¹²³ W. C. Chirwa, 'Democracy, Ethnicity, and Regionalism: The Malawian Experience, 1992-1996,' in K. M. Phiri and K. R. Ross, (eds), *Democratisation in Malawi: A stocktaking* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 1998), p. 53; See also E.T. Hylland, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1993); A. Epstein, *Ethos and Identity: Three Studies in Identity* (London: Tavistock, 1978), p.x.

¹²⁴ 'Report on 2015 Mlahkho Wa Alhomwe Cultural Festival Held at Chonde in Mulanje on 17 November (unpublished, 2015), p.2.

¹²⁵ The Lomwe people are predominantly found in the following districts: Mulanje, Phalombe, Chiradzulo, and Thyolo, some parts of Zomba and Machinga districts. These areas are all in the southern region of Malawi and mostly referred to as the 'Lomwe belt'.

¹²⁶ 'Report on 2015 Mlahkho Wa Alhomwe Cultural Festival Held at Chonde in Mulanje on 17 November,' Department of Arts and Crafts (Unpublished, 2015), p.8.

festivals. I recall the 2010 festival. On the first day, a large section of Lomwe people in Malawi gathers at Chonde complex. Each area is represented by a dancing group. Dancing competitions takes place in order to select the best performances for the following day.

People are brought face to face with what is named as Lomwe tradition. The cultural village at the complex allows the guests and tourists to marvel at the architecture of Lomwe housing units and homestead that is represented as indigenous. I remember going inside the hut where I was introduced to what was referred to as the traditional bed and the women demonstrated to me how marital sex is performed on the bed and how the couples are supposed to cleanse themselves with water using a cloth that is hidden from the sight of children. With the facilities like a granary for storing corn, a pigpen, a goat house, a stand for drying plates the village really creates the life of Lomwe people as being traditional.¹²⁷

The Lomwe people are also presented as producers of unique crafts. Displayed on this day are beadwork, handmade shoes, hats, gourds and basketry just to mention a few. Selling of medicines that are depicted as traditional is another highlight during the festival. A lot of people can be seen buying these medicines which are claimed to cure a lot of diseases and help to boost sexual performance for both males and females. Some of the popular medicine on sale is *Mthibulo* and *Gondolosi* (local versions of Viagra). A variety of cuisines that are asserted as traditional are also sold to people.

Unlike at Umthetho festival, there are not sites of memory or history that the Lomwe people can easily construct their past. The Chonde complex has nothing to do with the history of the Lomwe people. The place used to be a campsite of Astad, Construction Company that was constructing the Thyolo–Mulanje road and handed over to the government after the completion

¹²⁷ 'Report on 2009 Mlakho Wa Alomwe Cultural Festival Held at Chonde in Mulanje on 26 October 2009', Museums of Malawi (Unpublished, 2009).

of the road. Unlike their Ngoni counterparts, the Lomwe seem to have no historical figures around which to re-imagine their past and future. One could expect that perhaps because of their significant role in the 1915 Chilembwe uprising the Lomwe would be eager to appropriate for themselves this momentous history. However, this does not appear in the Lomwe heritage. Perhaps this is because at the inception of the association there was more of an emphasis on ethnic-based identity rather than on a resistance-based identity. This is coupled by the fact that in that resistance there was the participation of various groupings that actually ignored their ethnicity. In other words, the Chilembwe uprising was not an ethnic uprising but a peasant uprising. This appears to be the reason why Chilembwe Uprising does not figure in the heritage of the Lomwe during the festivals and it also not claimed as such. There are no specific rituals that are observed during the festival other than the performances and dances. Perhaps until they have people like Thole of Mzimba Heritage Association they would be able to reconstruct and create myths for their heritage. Again, perhaps the migration history of the Lomwe is quite different from that of Ngonis. The Lomwe according to the migration narrative came to Malawi not as a unified group with one ruler but as different groups at different times with different leaders from Mozambique.¹²⁸

On the second day which is the pinnacle of the event the dignitaries which include the paramount chiefs in the country, from Zambia and Mozambique, cabinet ministers, members of diplomatic corps and the state president, who is the guest of honour, arrive. There is no royal procession or a parade like I have discussed with the Ngoni of Mzimba. Speeches are made mostly by the minister responsible for culture, the representative of chiefs, the paramount chief of Lomwe people, the representative of Mlakho Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association and the state

¹²⁸ See L. Vail and L. White, 'Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi,' in L. Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).

president. The speakers at this event switch their speeches between Lomwe, English and Chichewa. In the end, people are entertained by various dances and the president mostly joins in the dance.¹²⁹

It is not only cultural and heritage issues that take the centre stage at the festival. Political issues come to surface. This is especially during the time of speeches and specifically when the state president takes to the podium. At the 2009 festival President Bingu Wa Mutharika responded to the criticism that was coming from a large section of Malawians, opposition parties and other organizations that it was wrong for the president to support the heritage association of the ethnic group that he belonged to as they perceived it to constitute tribalism.¹³⁰ One contributor to a local newspaper expressed his feelings against the president's support of Mlhakho Heritage Association in a binary framework of tribalism versus nationalism:

I wish I had told our president that as our head of state and the leader of our nation, it is wrong for him to be associating and promoting Lomwe culture when he is supposed to operate above tribal lines. I had that burning desire to tell Mutharika that it is totally wrong for him to turn Chonde in Mulanje which Astadi, the road constructors handed to government into the headquarters of Mulhako wa Ahlomwe when the site and the already existing infrastructure could have easily be turned into a primary school. I wanted to express my view that instead of opening for a school for Alomwe as he did last weekend, the school should have been for all children irrespective of their tribes.¹³¹

He went on to add:

I would like to tell the president that his being patron of Mulhako Wa Alomwe defeats the whole principle of Malawi first and our tribes second. Initially, I thought that the president is acting as if he is Lomwe first and a Malawian second. As I have already said I wish I had criticized the state president for promoting tribalism instead of nationalism.¹³²

¹²⁹ 'President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Mlahkho Wa Alohmwe Festival 2008,' DVD Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

¹³⁰ 'Of Mulhako, tribalism and nationalism,' *The Daily Times*, October 29 2009, p. 2.

¹³¹ 'Of Mulhako, tribalism and nationalism,' p. 2.

¹³² 'Of Mulhako, tribalism and nationalism,' p. 2.

In response to such kind of criticism, the president at Mulhako Wa Alohmwe Festival in 2009 outlined the objectives of the association which he said were cultural and developmental in their agenda to prove that he was not concerned with party politics by attending and participating in the festival as argued by others. He argued that he had attended all the festivals of other ethnic groups whenever invited therefore he was not for tribalism as others portrayed him.¹³³ He further assured all the Lomwe people that nothing would stop them from celebrating their heritage.¹³⁴ It is important to highlight that some of the criticisms against the president's involvement were based on the direct link between his government and Mhlakho Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association. Most of his cabinet ministers identified themselves as Lomwe and held prominent positions in the association. They also actively took leading roles at the event as either master of ceremonies or members of the association. While dressed in the colours of the association they used government resources like vehicles. It was like the cabinet had become the association. It therefore became a problem to separate between the ministers and the members of the association.¹³⁵ Civil society groups and members of the opposition parties observed that those associated with Lomwe as ethnicity were linked to the president, enjoyed greater patronage and disproportionate state support.¹³⁶ This included the number of state resources given to the association and also the increased recruitment of its members to senior public positions. As already discussed, this had prompted the president to respond at Umthetho festival in the northern Malawi of his alleged tribalism.

¹³³ 'President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Mlahkho Wa Alohmwe Festival 2009,' DVD Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

¹³⁴ 'President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Mlahkho Wa Alohmwe Festival 2009,' DVD Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

¹³⁵ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda, The Chief Curator at Department of Museums and Monuments in Malawi, Blantyre, 2018.

¹³⁶ Tribal Associations, <https://www.nyasatimes.com/tribal-associations-politics-malawi/>, accessed 13.08.2018.

One of my interviewees offered his assessment on the formation and works of the association. His view was that 'maybe Bingu himself being a Lomwe he wanted to create an enclave. So that in terms of political support he will have the majority support from the majority ethnic group. So, in a way maybe he might have a good intention. But it has turned to be something that is political and other ethnic groups don't feel comfortable with it.'¹³⁷ This comment echoes Bertha Osei-Hwedie's understanding of 'ethnicity becoming politically significant when common culture and traditions are cultivated to foster a common political stance among a group. A common culture enables a group relatively easy to develop common perceptions of politics and political identity, which become the basis of group cohesion and distinguish it from other groups.'¹³⁸ My interviewee's suggestion above also appears to resonate with the observation by Ndlovhu- Gatsheni when he argued that the contemporary tribalist is not the villager in animal skin but 'political actors and leaders who swim in tribal waters and make the whole nation bristle with tribalism.'¹³⁹

The last festival that Bingu Wa Mutharika attended before his death was in 2010. On this occasion, he emphasized the peaceful nature of Lomwe people. He encouraged Malawians to learn about their customs and traditions and preserve their heritage. He also stressed the importance of unity in diversity and respecting other people's traditions. Perhaps the highlight on this last festival was the way he went on to criticize both the opposition and the journalists for not appreciating the achievements that his government had accomplished. It is interesting to note that after the death of Bingu Wa Mutharika in 2012 his successor Joyce Banda directed the

¹³⁷Interview with Kaliwona, History Teacher Chinsapo secondary school, Lilongwe, 1 June 2018: MuhlakoWa Alhomwe, <https://www.nyasatimes.com/police-coy-to-arrest-muhlako-wa-alhomwe-operatives-performing-rituals-at-kaliatis-house/>, accessed 12.8.2018.

¹³⁸ B. Osei-Hwedie, 'The role of ethnicity in multi-party politics in Malawi and Zambia,' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol .16, 2, (1998), p. 229.

¹³⁹ S. Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 'For the Nation to Live the Tribe Must Die,' p.167.

Department of Culture not to send its staff to document the festival of Mlhakho. And the two years that she was in office she never went to Mlako Wa Alhomwe festival. She would only attend other festivals. There were also threats to convert the site at Chonde where the festival takes place into a primary school. It was alleged that the construction company had intended to give the site to the community to utilise it as a school but the previous government had sought to use it as a venue for the association's festivals.¹⁴⁰ The activities of the association continue to attract debate and allegations that it is aligned to the ruling Democratic Progressive Party.¹⁴¹

Ethnic Heritage Associations as new Native Associations in Malawi

Thus far, I would like to highlight an important observation in relation to the ethnic associations in Malawi. A striking resemblance exists in the pattern of formation between the contemporary ethnic heritage associations and native associations during the colonial period. Following John McCracken, I argue that there are indeed 'contours of colonialism' in the nature of the composition and formation of the current heritage associations in democratic Malawi.¹⁴² In colonial times the native associations tended to mobilize themselves along regional and tribal lines just like the contemporary ethnic based heritage associations. In fact, what is

¹⁴⁰ 'Of Mulhako, tribalism and nationalism,' *The Daily Times*, October 29 2009, p.2.

¹⁴¹ The line between party politics and heritage work for some heritage associations have become so blurred that it is seductive to see some heritage associations as quasi-political parties. Take for instance one recent incident. Lately, one minister, Patricia Kaliati has dumped the ruling Democratic Progressive Party. She has joined a new movement led by the vice president, Saulos Chilima who is in a bitter rivalry with the sitting president Author Peter Mutharika. Members of Mlako Wa Alomwe Heritage Association held a night vigil at her house performing a ritual of sacrifice in order to invoke the spirits to punish her for abandoning the ruling party. In similar fashion in 2015 in Rumphi district, at Gonapamuhanya cultural festival, for Tumbuka people of the north, the vehicle of the leader of opposition Malawi Congress Party Lazarus Chakwera was pelted with stones by the supporters of ruling Democratic Progressive Party. The opposition leader was whisked away to safety by the police. The guest chief from Zambia died from injuries of the fracas between the rival political parties that occurred at the festival. Such incidents of politicization of heritage associations and their festivals raise the important questions, are heritage associations a source of fragmentation of national unity? Do heritage associations contribute to ethnic tensions? Is there a distinction between party politics and heritage associations in Malawi? See <https://www.nyasatimes.com/police-coy-to-arrest-muhlako-wa-alhomwe-operatives-performing-rituals-at-kaliatis-house/> <http://mwntation.com/zambian-delegate-dies-amid-rumphi-fracas/>; <http://www.malawivoice.com/dpp-condemns-acts-of-violence-at-gonapamuhanya-cultural-event-malawians-rejected-mcps-terror-rule-in-1993/>; <https://www.zodiakmalawi.com/business-news/dpp-and-mcp-clash-at-gonapamuhanya/>

¹⁴² J. McCracken, 'Contours of Colonialism,' p.215.

more interesting is that most of the ethnic based heritage associations appear to be the revival of the former native associations. For example, Karonga-Chitipa Cultural Heritage Association of the Ngonde people corresponds to the North Nyasa Association, Mombera Native Association of the Ngoni in Mzimba finds its modern image in Mzimba Heritage Association and the A Tonga Heritage Association can be linked to the West Nyasa Native Association of the Tonga people. However, while colonial native associations declared themselves to be political and mouthpieces of the so-called natives in presenting their social, political and economic grievances before the colonial authorities the contemporary ethnic heritage associations proclaim themselves to be concerned with culture and not politics. But as the chapter has shown they are political. Perhaps most significantly as Roger Tangri observed the native associations though based on tribes, they were not tribal in orientation. Nationalism and unity of the nation were their core agenda.¹⁴³ This seems to differ with the ethnic-based heritage associations which appear to be more tribal in their tone, agenda and orientation. Under Kamuzu Banda such anti-colonial nationalism based upon tribe threatened his authority and were actively discouraged. Post-Banda they have been revived but they have become bounded into something called heritage which is essentially narrowly based ethnic formations and acutely tribal in their tone, agenda and orientation. The work of Mahmood Mamdani can also help explain this striking resemblance between the modern ethnic heritage associations and colonial native associations. Thus, when looking at the colonial governance of customary law and indirect rule we see both the genealogies and solidification of ethnicity or tribe. And we might ask what of the genealogies of cultural festivals and of heritage practices? Derek Petersen has also shown how 'British officials buttressed the legal authority of their African intermediaries, in turn, leant themselves

¹⁴³ R. Tangri, 'The Development of Modern African Politics and the Emergence of Nationalists African Movements in Colonial Malawi, 1891-1958,' Doctoral Thesis, University of Edinburgh (Unpublished, 1970), p.199.

authenticity by emphasising the antique character of their institutions.’¹⁴⁴ Often assumed and argued that heritage is a newly and an emergent discourse, as has been shown and argued in this and previous chapters, can we rather locate the cultural heritage practice within the colonial period and customary law, after all customary law would not convince if it were not grounded in valorized features, characteristics and cultural practices that we now call cultural/intangible heritage practices?¹⁴⁵ Moreover ‘ the discourse and practice of colonial governance prized the archaic and the out- of date as the foundation of authentic African tradition.’¹⁴⁶ Finally, I suggest that the striking resemblance between the pattern and trend in the formation of the current ethnic-based heritage associations and the colonial native associations provide an affirmative answer to the question that McCracken posed on the consequences of indirect rule when he asked how far did indirect rule result in the hardening of distinct and antagonistic tribal identities in the post-colonial Malawi?¹⁴⁷ In a similar study Gary Minkley observed what heritage discourse in democratic South Africa has done. He argued that ‘heritage discourse and practice has increasingly constructed an association between indigenous, authenticity, Africanness and separateness from what is characterised as the ‘Western Modern’ ... ‘the real’ is presented as located in the indigenous- in African-ness- which forms the basis for new ideals of citizenship, democracy, participation and nation building.’¹⁴⁸ What is compelling in his study is how the ethnic or tribe expressed in indigeneity has become the basis of heritage discourse in democratic dispensation just as is the case in Malawi. Following Gary Minkley, it seems such inheritance of

¹⁴⁴D. Petersen, ‘Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,’ in D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures* (Johannesburg: Academic Press, 2015), p.7.

¹⁴⁵ See M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹⁴⁶D. Petersen, ‘Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,’ p.7.

¹⁴⁷ J. McCracken, ‘Contours of colonialism,’ p.217.

¹⁴⁸G. Minkley, ‘A fragile inheritor’: The post –apartheid memorial complex, A.C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape,’ *KRONOS: Southern African histories*, Vol.34, (2008), p.31.

colonial relics of tribes and ethnicity has proved to be a fragile inheritance considering the tensions that ethnic heritage associations have brought to democratic Malawi in the name of heritage as discussed in the chapter.¹⁴⁹ The current ethnic based heritage associations are mere reevaluation and repackaging of older colonial ethnic forms.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the new mode of heritage production that finds its expression in the democratic freedoms of 1994 following the end to Banda's autocratic rule. This heritage production is manifested by the ethnic based heritage associations and their activities. The way this heritage is produced appears to have been championed by communities from below. However, I have shown that it is a community-based heritage that is subtly produced and driven by the petty bourgeoisie. I have argued that while this kind of heritage production celebrates ethnic pride and identity it has increasingly become a site of party politics and campaign ground where the notions of 'tribe' and tribalism are reproduced, sometimes reinforced and reaffirmed with potential specter of disunity in the country than it was in authoritarian era. Furthermore, the importance of belonging to a larger constituency of the nation seems to be largely overshadowed at these ethnic based heritage festivals. This conundrum that democracy has presented with respect to heritage associations is succinctly summed up by Chijere Chirwa when he argued that

Ethnicity and regionalism are more likely to surface in their glaring form under a democratic political dispensation than under an autocratic one. This is because, in a democracy, any group of people are free to assert their identity and to lobby for their interests or the interests of the areas from which they come. By creating an enabling environment for particularistic interests of this nature, democracy does give rise to enormous challenges to its own survival as a nationally unifying ideology.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹G. Minkley, 'A fragile inheritor': The post-apartheid memorial complex, A.C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape.'

¹⁵⁰ C. Chirwa, 'Democracy, Ethnicity and Regionalism: The Malawian Experience, 1992-1996,' in, K. M. Phiri and K. R. Ross, (eds), *Democratization in Malawi: Stocktaking* (Blantyre: CLAIM, 1998), p.55.

The challenge is how to eliminate tribalism while retaining cultural continuity and traditional institutions in a pruralistic society in the name of heritage? It is around ethnicity that heritage is widely mobilized around by the Malawian public more than anything else. This, I argue, is possible because issues of identity are more easily constructed around the notions of ethnicity in Malawi perhaps due to colonial legacies of promoting ‘tribes’ and perceived old age traditions. Again, the category of ethnicity is a strong instrument for voicing and contesting politics in Malawi. Moreover it is not only that the conceptual frameworks and knowledge around ethnicity do not change but it is also true that the so called ‘traditional’ political systems themselves remain ‘colonial’. These heritage associations discussed use ethnicity as heritage. And this has direct connections with the UNESCO’s Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage as the next chapter will show.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized classical building with columns and a pediment.

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

CHAPTER 3

Reinforcing Ethnicity or Tribe? UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Malawi

‘The 12 identified community members should preferably be Lhomwe by tribe with good education background and should come from Lhomwe dominant districts of Thyolo, Mulanje, Phalombe, Chiradzulo and Zomba.’ – Elizabeth Gomani-Chindebvu, Director of Department of Culture, Lilongwe, 2010.

‘Heritage is not only heritage when it becomes enlisted on UNESCO’s list, no. It is heritage whatever it is. Even if it is not on the list of UNESCO it does not mean it is not heritage.’ - Julio Magomero, Assistant Secretary Responsible for Culture, Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, Lilongwe, 2018.

Introduction

This chapter is about production and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in Malawi. It puts a spotlight on UNESCO’s 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Malawi joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1964. Since then the country has ratified a number of conventions.¹ The country does not have a large number of its heritage treasures on the UNESCO’s World Heritage List under the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Only two sites were inscribed. These are Lake Malawi National Park in Mangochi district which was declared a natural heritage site in 1984 and Chongoni Rock Art in Chongoni Forest Reserve in Dedza which was declared a cultural heritage site in 2006.² However, it is the 2003 Convention on Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage which to date has more elements on its list and constitutes the focus of this chapter.

¹See UNESCO website on Conventions-Malawi, <https://en.unesco.org/countries/Malawi/conventions>, accessed, 15.8.2018.

²Six elements have been put on the World Heritage Convention Tentative list. These are Mulanje Mountain Biosphere Reserve in 2000, Nyika National Park in 2000, Khulubvi And Associated Mbona Sacred Rain Shrines in 2011, Malawi Slave Routes and Dr. David Livingstone Trail in 2011, Lake Chilwa Wetland in 2011, Lake Chirwa as a man and biosphere site and Vwaza Marsh Wildlife Reserve in 2011.

Malawi formerly acceded to the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention in 2010. But even before that, the country has been implementing a number of projects aimed at safeguarding its intangible cultural heritage as stipulated by the Convention. For example, inventories of different domains of intangible cultural heritage were made and compiled into a National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2007.³ Two intangible cultural elements were enlisted on Representative List under the Intangible Heritage Convention in 2008.⁴ Presently the country has five elements on the Convention's Representative List of Intangible Heritage of Humanity namely *Gule wankulu*, *Vimbuza*, *Tchopa*, *Mwinoghe* and *Nsima*.

The Convention defines intangible heritage as 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated there with that communities, groups and in some cases individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history and provides them with identity and continuity....'⁵ The Convention and its Operational Directives use the terms 'communities, groups and individuals concerned' in a number of places for example in its, preamble, articles 1(b), 2.1, 11, 14 and 15. However, the Convention does not specifically mention what kind of community or what constitutes the community. This situation has been pointed out by some scholars who have argued and stated

³See L.C.J. Mazibuko, C.J. Magomelo, G. M. Mfune, and A.W. Thole, 'Inventory of Malawi's Intangible Cultural Heritage Report submitted to the Malawi National Commission for UNESCO,' Lilongwe, Malawi (Unpublished, 2007).

⁴Vimbuza Healing Dance, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/action-plan-for-the-safeguarding-of-the-vimbuza-healing-dance-00043>, accessed 15.8.2018 ; Gule Wamkulu, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/safeguarding-of-the-gulu-wamkulu-the-great-dance-of-the-chewa-people-00027>, accessed 15.8.2018.

⁵ See UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage.

that there is an unacknowledged and problematic definition at play in the Convention.

Commonly used words, such as ‘community’, can take on ‘common sense’ definitions.⁶

The contexts in which the term is used indicate that communities, groups and individuals are those people who practise and transmit the intangible heritage in question, which contributes to their sense of identity and continuity.⁷ The Convention focuses on elements of intangible heritage that are currently valued and practised by communities concerned sometimes known as living heritage. These elements can be in rural or urban settings and contemporary practices.⁸ Since the Convention does not specify and clarify the term ‘community,’ in practice, State Parties (countries signatory to the convention) have considerable leeway to decide whom to consult in developing nominations and how to represent the heritage in their submissions.⁹ In the context for UNESCO and local initiatives in Malawi in safeguarding intangible heritage, it seems there is a more restrictive definition that identifies cultural practices which are more closely associated with communities identified as ethnic.¹⁰ Thus there is a propensity for the local implementers of the Convention to identify, define and specify communities in ethnic categories perceived to be traditional and anchored in the distant past. For instance, the whole ensemble of

⁶ See L. Smith, ‘Intangible Heritage: A challenge to the authorized heritage discourse?’ *Revista d’Etnologia de Catalunya*, No.40, (2015); See also J. Blake, ‘UNESCO’s 2003 Convention on Intangible cultural Heritage: The implications of community involvement in ‘safeguarding’,’ in L. Smith and N. Akagawa, (eds), *Intangible Heritage* (Abington: Routledge, 2009).

⁷ See UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

⁸ This fact of intangible heritage being a cultural practice not restricted to rurality and age-old traditions but also urban and contemporary cultural practices was made by Dr T.P. Ndhovu, secretary general for the Zimbabwe National Commission for UNESCO. This was part of welcoming speech at the Cluster Training Workshop on preparing for the 2003 convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage on 11 June 2012 at Crown Plaza Hotel in Harare. See File No 170/66 / ‘Remarks by Dr T. P. Ndhovu, Acting Secretary General for the Zimbabwe National Commission for UNESCO to Welcome Participants of the Cluster Training Workshop on Preparing Nominations for the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: 11 June 2012, Crown Plaza Hotel,’ Museums of Malawi, Blantyre.

⁹ See ‘Implementing the UNESCO 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention at National Level: Training and Capacity- Building materials for five day Workshop. Workshop Manual.’

¹⁰ L. Gilman, ‘Demonic or Cultural Treasure? Local Perspectives on Vimbuza, Intangible Cultural Heritage, and UNESCO in Malawi,’ in M.D. Foster and L. Gilman, (eds), *UNESCO on the Ground* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015), p.70.

five enlisted elements under the Convention in Malawi belongs to specific categories of people identified as tribes or ethnic groups. For example, *Gule Wankulu*, *Vimbuza*, *Tchopa*, *Mwinoghwe* and *Nsima* for the Chewa, Tumbuka, Lomwe, Lyambia and all ethnic groups in Malawi respectively. Furthermore, all the safeguarding projects by the Convention target communities that are designated as or identify themselves as ethnic groups or tribes. In essence, then, this new intangible heritage discourse and practice has increasingly constructed a connection between ethnicity, ‘tradition’ (cultural practices only associated with communities designated as ethnic) and rurality (cultural practices that are only perceived to be in the villages). In his study of heritage governance in Eastern Cape Gary Minkley observed similar trends when he argued that ‘in effect heritage representations and practices constitute the idea that Africa or at least real African culture is rural, and in some sense pre-modern.... constantly referring back to a primitivist paradigm or authenticity discourse.’¹¹In Malawi this propensity of identifying and defining communities in ethnic and perceived traditional forms has enabled the convention to find synergy and exclusive mutual working relationship with ethnic-based heritage associations that have been formed in the recent democratic era as discussed in the previous chapter because they define their heritage also based on perceived ‘authentic’ traditional African/Malawian past. Consequently, ethnic-based heritage associations have become part of the mainstream actors in the implementation of safeguarding the intangible heritage mostly via their ethnic-based heritage festivals. In addition, the Convention has promoted and enhanced research by museums on the ethnographic heritage of the communities designated as ethnic groups. All taken together, this Convention in Malawi, is about cultural practices of communities defined as ethnic and perceived to be traditional. This situation or trend is historical and it has ‘contours of

¹¹ G. Minkley, ‘A fragile inheritor’: The post-apartheid memorial complex, A. C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape,’ *KRONOS: Southern African histories*, Vol.34, (2008), p.32.

colonialism.’ It goes back to colonial times in which Malawian societies were perceived to be tribal for colonial administration. This was further reinforced in the early post-colonial era when what was culture or heritage was perceived more in ethnic or traditional terms, as discussed in chapter one. This has continued in democratic times when cultural heritage is more identified with ethnic-based heritage associations and their practices as discussed in chapter two. I argue in this chapter that in Malawi the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has been turned into an instrument of promoting ethnic awareness and reinforcing the idea of ethnicity and tribe. Furthermore, the Convention rationalizes the establishment of ethnic-based heritage associations and the enhancement of ethnographic museums and their associated ethnographic practices as institutions of implementing the Convention.

This chapter critically discusses the safeguarding projects that UNESCO in collaboration with the Department of Culture (especially Museums of Malawi) has implemented in Malawi. It specifically looks at the safeguarding projects among two designated ethnic groups. These are the Chewa ethnic group of central region (and some parts of the southern region) and the Lomwe ethnic group of the southern region. It also discusses the project of developing the National Intangible Heritage Register (inventory) drawn from the cultural practices of various designated ethnic groups in the country. In order to contextualize this discussion a brief outline of how the Convention emerged, its objectives and recommendations are first explored.

UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible cultural heritage

The 2003 Convention for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, also known as Intangible Heritage Convention, is among the seven UNESCO Conventions in the sphere of culture and heritage.¹² As its name suggests the convention aims at the safeguarding of the

¹²The other UNESCO Conventions under culture and heritage are; the 2001 Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage ; the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural

intangible heritage of communities, groups and individuals everywhere in the world.¹³ The Convention categorizes intangible cultural heritage into the following five domains: ‘oral traditions and expressions including language, as vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship.’¹⁴ The emergence and inception of the 2003 Convention is understood within the framework of a post-colonial critique of epistemological understanding of heritage. This critique emanated from countries in the global south which challenged the dominant discourse of heritage production from the global north or the West. Laurajane Smith identified this Western hegemonic discourse as the Authorized Heritage Discourse. A detailed discussion of this discourse has been presented in the introduction to this thesis. The practical example that Smith draws to illuminate the Authorised Heritage Discourse is the way the 1972 World Heritage Convention was challenged by non-Western nations and scholars for advancing western concepts of heritage and its values. Smith asserted that ‘The World Heritage Convention, 1972, in particular, has not simply influenced management practices; it has defined the ways in which heritage as a cultural phenomenon has been understood. This understanding was potentially challenged by the implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.’¹⁵ Other scholars have also pointed to the shortcomings of the World Heritage Convention. For example, Valdimar Hafstein has raised three important criticisms. The first criticism is concerned with the global imbalance

Heritage ; the 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the illicit import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property ; the 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict; the 2005 Convention on Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions; the 1952 Universal Copyright Convention.

¹³ ‘Introducing the Convention’ in ‘implementing the UNESCO 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention at the National Level: Training and Capacity Building materials for Five day workshop. Workshop Manual.’

¹⁴ See UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

¹⁵L. Smith, ‘Intangible Heritage: A challenge to the authorized heritage discourse?’ p.133.

in representation on its World Heritage List. Hafstein noted that ‘going by the list more than half of the world’s cultural heritage is concentrated in the relatively small continent of Europe.’¹⁶ Thus it is Eurocentric. Second, the convention’s definition of cultural heritage has been characterized as monumentalist and far too firmly rooted in a European classical conception of historical structure: castles, palaces, cathedrals, abbeys, temples, mausoleums and megaliths. Thus it is monumentalist. And ‘is infatuated with size and privileges those large scale and highly charged material traces of the civilizations that spawned it to the detriment of vernacular architecture and the material traces of nonmonumentalist civilisations.’¹⁷ Thus it is materialist. Other criticisms include environmental apartheid as it excludes the role of human beings in shaping nature and consequently it enhances environmental racism as the indigenous groups are removed from their natural sanctuaries. Again its outstanding universal value creates hierarchies of heritage. Its authenticity disregards the creativity and adapting nature of living heritage. Thus the 1972 World Heritage Convention is defined ‘topographically rather than ethnographically.’¹⁸ These criticisms came not only from scholars, but also from indigenous communities and countries whose perception of heritage tended to be excluded by the Authorized Heritage Discourse generally, and the World Heritage Convention in particular, indeed UNESCO faced intense lobbying from a number of countries to address this omission.¹⁹ Hafstein described how in 1973 Bolivia led the way in criticizing and challenging the Authorized Heritage Discourse evident in World Heritage Convention and how this eventually led to the coming into being of the 2003 Convention.²⁰ It is important to note that Bolivia also used such claims to prop up its

¹⁶ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage: El condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), p.59.

¹⁷ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage*, p.60.

¹⁸ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage*, p.61.

¹⁹ L. Smith, ‘Intangible Heritage: A challenge to the authorized heritage discourse?’ p.135.

²⁰ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage*, p.21.

fascist regime, hence the argument made by Hafstein that recovery and safeguarding is a form of dispossession.²¹

In 1982 UNESCO set up a committee of experts on the safeguarding of folklore and created a special section for the 'non-tangible heritage' (currently known as intangible cultural heritage), culminating in the adoption of the Recommendation on the Protection of Traditional Culture and Folklore in 1989. This recommendation promoted the protection of traditional culture and folklore. Janet Blake wrote that 'the adoption of UNESCO's 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore was a major step forward in providing formal recognition of intangible heritage and the need to safeguard it, representing the culmination of many years work.'²² Blake further explained that 'it was also a significant conceptual development in that it was the first time that non-material aspects of cultural heritage were explicitly the subject matter of an international instrument. Inspired by the experiences in East Asia (Specifically from South Korea and Japan), UNESCO started the Living Human Treasures Programme in 1993 and the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 1998.'²³ However, after several regional assessments on the impact of the recommendation, change had to be affected and an expert meeting was convened. This resulted in the Washington International Conference in 1999 organized by UNESCO and the Smithsonian Institution. The resolutions from the expert meeting formed the basis of a new or revised legal instrument to address questions of terminology and the breadth of the subject

²¹ Hafstein has also shown how safeguarding in Bolivia by autocratic regime disempowered the indigenous communities from controlling their practices. See V. Hafstein, 'Making Threats,' p.49.

²²J. Blake, *Developing a New Standard-setting Instrument for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Elements for Consideration* (Paris: UNESCO, 2001), p.v.

²³ See V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage*; L. Smith *Uses of Heritage*; 'Introducing the Convention' in 'Implementing the UNESCO 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention at the National Level: Training and Capacity Building materials for Five-day workshop. Workshop Manual.'

matter, protection of traditional culture and folklore, more adequately.²⁴ Blake wrote that ‘in particular, experts raised a common criticism of the inappropriate use of the term ‘folklore’, as it was used in the 1989 recommendation on the protection of traditional culture and folklore, to describe a range of cultural heritage for conservation purposes. It was said indigenous people regard it as a term that demeans their traditional cultural heritage and does not accurately describe it.’²⁵ On a different level, some critics for example Harriet Deacon and others contend that ‘the terms ‘indigenous’ and ‘traditional’ are problematic in the definition of intangible heritage because they imply that intangible heritage occupies the same discursive space as ‘primitive culture’ or its derivative, folklore.’²⁶ Harriet Deacon et al have argued that such ‘constructs tend to portray aspects of intangible heritage as old, pre-industrial, unchanging or relatively stable over time, related to ethnic identity and regionally specific.’²⁷ It was felt that the approaches adopted in the Recommendation, and in the Living Human Treasures and Masterpieces Programmes, were greatly influenced by expert-driven models and the focus on outstanding universal value in the World Heritage Convention. This approach was criticised and consensus began to develop around the idea that ICH safeguarding required significant levels of community participation and the rejection of hierarchies between elements. More attention was to be paid to the transmission of knowledge and skills than to exceptional individual tradition bearers.²⁸ ‘In 2001 the organs of UNESCO instructed the Secretariat to organize an intergovernmental meeting aimed at reaching the consensus on a text for a preliminary draft of

²⁴ ‘UNESCO Report on Symposium on the protection of traditional knowledge and expressions of indigenous cultures in the Pacific Islands, Noumea, 15 -19 February 1999.’

²⁵ See J. Blake, *Developing a New Standard-setting Instrument for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Elements for Consideration* (Paris: UNESCO, 2001).

²⁶H. Deacon, etal, ‘The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage: Legal and Financial Instruments for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage,’ Social Cohesion and Integration Research Program, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2003), p.24.

²⁷ H. Deacon, etal, ‘The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage,’ p.24.

²⁸V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage*, p.12.

the international convention.²⁹ The Convention was then prepared for UNESCO between September 2002 and December 2003.³⁰ It was finally adopted by UNESCO's General Conference in October 2003. Malawi ratified it in 2010.

Even though the 2003 Convention emerged as a critique of the Authorized Heritage Discourse, particularly the 1972 World Heritage Convention, it continues to be informed and entrapped by the ideas of the discourse it seeks to criticize and unsettle despite its recognition of the intangible forms of heritage. This, as the chapter will show, is evident on how it is still governed by practices and authority of so-called experts in heritage production even though the communities are involved. Thus the Convention still remains part of the 'patrimonial regime' informed by the Authorised Heritage Discourse.

Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Malawi

The concept of safeguarding intangible heritage refers 'to the management and maintainance of the viability of the intangible element i.e. its continued practice and transmission by the communities concerned.'³¹ The Convention provides obligations that each State Party must fulfil to implement the objectives of the Convention. For example, in Article 11 it calls for States Parties to 'take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory', 'identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups, and relevant non-governmental organizations.'³² Article 12 emphasizes the establishment of national inventories of intangible heritage that must be regularly updated while Article 13 states that 'each State Party shall endeavour to designate or establish one or more competent bodies for the

²⁹ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage*, p.12.

³⁰ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage*, p.13.

³¹ See UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

³² See UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage in its territory. Establishing documentation institutions for the intangible cultural heritage and facilitating access to them.³³ Countries are further asked to build capacities in order to successfully achieve the stated obligations.³⁴ In order to achieve these objectives, two Lists and Register of best safeguarding practices have been established under the Convention. For example, Article 17 of the convention establishes the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in need of urgent safeguarding also known as Urgent Safeguarding List. This is aimed at safeguarding ICH elements whose viability is threatened. Article 16 establishes the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The List is said to illustrate the diversity of the ICH of humanity across all its domains and across all the communities and groups. States Parties may nominate elements for inscription on these lists. They may also nominate safeguarding practices and other experiences in implementing the convention on the Best Practices Register.

Malawi as a State Party has successfully met some of these stipulated obligations. In order to build its capacity for the implementation of the Convention Malawi has participated in several workshops and trainings at the national, regional and global level. Among other things these workshops aimed at training the States Parties on how best to safeguard their heritage through preparations of nominations, awareness raising, protection, inventorying and other safeguarding practices and measures. At the local level, Malawi has conducted various workshops aimed at training and building capacity of various institutions and community groups (normally the ethnic-based communities) in safeguarding intangible heritage. For example, in 2012 I was invited to participate in a five-day workshop in Lilongwe on training and capacity building for the implementation of the UNESCO 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention

³³ See UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

³⁴ See UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

at the national level. Present during the training were academics, senior chiefs from different designated ethnic groups, representatives of ethnic-based heritage associations and cultural institutions like the Museums of Malawi which the author represented. The facilitators introduced the Convention, its objectives, obligations of State Parties, obligations of communities and non-governmental organizations. The participants were trained in various approaches to safeguard the intangible heritage in their communities. In the end, the participants were asked to propose at least two projects for safeguarding the intangible elements. Suggestions were made to revive the National Intangible Heritage Committee to coordinate all the safeguarding activities in the country. Museums of Malawi was chosen as a member of the committee. Malawi also created a national inventory for its intangible cultural heritage. It managed to successfully enlist five of its ICH elements on the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Through UNESCO and the Department of Culture, the country supports and promotes other cultural institutions and organizations, for example, the ethnic-based heritage organizations and their communities in safeguarding their heritage through inventory and other activities.³⁵ In what follows I discuss the creation of National Inventory of Intangible Heritage, promotion and nomination of *Gule wankulu*, and *Tchopa* dances as examples of the safeguarding measures which Malawi has implemented in accord with the Convention.

Enumerating Culture: The National Inventory of Malawi's Intangible Heritage

As discussed above each State Party is obliged to create the inventory of intangible heritage present in its territory. It was in the spirit of this obligation that in September 2006 the

³⁵Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko, Chief Research officer with Department of Museums and Monuments of Malawi, UNESCO's Southern Africa Facilitator in Capacity Training on Implementing the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention, Blantyre, 28 May 2018.

³⁵ L. Smith, 'Intangible Heritage: A challenge to the authorized heritage discourse?' p.133.

³⁵ Interview with Julio Magomero, Executive secretary responsible for culture at Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, Lilongwe, 28 April 2018.

ethnography section of Museums of Malawi, with support of the Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, submitted a proposal to UNESCO Harare Cluster office under the regular programme for 2006-2007 Biennium for funding of its inventory exercise. The overarching goal of the proposal was to develop a National Inventory of Intangible Heritage of Malawi. It was expected that a documented account of different aspects of Malawi's intangible heritage would be collected with a brief description of each intangible heritage element.³⁶ The Malawi National Commission for UNESCO gave the rationale for the project which was framed within the framework of 'salvage ethnography' to preserve the declining traditions amid globalization.³⁷ According to its work plan, the living culture of six ethnic groups in Malawi was to be documented. The 'communities concerned' that were identified were six designated ethnic groups: Yao of Zomba, Mangochi and Machinga; Chewa of Lilongwe, Dowa, Ntchisi and Kasungu; Ngoni of Ntcheu and Mchinji; Tonga of Nkhatabay; Tumbuka of Rumphi and Mzimba; Lambya and Ngonde of Chitipa and Karonga districts. The documentation for the Lomwe ethnic group was partly done later. Desk research and fieldwork were the proposed methodologies for the project. The research team comprised of officers from UNESCO and the Department of Culture especially the divisions of Museums and Arts and Crafts. Commenting on the motivations and rationale for the safeguarding of heritage through various approaches like inventorying Harriet Deacon observed that 'the priority for Safeguarding ICH is generally extended to those practices/elements of ICH that are threatened by colonization, political marginalization, globalization or those that reflect regional/national identity.'³⁸ In the case of

³⁶ Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage, File No.170/22, 'Malawi National Commission for UNESCO: A Project Proposal Submitted to UNESCO Harare Cluster office under the regular programme for 2006-2007 Biennium,' Blantyre.

³⁷Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, 'Inventorying Intangible Heritage,' *Information Magazine*, No. 2, (2007), p.59.

³⁸ Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage, File No.170/27, 'Report on UNESCO SUB-Regional meeting held in Dares Salaam,' 6th December 2006, Blantyre.

Malawi, it seems globalization was represented as the main issue because in the proposal for the National inventory the justification given for the inventorying exercise was ‘to record the dying cultural practices for posterity that were in the risk of dying to globalizing forces and other factors brought by modernity.’³⁹

In 2007 the cluster centre of UNESCO in Harare approved and funded the project. According to the letter notifying the Director of Culture about the funding, the approval was a follow up of the UNESCO’s Sub-regional meeting on the Convention on Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage that was held in Dar es Salam on 27 and 28 November which Malawi participated. The ethnographer at Museums of Malawi was appointed as ‘the Principle Investigator of the project’ and was to be assisted by the Senior Programme Officer of Culture at Malawi National Commission for UNESCO and an officer from the Department of Arts. The project commenced on 27 March 2007.⁴⁰ The appointed team conducted fieldwork in all the targeted districts and ethnic groups scattered across the three administrative regions of the country, north, south and centre. At the end of the exercise, an inventory was created.⁴¹ The inventory listed and described the important cultural elements of each designated ethnic group. The inventory captured the elements across the five domains of the intangible cultural heritage as defined by the Convention (oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, traditional art and crafts, social practices, rituals and festive events, and knowledge and practices concerning nature and universe). For example, in the domain of oral traditions and expressions, folktales were listed and described such as *Mikuluwiko*, *Nthabwala*, *Nthano* and *Visili*. In the domain of

³⁹ Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage, File No.170/22.

⁴⁰ Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage, File No.170/28, ‘Project Proposal; Development of National Inventory on Intangible cultural heritage of Malawi,’ 12th March 2007, Blantyre.

⁴¹ Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, ‘Inventorying Intangible Heritage,’ *Information Magazine*, No.2, (2007), p.59.

performing arts and dances that were deemed to be traditional elements included *Beni, Chilimika, Gule Wankulu, Vimbuza, and Chisamba*. In the domain of social practices, rituals and festive events the elements included *Kadumuliro, Ndimizga, Chinkhoswe, Mitala, and Chinamwali*. In traditional craftsmanship, the listed elements included *Chitanga, Khasu Tuku, Chitupa, and Lutefu*.⁴²

All the documentation for this inventory and other inventory exercises that followed were compiled on the national database of intangible heritage managed by the Museums of Malawi. In its evaluation of the national inventorying project the Malawi National Commission for UNESCO concluded with the assessment that ‘the study made an important contribution to the promotion of intangible cultural heritage by looking at the threats and proposed ways of safeguarding heritage.’⁴³In addition, it was maintained that ‘the inventory would raise the public awareness on the importance of safeguarding cultural heritage that is prerequisite for national development.’⁴⁴ Malawi selects an element for nomination in any of the three mentioned lists provided by the Convention from this inventory discussed above.

I would like to explore some important issues pertaining to the inventorising, nomination and listing exercises like the one discussed above. For example, how do the processes of inventorising and subsequent nomination go about? Who holds the power/ authority in these processes? What happens when an element is enlisted? Or what does a listing of an element in the inventory mean?

⁴² See L. C. J. Mazibuko, C. J Magomelo, G. M. Mfunne, and A. W. Thole, ‘Inventory of Malawi’s Intangible Cultural Heritage. Report submitted to the Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, Lilongwe, Malawi, 2007.

⁴³ See L. C. J. Mazibuko, C. J Magomelo, G. M. Mfunne, and A. W. Thole, ‘Inventory of Malawi’s Intangible Cultural Heritage. Report submitted to the Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, Lilongwe, Malawi, 2007.

⁴⁴Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, ‘Inventorying Intangible Heritage’ *Information Magazine*, No.2, (2007), p.60.

The Convention, especially Article 11, requires the full involvement, contribution and participation of the communities concerned in all of the processes of safeguarding of their intangible cultural heritage.⁴⁵ According to Lovemore Mazibuko, the UNESCO facilitator for the Convention, this is ‘because at the end of the day these are the owners of the heritage. You cannot talk of safeguarding, revitalizing, promoting, protecting ICH in any form without involving the communities.’⁴⁶ Supposedly, it is the communities who must decide what should go into the inventory. But there is always some ‘guidance from experts’ which I call an intervention. It is said that this is because most of the communities are not conversant with the technicalities involved in inventoring and nomination processes. Julio Magomero the UNESCO expert maintains that ‘if communities do not understand what should go to which list then we have a problem. Experts have to educate the communities through various kinds of training.’⁴⁷

It is, therefore, the State Party through cultural institutions, for example, UNESCO and Museums of Malawi, which explain and sell the idea of intangible heritage and its safeguarding practices to the community. The community is made aware of the Lists. ‘But the one who decides that they want their element to be nominated is not the States Party. It is the community. However, for them to do that they need to be capacitated, to be informed, to be made aware that there are those processes within the convention that allows them to put some elements within their cultural practices on the list. And in fact, there is an elaborate process in which you have to justify that you really involved the community even the nomination process itself.’⁴⁸ From the look of things, this process is a top-down approach. It is the experts who reach out to the community and inform them about their intangible heritage. It is this interface between the

⁴⁵See UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

⁴⁶Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko.

⁴⁷ Interview with Julio Magomero.

⁴⁸Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko.

community and the experts which is critical in the heritage process under UNESCO convention. It is here where issues of power, expertise and ownership of heritage are negotiated and decided. Much as there is a claim that it is the community who make the decision of what should be inventorised or nominated the entire process is driven and facilitated more by the experts' needs than the community needs. It is at this disjuncture where criticisms and debates on community and expert relationship as well as ownership of the enlisted element are raised.⁴⁹ Following Corrine Parkin I therefore argue that these nominations and listing projects by UNESCO are evidently 'community engagement projects' and not 'community-driven projects.' The former are heritage projects imposed by the heritage organization or experts and the latter are 'the result from an identified need or request from community groups.'⁵⁰

Another important issue to consider is that listing of the intangible heritage itemizes culture. In fact, 'the enumeration and itemization are the very essences of the Convention.'⁵¹ The Convention makes and produces heritage through its Lists and the inventories. There is an argument that 'heritage is not only heritage when it becomes enlisted on UNESCO's list. It is a heritage whatever it is. Even if it is not on the list of UNESCO it does not mean it is not heritage'⁵² I respond to this assertion with a consideration that there is a difference that comes when an element is identified and enlisted on any of the lists of UNESCO. While heritage may exist prior to UNESCO's intervention UNESCO reproduces and refashions heritage into a unique 'UNESCO heritage' which becomes quite removed from the 'community heritage' owing to obligations and conditions imposed on the new status brought by listing unlike if the element

⁴⁹ See L. Smith, 'Intangible Heritage: A challenge to the authorized heritage discourse?' *Revista d'Etnologia de Catalunya*, No. 40, (2015).

⁵⁰ C. Perkin, 'Beyond the rhetoric: negotiating the politics and realising the potential of community-driven heritage engagement,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 16, (1-2), (2010), p.116.

⁵¹ V. Hafstein, 'Making Lists,' p.79.

⁵² Interview with Julio Magomero.

was not listed. Thus ‘segments of culture acquire cultural heritage status once particular value is assigned to them.’⁵³ On this consideration, I invoke Valdmir Hafstein who argues that ‘heritage making is itself not unlike list making. For whatever is so designated is abstracted from its previous context and placed in relation to other things, sites, practices or expressions also selected into the category of heritage. Individuals and institutions that sanction the selection imbue this category with authority and objects inducted into the category are accorded a value of a different and more general kind than any value they previously had. It should come as no surprise, then, that listing shadows heritage making.’⁵⁴

Hafstein further argued that listing is ‘tool for channelling attention and resources to certain practices and not to others.’⁵⁵ Gary Minkley has also shown how listing intangible elements make them a new heritage that can easily be regulated and governed and aligned to development purposes for example tourism. Furthermore the ‘list itself becomes both the primary transmitter and the object of heritage knowledge.’⁵⁶ In similar thoughts to that of Hafstein and Minkley, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has shown how listing produces a kind of new heritage when she argued that ‘world heritage lists, arise from operations that convert selected aspects of localized descent heritage into a translocal consent heritage-the heritage of humanity.’⁵⁷ Again ‘heritage is a process of negotiating historical and cultural meanings and values that occur around the decisions we make to preserve, or not, certain physical places or objects or intangible events and the way these are then managed, exhibited or performed. They also occur in the way visitors

⁵³ L.Smith and N. Akagawa, (eds), *Intangible Heritage* (Abington: Routledge, 2009), p.258.

⁵⁴ V. Hafstein, ‘Making Lists,’ p.79.

⁵⁵ V. Hafstein, ‘Making Lists,’ p.87.

⁵⁶ G. Minkley, ‘A fragile inheritor’: The post-apartheid memorial complex, A.C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape,’ *KRONOS: Southern African histories*, Vol. 34, (2008), p.29.

⁵⁷ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘World heritage and cultural economics,’ in I. Karp, C. A Kratz, L. Szwaja, T. Ybarra-Frausto, G. Buntiz, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and C. Rassool, (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/ Global Transformations* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006), p.170: See also B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Intangible heritage as metacultural production,’ *Museum*, Vol.56,1-2, (2004), pp.52-65.

engage or disengage with these things and events. Places and intangible events of heritage are given value by the act of naming them the heritage and by the processes of heritage negotiations, performances and re/creations that occur at them.⁵⁸ According to Smith Heritage is thus a discourse involved in the legitimatization and governance of historical and cultural narratives, and the work that these narratives do in maintaining or negotiating societal values and the hierarchies that these underpin.⁵⁹ In all these processes UNESCO presents itself as ‘a project of cultural legitimization’ as it ‘recognizes, authorizes and validates certain cultural practices as “heritage” through its listing.’⁶⁰ In fact ‘intangible heritage is the list.’⁶¹ Thus, the listed elements become heritage to be governed and controlled. What I am arguing in this section is that through the documentation of intangible elements of culture and its subsequent inventorising, nomination and inscription on any of the UNESCO’s list the cultural element becomes a spectacle that has to be governed, controlled, safeguarded and promoted and this is what it means by production of heritage by UNESCO. And this is how Malawi has produced UNESCO heritage under the intangible heritage convention. The next section looks at some of the measures that have been put in place to promote and safeguard *Gule wankulu* intangible heritage of the Chewa ethnic group of Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique as an example of the UNESCO intangible heritage in Malawi.

Gule Wankulu multinational safeguarding project

Gule Wankulu (literally translated as ‘the great dance’) is a claimed traditional dance of the people who identify themselves as Chewa ethnic group. This ethnic group covers parts of modern Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. These are territories which were under the pre-

⁵⁸ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.111.

⁵⁹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.111.

⁶⁰ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, p.111.

⁶¹ V. Hafstein, ‘Making Lists,’ p.79.

colonial Kingdom of Maravi. As discussed in chapter one modern Malawi derives its name from this precolonial polity. In Malawi, the Chewa people are found in large numbers in central and southern regions while in Zambia they are said to be found in Eastern Province of Zambia. In Mozambique, they are found in Tete Province. *Gule Wankulu* is performed at religious, economic, social and political functions of the Chewa ethnic group.⁶² Although performed predominantly by Chewa men, women participate by singing and clapping hands during the dance. 'Male dancers wear full costumes and masks of wood and straw, expressing a great variety of spiritual and secular characters.'⁶³ Each traditional chieftaincy of the Chewa people practices and performs the dance in varying degrees of elaboration. In those communities that hold *Gule Wankulu* with zeal and intense religiosity, they stage regular inter-village festivals during different occasions or as a form of pastime. These festivals are called *Chizangala*.⁶⁴

On 25 November 2005, Director-General of UNESCO, Koichiro Matsuura, proclaimed *Gule Wankulu* (together with *Vimbuza* healing dance to be briefly discussed later in the chapter) as part of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Its proclamation was based on the claim that 'it represents in a unique way the cultural identity of the Chewa people and a large number of the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa.'⁶⁵ According to Lovemore Mazibuko, there was a big challenge to nominate *Gule Wankulu* on the Masterpieces Programme. This was because a strong misconception pervades among the people who are not initiated into *Gule Wankulu* that it promotes indiscipline, witchcraft and other perceived heinous acts in communities. According to Mazibuko it was therefore a difficult task to promote such an

⁶² Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/39, Vol. 2, 'Malawi National Commission for UNESCO. Project Document on Promotion, Transmission and Protection of Gule Wankulu (The Great Dance of Chewa People),' Blantyre.

⁶³ GuleWankulu, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/safeguarding-of-the-gulu-wankulu-the-great-dance-of-the-chewa-people-00027>, accessed 15.8.2018.

⁶⁴ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, FileNo.144/39, Vol.2.

⁶⁵ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, FileNo,144/39, Vol.2.

element for nomination.⁶⁶ Writing on the processes for the nomination of both *Gule Wankulu* and *Vimbuza*, for candidature on the Masterpieces Programme, Lisa Gilman noted that according to the UNESCO and government officials whom she interviewed ‘the reason *Vimbuza* and *Gule Wankulu* were selected for this first round largely had to do with the accessibility of information that was required. Given the extensiveness of what was required for the application, selecting two cultural forms for which there were already a great deal of information was a practical decision. These two cultural forms are very vibrant and have been relatively well documented and analyzed by scholars, which facilitated compiling the extensive description, rationale and audiovisual documentation required for the candidature file.’⁶⁷ Lisa Gilman’s comments seem to point to the fact that while it is the communities who are supposed to decide which element is to be nominated the experts have the final and overall power to dictate which element becomes UNESCO heritage based on their expert judgement. When UNESCO scrapped the Masterpieces of Oral Tradition Program, for the reasons mentioned earlier in the chapter, *Gule Wankulu* (along with *Vimbuza*) was automatically enlisted on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity under the Intangible Heritage Convention in 2008. *Gule Wankulu* was inscribed under two domains of the Convention: the performing arts and the social practices, rituals and festive events. Its primary significance for nomination and inscription was based on its role in initiation rites and ritual dance. On its website UNESCO describes the inscribed *Gule Wankulu* in the following terms:

GuleWankulu was a secret cult, involving a ritual dance practised among the Chewa in Malawi, Zambia, and Mozambique. It was performed by members of the Nyau brotherhood, a secret society of initiated men. Within the Chewa’s traditional matrilineal society, where married men played a rather marginal role, the Nyau offered a means to establish a counterweight and solidarity among men of various villages. Nyau members still are responsible for the initiation of young

⁶⁶ Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko.

⁶⁷ L. Gilman, ‘Demonic or Cultural Treasure?’ p.65.

men into adulthood, and for the performance of the GuleWamkulu at the end of the initiation procedure, celebrating the young men's integration into adult society. GuleWamkulu is performed in the season following the July harvest, but it can also be seen at weddings, funerals, and the installation or the death of a chief. On these occasions, the Nyau dancers wear costumes and masks made of wood and straw, representing a great variety of characters, such as wild animals, spirits of the dead, slave traders as well as more recent figures such as the Honda or the helicopter. Each of these figures plays a particular, often evil, character expressing a form of misbehaviour, teaching the audience moral and social values. These figures perform dances with extraordinary energy, entertaining and scaring the audience as representatives of the world of the spirits and the dead. GuleWamkulu dates back to the great Chewa Empire of the seventeenth century. Despite the efforts of Christian missionaries to ban this practice, it managed to survive under British colonial rule by adopting some aspects of Christianity. As a consequence, Chewa men tend to be members of a Christian church as well as a Nyau society. However, GuleWamkulu performances are gradually losing their original function and meaning by being reduced to entertainment for tourists and for political purpose.⁶⁸

As already discussed, enlisting of an element follows a set of safeguarding measures to ensure its viability. It was for this reason that in 2006 a joint proposal was made led by Malawi (The Malawi National Commission for UNESCO in collaboration with Intangible Heritage Section of UNESCO) with Zambia and Mozambique to promote, transmit and protect *Gule Wankulu* of the Chewa people. This was a '*Gule Wamkulu* Multinational Safeguarding Project.'⁶⁹

The broad development objective for this proposed project was to 'contribute towards the cultural development of the Chewa people of Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique through the safeguarding of the oral and intangible expressions of *Gule Wankulu* "the great dance."' The proposed project had three primary objectives: 'Transmit the values and lessons conducive to the cultural development of people as contained in *Gule Wankulu* in the three countries concerned'; 'Promote the preservation of *Gule Wankulu* in Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique'; 'To bring to

⁶⁸<https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/gule-wamkulu-00142>

⁶⁹ Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, 'Inventorying Intangible Heritage,' *Information Magazine*, No.2, (2007), p.60.

public awareness the three nations' common cultural identity embodied in "Great dance".⁷⁰

According to the proposal, the primary beneficiaries of the project were supposed to be the *Gule Wankulu* practitioners in Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique, students and other young people who belong to cultural dance groups in these communities, the broader Chewa community and the 'general populace of these three countries.'⁷¹

The first objective of transmitting the values and lessons conducive to the cultural development of people as contained in *Gule Wankulu* was to be implemented using Chamare Museum and The Kungoni Arts and Crafts Center in Dedza District. The Kungoni Arts and Crafts Centre produces *Gule Wankulu* masks for sale. These are imitations of the masks that are deemed to be authentic and ancient in the museum exhibition. Because of the experience that the Centre has in drawing expertise from practitioners of *Gule Wankulu* to train youth in the production of *Gule Wankulu* masks, costumes and other cultural and ethnographic related souvenirs, it was envisaged to be the appropriate place to offer training to a wider section of Chewa youth from other districts. It was also envisioned that this would encourage the establishment of a similar centre in other districts and therefore ensuring the transmission of knowledge and skills of mask production through trainings.⁷² It was planned that Ku Ngoni Centre would enrol thirty youths who would go to a camp for a training program. They would be trained in dance as staged performance and costume production. These youths were to be drawn from the various dance groups and aspiring young craftsmen and artists in the various districts who lacked training opportunities.

⁷⁰ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/39, Vol.2, p.6; GuleWamkulu, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/safeguarding-of-the-gulu-wamkulu-the-great-dance-of-the-chewa-people-00027>, accessed 15.8.2018.

⁷¹ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, FileNo.144/39, Vol.2, p.11.

⁷² Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, FileNo.144/39, Vol.2, p.12.

The second objective of promoting the preservation of *Gule Wankulu* was to be implemented through festivals at the village, national and regional levels. Communities were to be encouraged to continue organizing the inter-village festivals with the aim of participating in a mega National Festival. The national festivals were to be organized as a motivation for the villages to continue with their inter-village festivals. At these national *Chizangala* festivals, a selected number of practitioners would be accorded an opportunity to parade all the characters that practitioners take pride in. The traditional authorities in collaboration with the Department of Arts and Crafts would be responsible for the selection of the participating groups. It was planned that at each national festival there would be a maximum of forty-five groups on a rotational basis. The Department of Culture and the National Commission for UNESCO would be tasked to approach private organizations to request their commitments to support future festivals. It was also envisaged the village and national festivals would be accompanied by a compilation of *Gule Wankule* inventory. The Museums of Malawi especially its ethnographic section was tasked with this responsibility. It was expected that the Museums of Malawi would ‘record data on each character of *Gule Wankulu* with a description of its original meaning and function, collect materials in form of costumes and original masks’.⁷³ The inventory that would be created would be kept by Museums of Malawi and would be part of the important resource for the Museum of Malawi’s *Gule Wankulu* exhibition.

A number of strategies were mooted to help achieve the third objective of raising awareness of *Gule Wankulu* as the common cultural identity for the three countries. A website was to be created at Museums of Malawi and Chamare Museum on their exhibitions on *Gule Wankulu*. Chamare Museum was to be gazetted as national heritage. This was because ‘although

⁷³Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, FileNo.144/39, Vol.2, p.12.

the government and many people and organizations recognize Chamare Museum as a unique in Southern Africa, it is not protected from the vagaries of people who do not appreciate the museum's importance.⁷⁴ Therefore 'the gazetting will only give national status and legal protection while management of the museum will continue the way it has been.'⁷⁵ Chamare was to engage Editions Afrique Oceanic to produce on behalf of the museum a biennial magazine for free distribution. A book on *Gule Wankulu* was to be published. Professor Mapopa Mtonga of the University of Zambia was chosen to be the Principle Project Consultant.⁷⁶ The project would also produce a programme called *Gule Wankulu* Heritage Series produced by a team from Television Malawi with its main producer Waliko Makhala, an ethnomusicologist. The project felt that 'the *Gule Wankulu* series will preserve for posterity the spirit and the soul of the Chewa people where due to cultural invasion, some cultural systems have since been inactive if not dead.'⁷⁷

The safeguarding project was to take advantage of Kulamba Cultural Festival of the Chewa under paramount Chief Undi in Zambia. Kulamba Cultural Festival is much like the ethnic heritage festivals discussed previously. Among cultural practices at the festival they include *Gule Wankulu* performances. It is important to digress a bit in order to provide a background to the Kulamba Festival and contextualize it in this safeguarding project.

The Kulamba ceremony, according to oral tradition as told by secretary of Chewa Heritage Foundation, started before the 15th Century. It is performed as a traditional ceremony in which Chewa chiefs from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia pay homage to their king, of whom the incumbent is "Mwini" Kalonga Gawa Undi Mkhomo IV. During the ceremony, the chiefs

⁷⁴Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, FileNo.144/39, Vol.2, p.14.

⁷⁵Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, FileNo.144/39, Vol.2, p.14.

⁷⁶ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/39, Vol.2, p.14.

⁷⁷ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/39, Vol.2, p.15.

pay tribute to their king and brief him on the status of critical issues and developments in their chiefdoms. The chiefs also present gifts to the King.⁷⁸ It is told that the origin for the presentation of gifts is derived from the King's name, Kalonga, which is a derivative of the Chewa word, *Kulonga*, which means 'to install or to enthrone', *Gawa* is 'to give out land' and *Undi* means 'the one who protects his subordinates'. In the royal narrative, it is explained that Kalonga distributed land in his Kingdom of Maravi to various chiefs whom he installed. These chiefs became custodians of those lands and every year, each chief was required to go to the Kalonga to pay tribute to him and also to give an account of what was happening to the land and people in his/her care. The ceremony came to be known as Kulamba. During such ceremonies, the chiefs brought gifts, normally in the form of ivory, artefacts and food. Kalonga would then redistribute the food and gifts to areas within his kingdom which had experienced poor harvests.⁷⁹ In 1934, the British colonial authorities, under pressure from the missionaries, banned the Kulamba Ceremony, as it was viewed as a pagan ritual which promoted immorality and was a barrier to their mission of converting Chewas to Christianity. According to the Chewas, the British felt threatened by the ceremony as it had the potential of eroding their (British) control over the Chewa. Following the establishment of Zambia as a sovereign nation, Kulamba was revived in 1984 by Kalonga Chibvunga IV, fifty years after it was banned. Originally, each individual Chief performed the ceremony at their own convenience, however, Kulamba has now evolved into an annual event which takes place on the last Saturday of August every year. At the Kulamba Festival, like other festivals mentioned in the previous chapter, there is the 'folkloric spectacle' whereby different cultural practices, intangible heritage practices, are exhibited and

⁷⁸Interview with Nyson Banda, Committee Member of Chewa Heritage Foundation Responsible for Chiefs and Cultural Activities, Lilongwe, 25 April, 2018.

⁷⁹See 'Report on the 2015 Kulamba Traditional Ceremony', Department of Culture (Unpublished, 2015).

performed. Because of the involvement and participation in the festival of Chewa traditional chiefs from the three countries the Safeguarding project, therefore, took advantage to use the festival as an instrument and institution for promotion and safeguarding of *Gule Wankulu*.⁸⁰

On 18 July 2006, the Malawi National Commission UNESCO held a meeting to brief all the stakeholders involved in this safeguarding project. The meeting was held at UNESCO's library in Lilongwe. Present at the meeting were representatives from UNESCO, the Department of Culture (Museums and Antiquities divisions), Mozambique, Zambia (University of Zambia), Chewa paramount chiefs, *Gule Wankulu* practitioners from Malawi and the Director of Chamare Museum and the Kungoni Centre of Culture and Art. In her opening remarks, the Director of Culture Elizabeth Gomani-Chindebvu explained what the project entailed, that the Government of Malawi and its people took *Gule Wankulu* seriously and was committed to seeing it promoted. However, she cautioned that such promotion should not distort or decontextualize the tradition. The Programme officer for Malawi National Commission Christopher Julio Magomero provided the background to the project by tracing it back to the proclamation of *Gule Wankulu* and *Vimbuza* on the Masterpieces of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. A *Gule Wankulu* practitioner and traditional elder from Traditional Authority Njombwa narrated a brief history of *Gule Wankulu*. He attempted to demystify the myths against *Gule Wankulu* by emphasizing the didactic and moral values of the practice, emphasizing that *Gule Wankulu* is about the good code of conduct among its initiates.⁸¹

The time frame for the project of safeguarding *Gule Wankulu* was two years, from June 2006 to June 2008. At the end of the two-year project, it was expected that the Malawi

⁸⁰Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File number 144/39 Vol 2, p.16.

⁸¹ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/42, Vol.2, 'Report on the safeguarding of the intangible heritage convention meeting on GuleWamkulu safeguarding project held at UNESCO Library, Lilongwe on the 18th July 2006,' Blantyre.

government in collaboration with private corporations would take over the activities of the project so that it was sustained in Malawi. This was mostly to do with *Chizangala* or village festivals. It was agreed at the meeting that after raising the profile of *Gule Wankulu* the committees should be able on their own to continue organizing these festivals so that they become a permanent feature of the Chewa annual festivals. In Malawi the Chewa Heritage Foundation, which is an ethnic-based heritage organization, took charge of all the safeguarding practices of *Gule wankulu*. For example, organization and preparation for the Kulamba Festival.⁸² In this way, the foundation has taken over the project and sustains it.

I would like to argue that both the inscription of *Gule Wankulu* on the Representative List and its accompanying Safeguarding Project to a large extent enhanced cultural diplomacy between Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. Thus this was the ‘cultural actor’s attempt to cultivate understandings through international cultural relations.’⁸³ The envisaged cultural exchange programs and activities as multicultural events through the festivals, book publications and exhibitions serve to promote the cultural relations between the countries involved in the project. In this way, *Gule Wankulu* was reproduced as an international heritage as well as the facilitator of cultural diplomacy for Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. It is interesting to note that while during Kamuzu Banda’s period promotion of Chewa ethnicity and traditions was framed within the discourse of national culture and nation building as discussed in Chapter one while the promotion of *Gule wankulu* in democratic era during this project was framed in the discourse of heritage and promotion of cultural diversity or ‘difference’ in Malawi.

⁸²Interview with Nyson Banda, Committee Member of Chewa Heritage Foundation Responsible for Chiefs and Cultural Activities, Lilongwe, 25 April 2018.

⁸³E. Varpahovskis, ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage: Is it a Platform for Cooperation or Competition between Cultural Diplomacies? The Case of South Korea- Japan- China relations within UNESCO’S ICH Framework,’ *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 3. No.1, (2018), p.123.

As pointed earlier in the chapter, *Vimbuza* was proclaimed as Masterpiece of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2005 and later inscribed on the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2008 along with *Gule Wankulu*. *Vimbuza* is both a disease and a healing ritual of Tumbuka people in the northern Malawi. As a disease it is said to be caused by spirits that possess a person, causing a variety of physical and mental ailments, and it also refers to the rituals that are used to diagnose and heal these spirit-related illnesses. Lisa Gilman has discussed how *Vimbuza* was inscribed on Intangible Heritage List. In her work she argued that ‘though the impact of *Vimbuza*’s inscription on those most associated with the practice is debatable, it still has local, regional, national, and international value.’⁸⁴ She also discussed how the *Vimbuza* exhibition at Mzuzu Museum was an intervention into the controversy of witchcraft. Actually, the exhibition was arbitrating the bad connotations some people have over *Vimbuza* by emphasizing its social value in addressing issues of witchcraft in communities. In so doing the exhibition attempted to protect and safeguard *Vimbuza* in the concerned communities. Her work points to how the convention promotes ethnographic exhibitions as safeguarding measure of intangible heritage by museums and how it was the experts and not the communities who were responsible for the processes of producing *Vimbuza* as UNESCO’S heritage. Her work also shows how the safeguarding of *Vimbuza* has become a means of dispossession.⁸⁵ After two years of safeguarding project of *Vimbuza* by UNESCO and Museums of Malawi the Tumbuka Heritage Association took over the activities of safeguarding the project. The Tumbuka Heritage Association is part of the main organizing committee for the Gonapamuhanya

⁸⁴ L. Gilman, ‘Demonic or Cultural Treasure? Local Perspectives on *Vimbuza*, Intangible Cultural Heritage, and UNESCO in Malawi,’ in M. Foster, and L. Gilman (eds), *UNESCO on the Ground* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015), p.59.

⁸⁵ On safeguarding as dispossession see V. Hafstein, ‘Making Communities: Protection as Dispossession,’ p.91.

Festival of Tumbuka people. This shows a direct link between the convention and the ethnic heritage associations.

Tchopa sacrificial dance safeguarding project

The two elements that have been discussed above, *Gule Wankulu* and *Vimbuza* are practices from the central and northern regions of Malawi respectively. It is claimed by the Department of Culture that ‘there was a need,’ therefore, to have another element from the southern region in order to have a full representation of all the regions of Malawi on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.⁸⁶ *Tchopa*, the sacrificial dance of the Lhomwe people of southern Malawi, was the candidate. But why was *Tchopa* selected out of all practices in southern Malawi? Considering the fact that this was during the reign of president Bingu Wa Mutharika, a self-declared Lhomwe, who had facilitated the formation of an ethnic-based heritage association, Mlakho Wa Alhomwe as shown in the previous chapter, was there a political influence for the choice of Lhomwe and inscription of their *Tchopa* on the UNESCO’s Representative List of Intangible Heritage of Humanity? I will return to these questions later in the chapter.

The documentation, inventorising, nomination and inscription of *Tchopa* dance was part of ‘a series of pilot projects in community-based intangible heritage inventorying on a grassroots level in six selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa.’⁸⁷ This was a UNESCO-Flanders project.⁸⁸ The six countries are Malawi, Zambia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Uganda. According to the UNESCO website, these countries ‘have several achievements that are commonly shared’ in

⁸⁶ Interview with Julio Magomero: Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko.

⁸⁷ Community based intangible heritage inventorying, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/a-series-of-pilot-projects-in-community-based-intangible-heritage-inventorying-on-a-grassroots-level-in-six-selected-countries-in-sub-saharan-africa-00314>, accessed 12.8.2018.

⁸⁸ Community based intangible heritage inventorying, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/a-series-of-pilot-projects-in-community-based-intangible-heritage-inventorying-on-a-grassroots-level-in-six-selected-countries-in-sub-saharan-africa-00314>, accessed 12.8.2018.

relation to the intangible cultural heritage convention. These commonalities are: 'Awareness about the concept of intangible cultural heritage, the 2003 Convention, as well as the importance of ICH in society was raised; The capacity of the communities, government institutions and civil society was built and they were encouraged to support intangible cultural heritage safeguarding and inventorying; Capacity in inventorying and other ICH safeguarding measures was reinforced among national and regional cultural officers and members of the communities; Measures for continued safeguarding and inventorying at national and community levels were devised; The traditional leadership was very much involved as some helped with resources which showed how welcoming they were as they also gave vital information. This made it possible for the field workers to work freely within the communities; The involvement of youths was recognized during the inventorying exercises.'⁸⁹

This community-based inventory which was being piloted in the six countries including Malawi was a unique and different inventorying exercise compared to the previous ones in important respects. The exercise seemed to be a response to the deluge of criticism that the Convention was more expert driven and not community centred.⁹⁰ For example, Smith observed that;

One of the significant issues faced by the implementation of the ICHC (Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention) centres on the idea of 'consultation'. What is meant by consultation is often not clearly defined. However, a significant body of literature now exists that has explored the relationships between communities and heritage professionals, particularly around the vexing concept of 'consultation'. A frequent observation that emerges within this literature is the degree to which the discourse of 'consultation' is often identified by the community and other sub-national interests as simply a cynical exercise of 'box-ticking.' Consultation without negotiation becomes simply an exercise in canvassing opinion. The importance of dialogue and the ability to negotiate are key issues in any heritage consultation process. The degree to which consultation often fails is the primacy

⁸⁹ Community based intangible heritage inventorying, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/a-series-of-pilot-projects-in-community-based-intangible-heritage-inventorying-on-a-grassroots-level-in-six-selected-countries-in-sub-saharan-africa-00314>, accessed 12.8.2018.

⁹⁰L. Smith, 'Intangible Heritage,' p.138.

of place given to expertise within the AHD; this makes it hard for experts to engage with consultation practices that incorporate a sense of negotiation.⁹¹

According to Lovemore Mazibuko, the previous approach had its own problems because the experts who were involved could sometimes face challenges and restrictions to access certain information because the community was not ready to divulge or share with someone who is neither initiated nor part of that culture. The barriers could also be in terms of the language which the expert was not conversant with. However, with the community-based inventory that was being piloted the community members were trained in technical processes of inventorising. It was claimed by Mazibuko that the community members interviewed their fellow community members on various aspects of their cultural practices. Thus the community became ‘experts’ themselves.⁹²

In Malawi this project commenced with a letter by Soo- Hyang Choi, Director and Representative of UNESCO Harare Cluster on 29 November 2009 to the Minister of Culture in Malawi, Anna Kachikho, notifying her of the project.⁹³ The project had four phases: ‘Phase I dealt with the selection of six pilot communities (one in each country) in a demand-driven manner; Phase II was the initial capacity-building training workshops that took place in all six above mentioned countries; Phase III included several months of fieldwork involving the selected communities and cultural officers to inventory ICH; and Phase IV was follow-up sessions that were organized to evaluate the quality of exercises and improve methodologies.’⁹⁴

In the first phase, the Department of Culture was to identify a beneficiary community and select

⁹¹L.Smith, ‘Intangible Heritage,’p.138.

⁹² Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko.

⁹³ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/149/Vol. 2, ‘Project on community-based inventorying on a grassroots level in six selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa,’ Blantyre.

⁹⁴Community based intangible heritage inventorying, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/a-series-of-pilot-projects-in-community-based-intangible-heritage-inventorying-on-a-grassroots-level-in-six-selected-countries-in-sub-saharan-africa-00314>, accessed 12.8.2018.

twelve members from the community to take part in the project. In the second phase the Department of Culture was tasked to identify a national expert who would attend the regional workshop to be organized by UNESCO for training towards this project.⁹⁵

The letter by Soo- Hyang Choi outlined a summary of four activities that the project intended to implement. These activities were: Trainer of trainers' workshop on community inventorising; Employment of local coordinator from the community; Organisation of 2 national workshops; Field work on community inventorising.⁹⁶ The next step was to identify the community for the pilot project. According to the memorandum that was sent to the Minister responsible for Culture on 15 December 2009 there were possibilities for any ethnic group with their heritage associations to be chosen for this project.⁹⁷ However, as pointed out earlier it was the Lhomwe ethnic community group that was eventually chosen for the pilot project. The Director of Culture wrote a letter to the Mulhako Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association informing them about the pilot project. What was significant in the letter was that in Malawi the implementation of the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention targets communities that are perceived to be or identified as ethnic or tribe. Part of the letter read as follows:

The purpose of writing to you is to seek the collaboration of Mulhako Wa Alhomwe to implement this project on behalf of the Lhomwe community. In order to kick start the project implementation, I would be grateful if Mulhako Wa Alhomwe could officially accept the project and identify 12 community members and appoint the local coordinator to act as a link between the Department of Culture and the Lhomwe community. *The 12 identified community members should preferably be Lhomwe by tribe* {my emphasis} with good education background and should come from Lhomwe dominant districts of Thyolo, Mulanje, Phalombe, Chiradzulo and Zomba.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/150/Vol .2, 'Implementation partnership agreement between The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organization and Department of Culture,' Blantyre.

⁹⁶ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/149/Vol.2.

⁹⁷ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File No.144/151/Vol. 2, 'Memorandum to the Honourable Minister: Project on Community Based Inventorying on Grassroots Level in Malawi,' 15th December 2009, Blantyre.

⁹⁸ Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage, File No.170/47, 'Project on Community Based Inventory on Intangible Cultural Heritage in Malawi', 15th March 2010, Blantyre.

The choice of Lhomwe ethnic group at the time when the sitting president was a self-identified Lhomwe and patron of the Lhomwe ethnic-based heritage association, Mulakho Wa Alhomwe, seemed not to be a mere coincidence of historical developments. More so considering Malawian politics in which the head of state often sympathises with his ethnic group it was well placed to speculate that perhaps the president had influenced UNESCO or UNESCO felt the pressure from the state president to focus on Lhomwe community in the pilot project at the expense of other designated ethnic groups in the southern region. However, the leading coordinator of the pilot project, Lovemore Mazibuko categorically dismissed such speculation. He explained that ‘there was no any form of pressure and the research team was not subjected to any pressure.’⁹⁹ He argued that since *Vimbuza* from the north and *Gule Wankulu* from the central region had attained the UNESCO status it was only plausible to have another element from the southern region.¹⁰⁰ According to the cited letter above from Director of Culture to Mlakho Wa Ahlomwe Heritage Association ‘in Malawi, the Lhomwe community was chosen largely because unlike in other regions where similar activities have been done before, very little if any, has been done to expose the culture of the southern region at the global level.’¹⁰¹ Again, Mazibuko explained to me that one of the guiding principles and criteria for the inventorying project (the pilot project) was to choose the community that was already organized and had never had any program to do with ICH safeguarding. When they looked at the southern region no other ethnic group had organized structures in the form of heritage association to govern and manage its heritage apart from the Lhomwe people through their Mlakho Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association. President

⁹⁹ Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko.

¹⁰¹ Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko.

Bingu Wa Mutharika's initiative to establish the Mlako Wa Alhomwe only served as an advantage to the Lhomwe people with respect to the project.¹⁰²

I would like to make a few important observations. It seems 'organized structures' means having an ethnic heritage association, for example, Chewa Heritage Foundation, Tumbuka Heritage Association and Mlako Wa Ahlomwe Heritage Association. For UNESCO the argument was that these heritage associations would facilitate the governance of heritage easily through the structures already put in place by the ethnically based heritage associations. This in effect has mobilized other communities to organize themselves and establish ethnic-based organisations to compete with other groups to have their intangible element listed on the intangible heritage lists of the convention. It was because of the direct connection which exists between cultural festivals and intangible heritage that enabled the Lhomwe to be chosen above others for the project. As Valdmir Hafstein has shown 'festivalisation of culture' has become one of the instruments for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage under the convention. Cultural festivals allow intangible heritage to be on display, exhibited and easily controlled and governed for the purposes of safeguarding. It was only too easy for UNESCO to go for the community that was already practising festivals for the purposes of inventorising and safeguarding during the project. I therefore argue that the Mlako Wa Alhomwe cultural festivals as a vehicle for safeguarding intangible heritage influenced UNESCO to choose the Lhomwe people as the community on which to conduct the inventorying project because of the suitability of the festivals in safeguarding intangible heritage.

Although the Lhomwe project was initiated in 2009 it was only in 2010 that it really got off the ground. I therefore have decided to include an account of these processes even though

¹⁰² Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko.

they are strictly beyond the dates of my research. In 2010 the UNESCO Cluster Office in Windhoek organized the first workshop for preparing the six countries for the pilot project. The workshop held in Maseru, Lesotho was aimed to empower the national coordinators for the pilot project in the six identified countries to undertake documentation and classification of intangible heritage. Malawi endorsed the Principle Researcher at Museums of Malawi, Lovemore Mazibuko to attend the workshop as he was designated as the coordinator for the project.¹⁰³

After the workshop in Maseru, the fieldwork for the project started in May 2010 with the training of community members who were selected from the dominant Lhomwe districts of Chiradzulo, Thyolo, Mulanje and Phalombe. At least two participants were selected from each district. There were about thirteen participants who were appointed by the district committees of Mlako Wa Alhomwe in each district.¹⁰⁴ The participants underwent a training session that was conducted in Mulanje. They were drilled in community inventorising following the procedures as stipulated by the Intangible Heritage Convention. After the training, in August, they were scattered in the four districts to carry out the inventory in their respective communities. The field work ended in September. This was for duration of one month. From this inventorying exercise, the team came up with thirty-one elements of the intangible cultural heritage of the Lhomwe people. The inventory covered all the four domains stipulated by the 2003 ICH convention. The heritage experts from Museum of Malawi and UNESCO explained to the community members about the frameworks of the convention and possibilities of having some of their elements nominated to any of the Convention's lists. The communities together with the help of the

¹⁰³ Museums of Malawi, UNESCO, File. No.144/165/Vol.2, 'Report on the capacity building workshop for national coordinators on community-based inventory of intangible cultural heritage project- Maseru Lesotho /16th March 2010,' Blantyre.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Lovemore Mazibuko; Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage File. No.170/49, 'Workplan for Implementing UNESCO Funded Mulhako Wa Alhomwe Project,' 23 August 2010, Blantyre.

experts came up with five elements for enlisting on the tentative list. These elements were *Tchopa*, *Chinamwali*, *Sapitwa* myth, the myth of *Napolo*, and the skills around the preparation of *Kalongonda*, a poisonous legume that is edible amongst the Lhomwe. Following that compilation of the tentative list of ICH elements, *Tchopa* sacrificial dance became the first choice for nomination on Representative List under the Convention. There followed extensive research on documentation of *Tchopa* sacrificial dance in which I participated as the ethnographer at Museums of Malawi.¹⁰⁵ Objects associated with *Tchopa* dance and other ethnographic materials were collected for the Museums of Malawi to represent the Lhomwe people and kept in storage. I participated in the collection process of these ethnographic materials. The community concerned especially traditional chiefs, the dance troupes and Mlakho Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association gave consent to the government to proceed with the nomination of *Tchopa* as a candidate on the UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. In March 2013 Malawi as a State Party to the convention submitted the nomination file to *Tchopa* dance for possible inscription on Representative List.¹⁰⁶

In November 2014 *Tchopa* sacrificial dance was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The nomination file for the candidature of *Tchopa* dance describes it thus

Tchopa, also know as Soopa, is a dance performed in the Lohmwe community. The dance was originally for elderly men and women only but today children are encouraged to participate in it. The dance usually starts by drumming followed by singing. Three drums are used namely: Mbera(the biggest drum) Khwinyale (the medium sized) and the Namalema (the smallest).The dancers dance in a circle whilst crisscrossing each other as they move around the circle. The

¹⁰⁵ 'Report on Research and Documentation of Lhomwe Culture, 21-23 July, 2012', Museums of Malawi, Blantyre(Unpublished, 2012).

¹⁰⁶ Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage, FileNo.170/7, 'Receipt of Nomination File on Tchopa Dance Submitted to UNESCO for Possible Inscription on UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity,' 27 June 2013, Blantyre.

number of dancers is unlimited. Tchopa dancers wear dance costumes (Zibiya) which comprise of different animal skins and bird feathers. In addition, dancers are allowed to wear anything provided it suits the dance. Some of the dancers carry a pack on the back which includes farming tools, animal skins, puppets, hunting materials and old kitchen utensils. They also carry in their hands axes, knives, flying whisks and spears.¹⁰⁷

Cecile Duville, Secretary for the Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage wrote to Joseph Chiteya, Permanent Delegate of the Republic of Malawi to UNESCO, 'I would like to congratulate you for the inscription of 'Tchopa sacrificial dance of the Lomwe people of southern Malawi on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Humanity by the intergovernmental committee for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (November 2014).'¹⁰⁸ Thus *Tchopa* became the third element to be enlisted on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage under the Convention. Presently its safeguarding measures and practices are controlled and managed by the Mlakho Wa Ahlomwe Heritage Association. Its annual festivals, as discussed in the previous chapter, have become not only an instrument for safeguarding *Tchopa* but also other intangible elements of the Lhomwe people of southern Malawi.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed how the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage came into being. It has argued the emergence of the Convention is situated within the framework of a post-colonial critique of the dominant epistemological formulations of heritage that is pervasive in the West. It has also outlined some of the significant characteristic features of this hegemonic postulation of heritage. However, the chapter has shown that even

¹⁰⁷Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage, File number 170 / 68 , 'Representative List ICH-02 Form,' Blantyre.

¹⁰⁸ Museums of Malawi, Intangible heritage FileNo.170/80, 'Ref: CLT/CRE/ITH/15/0099900029,' Blantyre.

though the Convention asserts itself in opposition to the discourse it attempts to unsettle it still remains entangled in it. This is because the Convention is still determined by the authority and dictates of the so-called experts despite the claims of involving the ‘concerned communities’ in the different processes of safeguarding. At the end the production of heritage through this convention is still informed by some principles of Authorised Heritage Discourse. The chapter has also examined how the Convention has been implemented in Malawi through a number of safeguarding projects and activities. In this examination, the chapter has shown that in Malawi the safeguarding projects target the ‘communities concerned’ who are identified as ethnic and whose practices are represented as traditional and anchored in distant past. It has also been argued that through the safeguarding activities for example nomination, inventory and inscription, UNESCO legitimizes and produces heritage that sometimes becomes governed in different ways before UNESCO intervention. The chapter has further shown how the safeguarding projects in Malawi have become mutually interlinked with the ethnic-based heritage associations and their festivals that exhibit and display intangible heritage in a ‘folkloric spectacle’.¹⁰⁹ It has also pointed out how the museums in Malawi have become part of the institutions of safeguarding the intangible heritage through their ethnographic research as part of the approaches to safeguarding. Overall the chapter has demonstrated that in Malawi the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has turned into an instrument of promoting ethnic awareness and reinforcing the idea of ethnicity and tribe. Furthermore, the Convention rationalizes the establishment of ethnic-based heritage associations and the enhancement of ethnographic museums and their associated ethnographic practices as

¹⁰⁹V. Hafstein, ‘Making Festivals,’ p.132.

institutions of implementing the Convention. The next chapter further looks at Museums of Malawi by examining how it has constituted heritage.



CHAPTER 4

Museums of Malawi and Production of National Heritage

‘Nice, but John Chilembwe’s history is missing.’¹-Joan Planas, 2004.

Introduction

In this chapter, I extend the previous discussions by focusing on the construction of heritage in museum settings. I give specific attention to a history of Museums of Malawi. I locate the chapter in the major investigation of the thesis by discussing and examining how the Museums of Malawi have produced heritage and what significant changes have been made in both its exhibitions and approaches overtime. Central to the discussion in the chapter is how ethnic political imaginaries of museum experts have contributed to the production of ethnographic heritage. By ethnic political imaginaries, I refer to the ways the nation and communities have been conceptualized and defined in ‘tribal’ terms. Thus, how the colonial understandings of the colony in terms of its ethnic composition influenced the post-colony to continue defining its identity and portraiture of the nation largely in the ethnographic representation of its people.

The Museums of Malawi, like other museums in the former colonies in Africa, is the product of colonial enterprise.² In other words, the modern museum has all along been the concept of the British colonialists who began to collect ethnographic objects from the Malawian

¹ This is a comment by Joan Planas, one of the visitors to Chichiri Museum in 2004 that appeared in ‘Museums of Malawi Comments Book’.

² See D. L. Newlands, ‘Museums of the future and the future of the Museums of Malawi,’ *The Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 2, (1984), pp.39-44.

subjects. British settlers who were in the colonial public service, the plantations, and the missionaries became fascinated with the material culture and natural environment of the colony and preoccupied themselves with collecting the colony's objects and specimens. Even though the early collections that were made were for curiosity for example, ethnographic objects of various kinds, they also served the purpose of classification and governmentality of the colonized Malawians.

Malawi does not have many museums. The most well-known is the Museums of Malawi which is government owned. It is a flagship national museum comprising five museums located in different parts of the country. There are few museums that are owned by various church missions, for example, the Livingstonia Mission in Rumphi district has a Stone House Museum that is in a stone house which used to be the home of Dr Robert Laws who was the pioneering Scottish missionary in the area. The Catholic Mission, at Mua in Dedza, has a museum called Chamare which depicts what is referred to as the traditional belief systems of the communities in that area. The Karonga Museum is home to Malawi's fossil heritage. The Society of Malawi owns a small Transport Museum in Limbe Township in Blantyre. There are no outstanding art galleries in Malawi. The most distinguishable one is the La Caverna Art Gallery housed in Mandala House. This gallery is home to contemporary artworks by Malawians. However, the major museums in terms of their collections and numbers of visitors are Museums of Malawi, Chamare Museum and Karonga Museum. These museums also attempt to construct and define what is perceived as the nation's identity. As pointed out, this chapter considers a critical discussion of heritage production through exhibition practices and politics of representation by the Museums of Malawi, a national museum.

Like in the colonial period, when the ethnographic objects were seen as a medium of classifying and governing the subjects, the Museums of Malawi continue to categorize, represent and constitute the nation and communities in ethnic terms. In other words, the ideas of representation found in Museums of Malawi use the disciplinary knowledge of classification of the 19th century museums. I make an important observation with regard to the history of Malawi and the exhibition practice at Museums of Malawi. At the dawn of independence, the old colonial ethnographic system of representing ethnic categories remained the same. And although on a political and ideological level the country was excited with the attainment of independence and embarked on the mission of decolonization of colonial institutions, the interpretative mode, exhibitionary techniques and scientific mode in its museums remained largely the ethnographic one.

Through this study, the chapter invokes the debates around ethnographic collections and ‘ethnographic presence.’ It foregrounds the questions about the future of ethnographic museums in post-colonial Malawi by situating the ethnographic practices in the current debates of ethnographic museums. The chapter argues that it is largely through ethnographic collections that the Museums of Malawi constructed and continues to construct the identity of the nation or community more than anything else. And most Malawians view the ethnographic collections as a medium to visualize the nation. I show in the chapter that the continuity of ethnographic heritage in Museums of Malawi after independence appears to have been part of the nationalism and tribalism during Kamuzu Banda’s era in which he sought to promote anti-colonial identity as well as his ethnic Chewa to entrench his autocratic rule. In the post-Banda era ethnographic exhibitions have continued with the imperatives to represent the ethnic groups that were not represented in Kamuzu Banda’s time and also the imperatives of UNESCO to safeguard

intangible cultural heritage as have been discussed in the previous chapter. The Museums of Malawi continues to become the fundamental site of ethnic formation in discursive terms. In the process, this entrenches and reinforces a notion that only through the ethnographic can a nation or community be defined in Malawi. Consequently, this poses a challenge of undoing the ethnographic museum in Malawi.

Society of Malawi and the formation of Museums of Malawi

The Society of Malawi (formerly Nyasaland Society) was instrumental in the establishment of Museums of Malawi. In his analysis of the agents that contributed to the production of history in Malawi in the 1960s, Owen Kalinga has highlighted the important work of Nyasaland Society through its journal publications and influence in the formation of Nyasaland Museums (Museums of Malawi).³ David Newlands has also discussed the pivotal role of Nyasaland Society in the formation of Museums of Malawi.⁴

The Nyasaland Society was formed in 1946 through the initiative of Geoffrey Nye who was, at that time, Director of Agriculture. Its aims were 'to promote interest in literacy, historical and scientific matters among individuals of all races in the protectorate and to discuss and place in record fact and information about its peoples.'⁵ In terms of its membership, the Nyasaland Society was predominantly an organization of the white settlers. Their occupations ranged from settler farmers, planters, commercial and industrial firm magnets to colonial civil servants. Some middle-class Africans also joined the Society. The Society portrayed itself as not racist to the colonized subjects.⁶ However, as Kalinga noted, the Europeans who were authoritative in the

³ O. Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnstone, The Influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party,' *African Affairs*, Vol. 97, (1998), p.530.

⁴ D. L. Newlands, 'Museums of the future and the future of the Museums of Malawi,' pp. 39-44.

⁵ O. Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s,' p.530.

⁶ O. Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s,' p.530.

Society promoted racial segregation. The Society held weekly meetings in Blantyre where among other things a talk would be delivered by a speaker on any topic pertinent to the colony.

However, as Kalinga observed, matters critical of the colonial governance were not discussed during the meetings as the colonial governor was the patron of the Society.⁷

In January 1948 the Society launched a journal called the *Nyasaland Journal* which featured a wide variety of topics such as zoology, ecology, entomology and taxonomy, history, politics, economics and anthropology.⁸ Articles were sourced from both experts and amateurs.

The Society had the objective 'to promote the establishment of a Nyasaland Museum.'

It is interesting to note how the disciplines of the natural and cultural history of the journal were to influence the disciplines of the museum. Hayes wrote that the objective to establish the museum was 'pursued unfalteringly' first by Geoffrey Nye and then by other members of the Society, many of whom had been active in raising funds and collecting material for the exhibition.⁹ Circa 1950 the Society started pressurizing the colonial government to establish a museum.¹⁰ The Society's demands would not materialize until May 1957 when the government took an active interest in the establishment of a national museum by passing Museum Ordinance No. 201 at the legislative council in Zomba (the colonial capital).¹¹ The Act provided for the establishment of the Board of Trustees to administer the museum. A Board of Trustees, under the chairmanship of the governor, Sir Robert Armitage, was appointed and consisted of: The Provincial Commissioner, southern province, Sir Malcolm Barrow (President of Nyasaland Society); The Assistant Financial Secretary, G.T. Pike; J. D. Liabunya; Chief Lundu; L. J.

⁷ O.Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s,' p.530.

⁸ O.Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s,' p.530.

⁹ G.Hayes, 'The Museums of Malawi,' *Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol. 20, 1, (1967), p.49.

¹⁰ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda, The Chief Curator, Department of Museums and Monuments in Malawi, Blantyre, 19 April 2018.

¹¹ J.D. Clark, 'Antiquities Malawi UNESCO Programme,' (UNESCO, 1968), p.7.

Rumsey and the Mayor of Blantyre.¹² The first meeting of the Board was held in the conference room of the Forestry Department at Limbe on Monday, 27 December 1957. According to Hayes, the most important items on the agenda were accommodation for the museum and finance. It was suggested that the house in Blantyre, built by John Buchanan in the 1880s and used as a Vice Consulate for some years, might be used as a temporary museum until funds could be raised for the building of a permanent one. It was stated that government had undertaken to provide a sum up to a maximum of four thousand pounds a year to finance the museum and that the Nyasaland Society was prepared to hand over one thousand two hundred pounds which it had collected. Other items discussed at the first meeting of the Board of Trustees included the raising of funds with which to build a permanent museum, a site for such a building, employment of architects, the employment of a curator and the production of a set of rules to regulate the proceedings of the Board.¹³ In recognition of the part taken by the Nyasaland Society in the promotion of the museum project, it was agreed that a special library room would always be made available to the Society in the museum. 'The first home of the museum was Mandala House, one of the original houses built by the Moir brothers of the African Lakes Company, the first major European commercial concern to operate in the region.'¹⁴ Initially the building had served as bachelor quarters for company employees and it had been known for many years as 'The Mandala Mess'.¹⁵ This building became later the head office of the Museums of Malawi. During the opening of the Nyasaland Museum on 2 June 1960 the governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage paid special tribute to members of the Nyasaland Society for fundraising and acquiring objects for the museum.

¹² G. Hayes, 'The Museums of Malawi,' p.50.

¹³ G. Hayes, 'The Museums of Malawi,' p.50.

¹⁴ G. Hayes, 'The Museums of Malawi,' p.50.

¹⁵ G. Hayes, 'The Museums of Malawi,' p.51.

It was mostly the members of the Nyasaland Society (missionaries, colonial civil servants, planters) who collected and donated the objects to the Society. Although they could collect some natural specimens the collections that they donated were mostly ethnographic in nature and few historical objects.¹⁶ Michael Kumwenda argued that these objects could have been acquired through purchase or barter since there was ‘monetary value’ involved. He further argued that most expatriates who owned private collections of ethnographic objects took advantage of the community for its lack of awareness. Thus the locals were duped in giving the objects away for nothing in return.¹⁷ The work of Kumwenda reaffirms how the planters and other settlers were intensely involved in collections of the material culture of Malawians.

Although the members of the Society could collect haphazardly and donate the items to the Society it seems there was also a systemic and institutionalized collection policy by the colonial government itself. Thus the colonial government used the District Commissioners who were collecting objects from the local people and donated to the Society.¹⁸ Yusuf Juwayeyi noted that ‘the collection of oral traditions was often government sponsored and was carried out by District Commissioners in each of the country’s administrative districts.’ He further noted that ‘collection of oral traditions was done concurrently with the collection of various ethnographic materials, most which were still in use in the rural settings of the various Malawian tribes; apparently European collectors found them fascinating. In the absence of a law prohibiting the exportation of such items, most of them were shipped outside the country. Some, however, were given to a local museum in Blantyre.’¹⁹ One renowned and active District Commissioner, whom

¹⁶ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

¹⁷ M. Kumwenda, ‘Illicit Traffic of Cultural Property in Malawi: Problems and Prospects,’ Paper presented at the seminar on illicit traffic of cultural property: Arusha, Tanzania, 28-29 September 1993.

¹⁸ Interview with Braveson Nkhoma, Retired Curator at Lake Malawi Museum, Department of Museums and Monuments in Malawi, Mangochi, 4th March 2018.

¹⁹ Y. Juwayeyi, ‘Excavating the History of Archeology in Malawi,’ in L. R. Lozny (ed), *Comparative Archaeologies: A Sociological View of the Science of the Past* (New York: Springer, 2011), p.785.

the mentioned governor paid tribute during the opening of the museum, was William Rangeley. Rangeley conducted extensive ethnographic field work on various 'tribes' of Malawi and published them in *Nyasaland Society Journal*.²⁰

The use of District Commissioners or Administrative Officers to collect ethnographic objects was common practice in the British Empire. Derek Petersen has shown how the ethnological section of the Uganda Museum came into being following the order in 1908 of the British governor to all Administrative Officers to collect various material cultural objects from the natives.²¹ In other parts of Africa collections entered the museums after the colonial punitive expeditions and ransacking of the African kingdoms.²² I have not yet established if in Malawi some collections entered the museum through this way. It might be doubtful because the colonial museum in Malawi as has been indicated above was opened in 1960 many years after the colonial conquests and suppression of 'rebellious' kingdoms in the first two decades of 1900s.²³

The first curator of the newly opened Museum of Malawi was Peter Hanney. Hanney excellently managed the curation of the first exhibition of the museum. The exhibition was made up of ethnohistory, archaeology, and natural history, a picture room and an aquarium. Hayes writes about the first exhibition which has underlying implications about the meanings of the exhibits during this colonial period:

Mr Hanney records that one of his exhibits was a bracelet of leopard claws and, wondering if it had any special significance, he consulted a local 'witch doctor' and was told that the bracelet would bring wealth to its possessor. Mr Hanney goes on to say "in my ignorance this fact was duly put on the label with the result that the exhibit lasted exactly two days before vanishing from its case forever". Another exhibit was a large, live, File snake, a species which, according to

²⁰ O. Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s,' p.531.

²¹ D. Petersen, 'Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa', in D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures* (Johannesburg: Academic Press, 2015), p.5.

²² D. Petersen, 'Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,' p.5.

²³ See J. McCracken, 'Conquests and of colonialization,' in J. McCracken, *A History of Malawi, 1859-1966* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2012).

African legend, has miraculous powers. Whether this is true or not, the snake managed to escape from a glass tank, the cover of which was held in place by a seven-pound weight, on two occasions: on neither occasion was the glass cover displaced. On the first bid for freedom, the snake was discovered in a woodpile outside the building and returned to its tank but the second attempt was completely successful and it was never seen again.²⁴

Two implications of this passage are noticeable. The first implication is that the curator would place the ethnographic meanings of the objects based on consultation with community sources. It gives the impression that these meanings were of excitement and curiosity to the European communities. These ethnographic objects were meant to represent Malawian culture as primitive. It can also be inferred from the passage that although the Europeans were fascinated by the natural specimens like the snake, for instance, it seems it was the cultural associations and meanings of these natural specimens that framed much of their curiosity. Thus, how local Malawians infused the natural environment into their cultural life could have been the theme of natural history. In this way, I think what was natural was interpreted in cultural terms vis-à-vis local people's beliefs and customs. In effect, therefore, the natural exhibits were being interpreted in ethnographic terms by the white settlers as is the case of the 'File Snake' reported above by Hanney.

The exhibitions of the museum especially the curious stories of its objects seemed to have been the centre of attraction for its visitors. Kalinga wrote about the appeal of the museum:

The museum attracted many patrons, especially on Sundays when families in the Blantyre-Limbe areas often visited it. School parties also went to view the collection. In this way it became another site where history and culture became the subject of public debate; to some people, the museum provided visible historical and cultural information of which they were not aware or which they had forgotten about. *However, it was an education very much influenced by the displays, the nature of which was determined by policy formulated by the Board of Trustees. In other words, the museum's representation of Malawi's past and*

²⁴ G. Hayes, 'The Museums of Malawi,' p.54.

*culture was very much influenced by people who in colonial times had been associated with dominance.*²⁵[My emphasis]

It is clear above that the museum at this stage had become a tool of control and governmentality in the sense of representing the locals as the 'other', backward and retrogressive, requiring to be governed by the British in order to civilize their ways.

Later plans were underway by the Board of Museum Trustees to construct a purposefully built museum. An application was therefore made to the Beit Trust for a grant to help in this project. In June 1962 the Board of Museum Trustees was informed that the Beit Trust had agreed to make a grant of fifteen thousand pounds. Land earmarked for this museum building was identified at Chichiri hill, a site that was designated to be a city civic centre.²⁶ It is where the current civic centre buildings stand. During this time the chairman of the Board was the mayor of the city.

Perhaps it might be helpful to reflect on the choice of the civic centre as a museum site. Tony Bennett has discussed the cultural function of the museums for the city councils in Western Europe. Thus, museums were part of the civic centre complexes for civic education, regulating, civilizing and governance. This placed the museum at the modern relations of culture and government.²⁷ The choice for the site of the purposefully built museum in Malawi to be next to the civic centre finds synergy with the approach and function as Bennett alluded to in the western world with the notion of exhibitionary complex.

A contract to build the museum was awarded to The Nyasaland Company at a cost of about twenty-one thousand pounds. The deficit for the project expenses was covered by the

²⁵ O. Kalinga, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s,' p.538.

²⁶ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

²⁷ T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.21.

colonial government.²⁸ The new museum building was officially opened on 29 June 1966 by Kamuzu Banda who was the Prime Minister. The museum which was conceived in colonial times came to fruition in independence times. At its opening, conceptually speaking, the museum was colonial. In his 1968 cultural assessment report to UNESCO, Desmond Clarke, an archeologist consultant evaluated the new museum building when he explained that ‘the fine existing museum which was part of the gift from the Beit Trust provided adequate accommodation for the exhibits at that time but left little room for expansion, the need which would result from any systematic collecting programmes that might be started.’²⁹ He further observed that its storage accommodation was quite inadequate even for the existing needs. He appealed that the proper storage facilities for reserve collections were of an urgent necessity.³⁰

While the project started with one museum, it expanded to five museum facilities, and has the umbrella name Museums of Malawi: The Old Museum Building which is currently the main storage for the museum collections and also the head office of Museums of Malawi in Blantyre (also known as Top Mandala Museum); Chichiri Museum in Blantyre; Mtengatenga Museum in Chiradzulo district; Lake Malawi Museum in the Lakeshore district of Mangochi; Mzuzu museum in Mzuzu city.³¹ All mentioned museums are found in the southern region of Malawi with the exception of Mzuzu Museum which is in north. There is no museum in the central region where the capital city Lilongwe is located even though there have been plans to build a state-of-the-art National Museum in the capital city.³²

²⁸G. Hayes, ‘The Museums of Malawi,’ p.54.

²⁹J. D. Clark, ‘Antiquities Malawi UNESCO Programme,’ (UNESCO, 1968).

³⁰J. D. Clark, ‘Antiquities Malawi UNESCO Programme,’ (UNESCO, 1968).

³¹ It is only recently, 2018, that Cultural Museum Center Karonga, also known as Karonga Museum, in northern district of Karonga, has been added to the flagship of Museums of Malawi. This was following the merger of Department of Antiquities and Department of Museums into one Department called Department of Museums and Monuments.

³² In 2009 the then president, Bingu Wa Mutharika had directed the Ministry of Lands and Housing to allocate land to Department of Culture for the construction of National Museum of Malawi in the Capital City Lilongwe. The

This historical background of the Museums of Malawi reveals that it had begun as part of the colonial project. It also shows that the ‘haphazard’ collection methods and practices were driven by the curiosity and amusement of the white settlers towards the material culture of the people that they had come to rule. The systematic and institutionalized collection policies by the colonial government through the District Commissioners was a deliberate move in order to understand, control and govern the colonial subjects through the museums. As discussed earlier, even though some collections were of natural history it was the ethnographic collections that were largely exhibited. The brief history also shows that Nyasaland Society was paramount in the formation of the Museums of Malawi and the inextricable connection between the two was that the Society was the museum and the museum was the Society. Thus, Museums of Malawi share a common history with other African museums, in terms of their development, in that they were by-products of colonialism and as Njabulo Chipangura and Pauline Chiripanhura have argued such museums were meant to undermine African culture.³³

After independence (especially after being a republic in 1966) most institutions in Malawi underwent drastic changes and adaptations to the new political dispensation. What would the institutional approach to museum practice by the Museums of Malawi be like in the new post-colony?

Knowledge Production in the Post-Colonial Museums of Malawi

Harrison and Hughes writing about the role of museums in post-colonial societies argue that ‘post colonies are connected in terms of their heritage by the need to forge new national

Department of Public Works made the designs for what would be the state of the art national museum. And funds were provided for the project. However following the death of President Bingu Wa in 2012 the project stopped and nothing is talked about the project.

³³ See N. Chipangura and P. Chiripanhura, ‘Reconfiguring the *Jindwi* traditional drums in a post- colonial Mutare Museum setting,’ in A. Nhemachena et al, (eds), *Decolonisation of Materialities or Materialisation of (Re-) Colonisation? Symbolism, Languages, Ecocriticism and (Non) Representationalisation in 21st Century Africa* (Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG. 2017), pp. 219-224.

identities in the wake of decolonization.³⁴ He further explains that ‘identity has emerged as one of the most important issues for post-colonial nations and as such museums, play an important role in helping people to identify both who they are as individuals and the collectives to which they belong.’³⁵ Within a post-colonial museum setting, one would anticipate that the ways in which colonialism structured collection policies and ideologies associated with the displaying of ethnographic objects should be changed. This is ‘because ethnographic objects were simply collected from local communities without a proper understanding of their socio-cultural uses and various associations with their makers.’³⁶ After 1964, and gaining the status of a republic in 1966, the Museums of Malawi remained colonial. The changes or ‘transformations’ were merely administrative and institutional and not in conceptual practices of the museum itself as the conceptual practices that defined the colonial museum did not only continue but became even more entrenched in the post-colonial era. A good example of this is the conceptualization of defining the nation of Malawi through ethnicity.

The first obvious change was the renaming of Nyasaland Museum as Museum of Malawi (without an (‘S’)³⁷ since all government institutions had to reflect the name of the new nation of Malawi.³⁸ A second substantial change was in the administrative structures of the museum. This had to do with the professionalization of the museum. As of 1968 the museum had only one curator who was qualified as an artist but had no museum training and ‘there were no other museum professional officers.’³⁹ Clarke, a UNESCO expert, advised Kamuzu Banda’s

³⁴ R. Harrison and L. Hughes, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage: Global Heritage Perspective* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p.250.

³⁵ R. Harrison and L. Hughes, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, p.250.

³⁶ R. Harrison and L. Hughes, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, p.250.

³⁷ At the moment the main signage of Museums of Malawi at Chichiri Museum has no ‘S’ (Museum of Malawi). There is still debate to include an ‘S’ in order to reflect its expansion and inclusion of other museum branches under it.

³⁸ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

³⁹ J. D. Clark, ‘Antiquities Malawi UNESCO Programme,’ (UNESCO, 1968), p.8.

government that ‘this state of affairs needs to be remedied if the museum is to maintain its place as an adequate institution for the conservation and study of the objects deposited there.’⁴⁰ From 1974 to 1980 the Museum of Malawi had two professionals who were Malawians. ‘In 1981 the Museum dissolution bill was passed in parliament to dissolve the Museum Board of Trustees and the central government took over the administration of the Museums of Malawi. The Museums of Malawi was then put under the control of the Ministry of Local Government. In the same year the Museums of Malawi together with the Department of Antiquities, National Archives and Culture were brought under one umbrella to form the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture.’⁴¹ Since that time the Department of Culture has been moved to different ministries and currently as I write it is a department in the Ministry of Community Gender and Culture after it moved from the Ministry of Tourism Wildlife and Culture.

A significant development occurred in the growth of the Museums of Malawi during this period. There was an expansion of the Museums of Malawi into branches. The first was the establishment of Lake Malawi Museum and the second was the establishment of another branch in Mzuzu, the Mzuzu Museum. Lake Malawi Museum was designated as a regional museum. It is found in the Lake Shore district of Mangochi which is the main tourist resort town in Malawi. The museum is housed in an old building built in 1897. The building used to be a Gymkhana yachting club for the British settlers. In 1971 when the club moved to Zomba the building was handed over to the Department of Works who after repairing did not have any idea of how to use it. The building was then handed over to the Museum Board of Trustees. The Society of Malawi then donated some of their collections to the trustees who converted the building into a museum.

⁴⁰ J. D. Clark, ‘Antiquities Malawi UNESCO Programme,’ (UNESCO, 1968), p.8.

⁴¹J. D. Clark, ‘Antiquities Malawi UNESCO Programme,’ (UNESCO, 1968), p.8.

It became a satellite of the Museums of Malawi in 1971.⁴² The first collections of the museum were in the areas of archaeology, ethnography, history and natural history that centred on Mangochi district. The collection of objects for the museum was done by researchers from the headquarters of the Museums of Malawi in Blantyre.

The government seemed to have seriously taken heed of Clarke's recommendation when in 1983 a Canadian, David Newlands, was hired as the Principle Curator of the Museums of Malawi. This was because there was no well qualified Malawian to fill such senior position with demanding expertise.⁴³ Newlands had immense contribution to the development of the Museums of Malawi. His first assignment was to draft a development plan. One of the priorities in the plan was the training needs of the staff.⁴⁴ He also facilitated the internal reorganization of the museum into four divisions which saw the creation of specific research sections. These included a cultural history section which had an ethnographer as its main researcher, the natural history section, which was composed of ornithology, herpetology and mammalogy. Martin Nhlane became the first ornithologist, Gorowa the first herpetologist, Chris Chimimba the first mammalogist and George Sembereka the first ethnographer.⁴⁵ Previously due to limited personnel the director of the museum could execute work in all disciplines of the museum. According to Newlands, with the reorganization, 'a new sense of purpose and commitment, related to tasks with measurable outcomes' was evident.⁴⁶

Newlands had important contribution to the establishment of Mzuzu Museum. With his influence funds were sourced from the Canadian High Commission in 1983 to establish the

⁴² Interview with Nyson Kalimira, Former In charge of Lake Malawi Museum, Blantyre, 15 March 2018.

⁴³ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda: See also D. L. Newlands, 'Museums of the future and the future of the Museums of Malawi,' pp.39-44.

⁴⁴ D. L. Newlands, 'Museums of the future and the future of the Museums of Malawi,' p.43.

⁴⁵ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda, The Chief Curator at Department of Museums and Monuments in Malawi, Blantyre, 19 April 2018.

⁴⁶ D. L. Newlands, 'Museums of the future and the future of the Museums of Malawi,' p.43.

museum. Ethnographic research was conducted to collect the objects from the various designated groups in the northern region. Letters were written informing the local chiefs of the intended establishment of the Mzuzu Museum and the need for them to donate ethnographic materials. The ethnographic objects that were collected included domestic materials such as hoes, axes, and bangles, materials used in hunting and warfare such as arrows, bows, spears and traps, musical instruments such as drums, ceremonial objects at chiefs installation such as spear (*Chiskango*), walking stick, *Zithewe*, *Mphumphu*, *Nkhombo*, *ntxado*, *Silundo* (Ivory bangle), *lumvwi*, and ritual objects for Vimbuza such as drums, *Madumbo*, *Mangenjeza*, baskets, spears and hats.⁴⁷ There were also a few objects on the history of Scottish Missionaries especially the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Region and natural history specimens of insects, birds, snakes and small mammal study skins.⁴⁸ At the cost of 7000 Malawi kwacha the first exhibition was mounted.

In September 1990 Mzuzu Museum, a regional museum in the north opened its doors to the public with the objective of covering the people of the northern region.⁴⁹ The main theme of the display was 'The People of the Northern Region of Malawi and their Environment.' At the opening the new museum employed six people: one assistant curator, two museum education assistants, one cleaner and two security guards. Education activities that were carried out at the Chichiri and Lake Malawi Museums were introduced at the new Mzuzu Museum.⁵⁰ Initially, the museum was housed in a privately-owned building belonging to Chenda Mkandawire one of the prominent businessmen in the city. But the exhibition hall was very small and could not

⁴⁷ Museums of Malawi/ Ethnography/ ETHNO/33/Re. No. 141, 17th January 1986. 'Artefacts for Display. Mzuzu Museum': Mzuzu Museum: Museums of Malawi/ Ethnography/ETHNO/33/Ref.No. 129, 23rd May 1986. 'Ethnography Artefacts for Mzuzu Museum.'

⁴⁸ M. M. Gondwe, 'The Mzuzu Museum is Now open to Visitors,' *Ndiwula* Number 4, (December 1991), p.3.

⁴⁹ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

⁵⁰ M. M. Gondwe, 'The Mzuzu Museum is Now open to Visitors,' p.3.

accommodate many displays. The government through the Ministry of Lands and Housing secured the bigger space on the ground floor of the Malawi Properties and Investment Company (MPICO) building in early 1991 for the Mzuzu Museum. Since then, Mzuzu Museum has been conducting its programs on these premises. Today the museum only has the ethnographic collections and few sections on missionary history.

The opening of these new branches did not conceptually provide a meaningful break from their parent museums in terms of ways of exhibition designs and representation of the ethnographic objects. As will be discussed later the approaches to the representation of ethnographic objects remained that of the colonial mode of presenting objects in the timeless ethnic schema.

Perhaps another important change for the Museums of Malawi was its detachment from the partnership with the Society of Malawi. Until 1990 the Society of Malawi was operating in one of the offices of the new museum (Chichiri Museum) where they had their library. It seems there were differences in administrative issues between the Society of Malawi and the Department of Culture. The Society of Malawi claimed that the Museums of Malawi was becoming disorganized in its operations while the Museums of Malawi claimed that the Society was intruding into the affairs of the museum.⁵¹ This conflict was part of the decolonizing and Africanisation politics in postcolonial institutions as the museum felt that the Society, which was predominantly white in its membership and leadership, was still a residue of colonialism with a mentality of paternalism. However, this divorce between the longtime bedfellows in heritage making did not mean the demise of Society of Malawi. The Society is still active and continues to contribute towards history and heritage making in Malawi in other ways for example

⁵¹ Conversation with Dora Wilmbushire, Librarian at Society of Malawi, in 2010 and Mike Gondwe, former Senior Curator at Museums of Malawi, in 2010.

continuing to organize regular talks on a wide range of topics, publishing its journal, *Society of Malawi Journal*, twice a year. It also has an excellent library and archive located at Mandala House, built in 1892 and that used to be the office of the African Lakes Company in the early days of British colonial rule. Their library and archive host a collection of books, documents and photographs that pertain to the cultural and natural history of Malawi. It has a committee of six people who mostly make the decisions of the Society and three trustees. I used to be one of the six members of the committee as the Museums of Malawi representative from 2010 to 2013 before I left for Cape Town for my postgraduate studies. At its fifteenth anniversary celebration in 1996 Collin Baker argued that ‘there can be no doubt that the Society has admirably fulfilled its objectives during the first fifty years of its life. Its contribution to the interest and pride which all the people of Malawi can enjoy in the history and science of their country has been enormous.’⁵² Indeed the Society of Malawi still remains one of the most valuable archives and library for anyone interested in the history of Malawi from colonial days to present times.

Collections in the storage room of Museums of Malawi

Since a museum is mostly defined by its collections and exhibitions, I would like to provide an analysis of the collections at Museums of Malawi. As already pointed earlier the collection of artefacts categorized as ethnographic, archaeological, and historical and natural had begun with the colonial government mostly facilitated by the Society of Malawi. There are 1892 ethnographic objects and 399 historical objects in the cultural history section of the storage room of the Museums of Malawi at Top Mandala.⁵³ The items entered the museums through field collection, donation and purchase. The documentation system shows the ‘sequence of collection

⁵² C. Baker, ‘The Society of Malawi: The first Fifty Years,’ *The Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol. 49, No.3, (1996), p.47.

⁵³ See Documentation and Data base for Cultural history objects at Top Mandala, Museums of Malawi Headquarters, and Blantyre.

commenced in 1960 during the late colonial period even though the collection had started much earlier.⁵⁴ The Museums of Malawi has two main storage rooms. The cultural history storage room which houses the ethnographic, cultural, and historic objects. And the natural history storage room which keeps the natural history specimens such as birds, reptiles, small and big mammals. From 1964 to 1970 the objects entered the cultural history storage mainly through fieldwork collection. It was only from 1971 to mid-1970s that more donations of ethnographic objects and few historical objects of European taste, for example chinaware and other metallic kitchen sets entered the museum's storage. These were donations made by the European settlers as they were starting to leave the country after it had gained independence in 1964. The ethnographic objects in the cultural history storage are defined according to a cultural context, type and their use, for example, ceremonial and domestic uses. They are labelled according to 'tribe' such as Chewa, Ngoni, Lomwe and Sena which they represent. Some of the historical objects include King's African Rifles (KAR) uniforms, KAR regimental drums, weapons and firearms and flags, a chair that the Queen Mother sat on when she came to Malawi to open the Queen Elizabeth Central Hospital in 1986 and other objects associated with Kamuzu Banda.⁵⁵

The mode of acquiring the ethnographic objects hugely changed from 1980. It was less through donation and free collection and more through purchasing. During this period the local Malawians realized the economic value of their objects and would never let go of their cultural possessions freely. As an ethnographer in Museums of Malawi, I have witnessed this situation where people are reluctant to donate and more willing to sell their objects to the museums. I would like to point to one case which presents a unique anomaly at the Museum of Malawi on its

⁵⁴ C. Mtotha, 'The Cox Collection, Museums of Malawi and Politics of Repatriation,' MA Thesis, University of Western Cape (Unpublished, 2016), p.8.

⁵⁵ C. Mtotha, 'The Cox Collection,' p.6.

documentation and accessioning. The Theodore Cox ethnographic collections are accessioned to have entered the museum in 1941 and yet during this time the Museum of Malawi had not been established. As Comfort Mtotha has suggested this 1941 accession number refers to the time they had entered Whatcom Museum in the United States of America. The collections were repatriated and entered the Museums of Malawi in 1989.⁵⁶ Their accession number at Whatcom Museum had been used as the accession for Museums of Malawi. While this is an anomaly in museum collections management perhaps it also serves as the 'birthmark' of these collections in their biography. This anomaly also points to the fact that there were some objects that were taken out of the country without the knowledge of the institution and this may help facilitate issues of repatriation of other Malawian objects in European museums. It is important to mention that while during the colonial era the main purpose of collecting was to study the Malawian subject communities for colonial governance, in postcolonial Malawi it is about presenting and representing the nation through objects. It is about a discourse of 'salvage ethnography' that is asserted in the wake of globalization and modernity and that supposedly functions to erode assumed traditional Malawian life. This is a discourse which then reinforces tribe and tradition as constituting the nation.

In terms of its natural history collections, the museum has more natural specimens than the ethnographic and history objects combined and yet its exhibitions in all its branches are predominantly ethnographic. There are 2742 specimens in the natural history section.⁵⁷ From 1970 to 1987 it seems collecting of natural specimens ceased. This was because during this period the colonial museum professionals in the natural history section had left and created a gap

⁵⁶ C. Mtotha, 'The Cox Collection,' p.8.

⁵⁷ See Documentation and Data base for Natural history objects at Top Mandala, Museums of Malawi Headquarters, Blantyre.

in expertise in this field. As pointed earlier, it was only when the institution had trained some Malawians in different disciplines of natural history section that specimen collection and fieldwork begun in earnest from 1988.

As regards the changes in exhibitions that the Museums of Malawi went through its Chief Curator, Yohannes Nyirenda, in conversation with me, was quick to point out that there have not been substantial changes since independence especially in its exhibitions and mode of representation and that the exhibitions have largely remained ethnographic.⁵⁸ The minor changes that have been made to the exhibition at Chichiri Museum (the main branch of Museums of Malawi) include the addition of the Hiroshima Stone in 2001 which was given to Museums of Malawi by the Japanese ambassador as a symbol of commemorating peace and justice following the bombing of Hiroshima in 1945. Again in 2000 new bank notes were added to the Money Showcase due to the upgrading of the bigger notes. There has also been some reshuffling in the foyer since 1980. A human skeleton and a python display were removed and replaced with the current stuffed animals from the Liwonde National Park and Majete Game Reserves. In the Open-air section the Electricity Supply Commission of Malawi (ESCOM) hydropower plant exhibit was added in 2009. On the ethnographic side the author participated in 2010 in providing a new face to the exhibition display on adornments of women. The upgrading of the adornment showcases only involved the introduction of what we thought were newer or modern beads and earrings by putting them in juxtaposition with the so-called traditional adornments. However, as I look back today by juxtaposing, we enhanced the difference and othering. And we did not rescue the exhibition from its embedded colonial ethnographic approach. We rather strengthened

⁵⁸ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

it as there was no attempt to recontextualise or remediate the colonial mode of ethnographic exhibition.

At other branches of the Museums of Malawi there has been little change. At Lake Malawi Museum there was an overhaul of the first exhibition from 1995 to 1999. But even if the objects might have changed the new ones were in the same classifications of ethnographic and natural, with the same colonial philosophy of design and display. At Mzuzu Museum, a recent branch, the changes have been made by replacing new objects, but similarly have not disrupted the dominant ethnographic space and representation. This is because the new objects are still ethnographic and the presentation is the same.⁵⁹ At Mtengagetenga Museum, a branch that was opened in 1995 its exhibition has not undergone any change.

Even though the exhibitions at the main branch Chichiri Museum in Blantyre seem not to have undergone any substantive changes the museum has been largely involved in temporary exhibitions of different kinds and themes. Interestingly some of these temporary exhibitions were not ethnographic in nature but about contemporary art forms and emerging issues in Malawian society. For example, in 1970 Chichiri Museum opened an exhibition of Stone Sculpture featuring Malawian artists. The exhibition ran from 7 March to 20 March 1970.⁶⁰ In 1984, in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities and the Malawi Institute of Architects, Chichiri Museum opened an exhibition of photographs of important and historic buildings in Malawi. The exhibition ran for two months and was later exhibited at Lake Malawi Museum in Mangochi.⁶¹ All the branches of the Museum of Malawi have responded to health issues for example malaria, tuberculosis and the HIV/AIDS pandemic by mounting temporary exhibitions. For example, in

⁵⁹ Museum of Malawi, 'Mzuzu Museum Documentation and Exhibition,'

⁶⁰ Museums of Malawi/ Stone Sculpture Exhibition SSE/29/ Ref. NO. SSE/29/1, 23rd February 1970; Museums of Malawi/ Stone Sculpture Exhibition SSE/29/ File No.46, 7 to 20 March 1970.

⁶¹ Museums of Malawi/ Ethnography / ETHNO/33/ Ref. No. 33/87, 26th July 1983.

March 2003, a 'Positive lives exhibition' was opened. This was a unique international photographic project that presented human stories at the heart of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The report on this exhibition claimed that the exhibition gave an extraordinary insight into the impact of the disease on diverse communities in many parts of the world. The images and texts represented the personal experiences of different people living with or working with HIV/AIDS.⁶² The Museums of Malawi has also been involved in temporary exhibitions that are ethnographic in nature. For example, Comfort Mtotha discussed in her thesis the ethnographic exhibition of Cox brothers' collection at Chichiri Museum in 1989.⁶³ There has also been the *Gule wankulu* exhibition at Chichiri Museum as part of the Prevention in Museums in Africa (PREMA) conference on 16 December 1997.⁶⁴ Other temporary exhibitions had their themes like technology and science in Malawi. I have taken pains to elaborate these temporary exhibitions in order to demonstrate that even though the Museums of Malawi has not engaged much in the overhaul of its exhibitions it nonetheless has been involved in a series of temporary exhibitions of various kinds and themes that speak to contemporary issues affecting the country. However, its permanent exhibitions still largely remain unchanged both in terms of the objects exhibited and approach to the design of the exhibition as Yohannes Nyirenda testified in his conversation with me:

At first, if we look at the first museum if my memory serves me right it was largely focusing on something to do with ethnography and a bit of agriculture but using these rudimentary farming tools which might have been classified as ethnography or something like that. But after the construction of the purposeful built museum where the Chichiri Museum is currently housed, now you had a bigger gallery here, the collection was moved from Top Mandala to this place. The additions could have been the natural history section here that we call the

⁶² Museums of Malawi, MOM / File No.204/36, 'Invitation to positive live exhibition.'15 - 20 March 2003.

⁶³ C. Mtotha, 'The Cox Collection,'p.26.

⁶⁴ Museums of Malawi, MOM / File No. 204/ 36, 'Invitation to positive live exhibition,'15- 20 March 2003.

Foyer. But there has not been much change regarding the ethnographic exhibition. We haven't changed much there.⁶⁵

What are the reasons for the Museums of Malawi to be so preoccupied with exhibition of its objects largely in ethnographic terms? There are ideological reasons and administrative reasons. As suggested by the Chief Curator of the museum this might be attributed to a small number of personnel that was there at the onset of the museum itself. The museum had only five people with one qualified person. 'And you know museum work involves a lot of expertise and it was difficult for it to expand', he explained to me.⁶⁶ He further suggested that this also had to do with the administrative structure of the Department of Culture which includes the divisions of Antiquities, Arts and Crafts, Archives and the Censorship Board. He pointed that before 1981 these were independent sections and Museum of Malawi was under the Board of Trustees. The merging of these divisions did not harmonize the specific roles as each division maintained its structures. Thus, Museum of Malawi maintained all its research sections of ethnography, ornithology, mammalogy, entomology and herpetology. Antiquities also maintained its sections of archaeology, history and monuments. What this meant was that Museum of Malawi as a division in the Department of Culture could not do research in history as this was judged to be the jurisdiction of the division of Antiquities in the same Department. Nyirenda explained that we should then expect the division of Antiquities to open history museums. But this has not been the case as the Antiquities Division is mandated to establish only site museums that are archaeological and paleontological in nature and also conservation of monuments and sites. This administrative arrangement seems to put any establishment of a history museum on hold.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

⁶⁶ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

⁶⁷ After the merger of Department of Antiquities and Department of Museums in 2018 into one Department of Museums and Monuments it was anticipated that the overlaps and anomalies in activities would be resolved. However, at the writing of this thesis the situation has remained unresolved.

Nyirenda summed up this dilemma when he said, ‘from the administrative point of view that could be the reason why the Museums of Malawi is still largely ethnographic. It is because in our structure we have ethnographers within the museum. They can’t work on history because history is the domain of Antiquities.’⁶⁸

Though the administrative structure in the Museums of Malawi makes it impossible for Malawi to have a history museum, which has been the cry of the public for a long time, as is evident in the visitors’ comments books,⁶⁹ it is important to look beyond administrative arrangements and consider the colonial tradition of museum practice which gave birth to this institution as its major factor behind the continued production of ethnographic heritage and practice. There has been a sustained tradition of understanding that exhibitions at Museums of Malawi are to large extent about ethnicity and not history (here I qualify history in the sense of political history). This has persisted to the extent that collection expeditions in the cultural history section of the Museums of Malawi are centred on ethnographic collections and not history. The collection policy at Museum of Malawi, especially in the ethnographic section (the largest section of the museum), is based on gap filling or what Gwyneira Isaacs has called ‘salvage ethnography or ethnology’.⁷⁰ And this approach has been there during colonial times (of the Nyasaland Museum). For instance, the researchers are supposed to assess the storage room in order to find out which ethnic group has its material culture not collected by the museum. This also extends to the exhibition gallery, where the question always is which ethnic group is not represented in the museum gallery. Fieldwork is then conducted to collect the ethnographic

⁶⁸Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

⁶⁹ Most of the comments in the ‘Visitors Comments’ Book at the museum (In all its branches) point to the absence of liberation history in the museum.

⁷⁰ G. Isaacs, ‘Collecting,’ in H. Callan, (ed), *The international Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (John Wiley & Sons, 2018), p.3.

collections that are in shortage and either stored in the storage room or exhibited. For example, Sembereka, the first museum ethnographer, reported about one of the field trips when he wrote that ‘the ethnographic section of the Museums of Malawi has continued to undertake field trips intended for research and collecting. The major trip of the 1989/90 period was undertaken by the curator of ethnography from 3rd September to 10th October 1989. The main area of study was Mvumba in Traditional Authority Nakumba’s areas in Mangochi district.’ During this fieldwork expedition, *Gule wa mkulu* masks of the Chewa ethnic group were collected and some found their way into the permanent exhibition and others were stored in the storage room.⁷¹ And this was during the time of Kamuzu Banda where Chewa culture was largely promoted as discussed in chapter one. The exhibition technique is that of old and colonial ethnographic exhibition whereby the texts show the ‘tribe’ from which the object was collected and explains its usage and the objects categorized by the tribal unit. However, it is important to stress that the idea is not to show how ‘primitive’ or ‘retrogressive’ the Malawian ‘tribes’ are but to demonstrate that the museum can collect the nation, display the nation and allow people to see their nation through the ethnographic objects. While this is so, it does little to rescue the ethnographic objects from the colonial logic of freezing the objects, removing their life, decontextualizing them and giving them some ethnic biography but not history. Ever since I joined the Museum of Malawi in 2010 as its ethnographer in the cultural history section, any suggestions for the museum to consider the collection of objects in an historical framework have always been met with administrative directions that the museum does not have a history section and historian because

⁷¹ G. Sembereka, ‘Ethnography Collections during Second visit to Mvumba in Mangochi,’ *Ndiwula. The annual newsletter of the Museums of Malawi*, No.3, (1990), p.11.

this post is at Antiquities Division. This mentality stagnates the Museum of Malawi by continually producing its cultural heritage largely in ethnographic terms.⁷²

On the ideological level, it is important to note the irony of the decolonization process in African states soon after independence whereby the new states relied on ethnic and tribal categories reinforced by the colonialists to construct their 'new' national identities. Ethnographic collections were used for nationalism in the museums.⁷³ This was also the case with the post-colonial Museums of Malawi. During Kamuzu Banda's era there was much emphasis on collection and exhibition of material culture from his ethnic group Chewa. As discussed in the first chapter here we see how radical anti-colonial cultural conservatism and the reactionary post-colonial cultural conservatism dictated early museum work during Kamuzu Banda's time. Thus collections in ethnographic objects and their exhibitions were perpetuated to reinforce the political agenda of Kamuzu Banda of imagining the nation of Malawi through the Chewa. I asked Nyirenda if this meant that the party in power during Kamuzu Banda's time had the authority on determining what ought to be collected in the museum. It seems there was no direct policy from the government, but the museum professionals were just in fear considering the political climate at that time. This is evident in Nyirenda's comment:

It might not be in black and white but just as employees under that particular government you would be very cautious to collect something that would be deemed to be associated with somebody who is not in good terms or books with the party that was in power at that time. We were under the one party, obviously, in terms of collection, you couldn't collect the objects that are associated with the people that they used to call as rebels. And of course, with that, we lost a lot. A lot in terms of historical objects associated with these personalities.⁷⁴

⁷² With the new Department of Museums and Monuments in Place there is a possibility of having a history museum or allowing researchers in the former Department of Museums of Malawi to conduct history research for the Museum.

⁷³ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

⁷⁴ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

It seems the pinnacle of using ethnographic heritage to advance both nationalism and dictatorship of Kamuzu Banda was reached in the 1989 independence celebrations. This independence marked the silver jubilee of the Malawi nation. It was also the year in which the Cox ethnographic collections returned to Malawi from the Whatcom Museum in the United States of America. For all intents and purposes this was not a coincidence but consciously planned to underscore the sovereignty of the nation during the celebrations. Writing about the Silver Jubilee and the role of Museums of Malawi Mtotha explains that 'like many other institutions in the country, Museums of Malawi organized a side event as part of the national independence celebratory events. As a custodian of Malawi's cultural heritage, Museums of Malawi committed itself to a curatorial project to showcase these artefacts to the Malawi nation. The institution wanted the public to see these objects of value which had originated from Malawi.'⁷⁵ In a wider public imagination, the objects were regarded as 'once-hidden treasure representing the most significant collection of historic Malawian culture known to exist in the world.'⁷⁶ A special exhibition was mounted at Chichiri Museum with a title 'preserving the Cultural Heritage of Malawi: Repatriation of the Cox Collection.' The exhibition opened to the public on 3 July 1989 in anticipation to the 6 July Celebrations. The exhibition consisted of display cases, each with groups of ethnographic objects namely: beads, shields, musical instruments, axes, clubs and spears for warfare, hunting and ceremonial. There were other items assembled together to depict prestige and domestic or daily life. However, as Mtotha noted one display case was a recreation of the Coxes' house. It represented selected items which the Coxes

⁷⁵ C. Mtotha, 'The Cox Collection,' p. 93.

⁷⁶ C. Mtotha, 'The Cox Collection,' p.92.

might have used in their house including hand fan, headrest and tobacco boxes.⁷⁷ According to Mtotha, ‘during the handover ceremony of these artefacts, Banda remained a focal point. His multiple journeys to the United States and the United Kingdom were likened to the way the collection went overseas. Similar to Banda, it returned to serve the interests of Malawians, a nationalist cause.’⁷⁸ She has argued that ‘the life of the artefacts and the life of Banda became intertwined. Thus, the biography of the artefacts became the biography of Banda.’⁷⁹ The political context at the time was that Banda’s grip on power was waning due to old age and international criticism. The ethnographic exhibition of the repatriated objects, therefore, were part of the strategies to advance his nationalism and prop up his regime. Here we see how the ethnographic practice by the museum was used for the purpose of the ideology of nationalism and, following Chirambo, ‘*Kamuzuism*’. After dismantling the exhibition, the repatriated ethnographic objects were deposited at the museums’ storage, at Top Mandala in the ethnographic section which is the largest storage of the Museums of Malawi. In considering the politics of the nation, the Museums of Malawi was used for refashioning ethnographic collections as national treasures.

After the political change from the autocratic rule of Kamuzu Banda to a more democratic dispensation the tendency has been to collect more ethnographic objects of other groups that were not covered and fully represented during Kamuzu Banda’s dictatorship. Here we see Museums of Malawi sustaining its ethnographic practice and collection reinforced by the idea of democracy and multiculturalism in the Museum. Following the inception of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO, as discussed in the previous chapter, the collection of ethnographic objects and their exhibition has intensified in the

⁷⁷ C. Mtotha, ‘The Cox Collection’, p.95.

⁷⁸ C. Mtotha, ‘The Cox Collection,’ p.112.

⁷⁹ C. Mtotha, ‘The Cox Collection,’ p.112.

Museums of Malawi. In this regard Christina Kreps explained that ‘since the convention was adopted in 2003, there has been great deal of discussion within the museum international community on the role of museums in safeguarding ICH.’⁸⁰ Thus, the museum is the frontline institution in implementing the convention through not only research but also collection and exhibition of the intangible materials of various ethnic groups. Museums of Malawi has been involved in documentation and inventorying of intangible elements of various ethnic groups as discussed in the previous chapter. It has also been pivotal in preparation of nomination files for some intangible elements to be enlisted on the UNESCO’s representative list under the 2003 convention on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. What this means is that the retention of the large old ethnographic exhibitions at the museums, in all its branches, finds justification in the Convention of the Intangible Heritage. While I find no problems in collection and exhibition of ethnographic objects in the museum, I problematize the exhibition approaches which freeze the objects in time. As I will discuss later, the problem is not the objects but the way they are contextualized. Again there has not been any attempt to include a historical narrative in the biography of objects.

At this point, I would like to explain that in Malawi, until 2004, there was no political history museum. The kind of history that is largely represented in Museums of Malawi (Chichiri Museum and Lake Malawi Museum), is natural history through the specimens, and precolonial (archaeological artefacts of stone and iron age) and some pockets of colonial history represented by the works of missionaries for example David Livingstone with more ethnographic artifacts that make the museum to appear more towards ethnographic museum than its apparent mixture of themes. It is only Karonga Museum which has attempted to provide a liberation history of

⁸⁰ C. Kreps, ‘Indigenous curation, museums, and intangible cultural heritage,’ in L. Smith and N. AKagawa, (eds), *Intangible Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p.201.

Malawi. Perhaps in Malawi, the only Museum that could be deemed as a political history museum was the Mikuyu Prison Museum. On 3 March 1998, Martyrs Day, then President Bakili Muluzi declared Mikuyu Prison to be a Museum. Mikuyu Prison was constructed in 1971 and fully completed in 1973 as a detention camp. It was for political prisoners during Kamuzu Banda's regime. Those who challenged or criticized Kamuzu Banda's regime were incarcerated at this prison without trial. Most people who had played a crucial role in democratic transition were imprisoned by Kamuzu Banda at Mikuyu Prison. It was Malawi's Robben Island.⁸¹ By opening it on Martyrs Day Muluzi extended the dimension of the martyrs to all those who were even imprisoned by Banda. This is well illustrated in his speech;

You Honour, Cabinet ministers, Ladies and gentlemen, I am glad that the Minister of National Heritage invited me to officially open this facility on the 3rd of March, Our Martyrs Day because there can be no greater monument to our Martyrs than this Museum, right here, at the seat of brutality, torture, and gross abuses of Human Rights.⁸²

The museum used the rooms, the plates, the clothes, blankets, and oral histories as some of its objects. These were supplied by the surviving ex-political prisoners and the warders. The objective was to narrate the brutal history of Kamuzu Banda's regime. The longest-serving prisoner was Matchipisa Munthari who had been imprisoned for 27 years and was later referred to as Malawi's Nelson Mandela. The Department of Antiquities which has the history section was the one that was managing the Mikuyu Prison Museum. However, during the presidency of Bingu Wa Mutharika, the museum was closed indefinitely. The apparent reason for its closure was that there was terrible congestion in Malawian prisons. So the government wanted to bring it back to decongest the other prisons. A former curator at the museum explained to me that the

⁸¹See S. Mpasu, *Political Prisoner 3/75 of Dr H. Kamuzu Banda of Malawi* (Balaka: APG, 1995).

⁸² B. Muluzi, : *The Voice of the Democrat- Past, Present and Future*(Skotaville Media, 2002),pp. 114-117.

closure of the museum was a loss in Malawi's history on dictatorship. He argued that Mikuyu Prison Museum narrated the story of 'a path to democracy' and that future generation would have learnt more about circumstances to transition to democracy. However, considering the politics that were prevalent during Bingu Wa Mutharika's reign, I speculate the reasons for its closure to be political rather than prison needs. Bingu Wa Mutharika during this time was sanitizing the history of Kamuzu Banda for his own political gains after he had left the United Democratic Party, the party that supported him to power as I discussed in the previous chapter. As will be evident in the next chapter the opening and closing of Mikuyu prison was just part of negotiation of power by Bakili Muluzi and Bingu Wa Mutharika governments using Kamuzu Banda's memory.

As a trained historian working in the Museums of Malawi, I had requested the office that considering the importance of Mikuyu Prison in Malawi's history we must try to find ways in which we can work with the correctional services at the prison to interpret the history to the public while the site is operating as a museum. I had argued that such an arrangement has been successful in other countries for example in South Africa at Polsmoor prison which housed Nelson Mandela before he was released. However, I was told that there is no History section at Museums of Malawi and this is the jurisdiction of history section at Antiquities. And yet Antiquities is only much interested in opening paleontological and archaeological museums. This bureaucratic bottleneck challenges the future of history research at Museums of Malawi and the possibility of history museums in Malawi.⁸³

⁸³ For more on Mikuyu Prison See B. Muluzi, *Mau Anga: The Voice of the Democrat- Past, Present and Future* (London: Skotaville Media, 2002), pp. 114-117; S. Mpasu, *Political Prisoner 3/75 of Dr H Kamuzu Banda of Malawi* (Balaka: APG, 1995).

Exhibitions and Narratives at Chichiri Museum

In this section I will present the exhibition analysis and discussion of the main branch of Museums of Malawi. Only a short summary will be given of Mzuzu Museum and Lake Malawi Museum which I also visited during my fieldwork. With its main theme of 'Man and the Land' Chichiri Museum presents itself as the National Museum of Malawi. Its exhibitions are classified into natural history and cultural history and as I have indicated most of its exhibitions have remained static over the years. Its outside premises present an open-air exhibition depicting the transport history that includes the locomotive engines (The Merry Weather fire engine, the steam engines, steam traction engine, and old bus that was only for Europeans). The open-air exhibition has also technological objects for example a mini hydro-electric scheme engine and machine for extracting oil from groundnuts. Other objects in the open-air exhibition include an iron smelting furnace, fishponds and a Chewa traditional housing unit, *ndiwula*. The state of conservation of most of these objects in the open-air exhibition is deplorable. Most of them are rusted with exfoliating paint, the wooden materials are continuously rotting and mouldy. The fishponds which in the early days contained various fish species of Malawi are now dry and desolate. According to its curator, the museum is not responsible for the conservation of locomotives in the open-air exhibition. It seems there was an agreement that the companies that donated the locomotives would also be responsible for the conservation. The curator explained that the railways company at least provides maintainance for the steam engines, unlike the bus company which is uncooperative. The original bus company, Stagecoach, was liquidated and the new owners, Muli Brothers, do not seem interested.⁸⁴ In one of the local newspapers, the editor

⁸⁴ Interview with Robert Kambwembwe, Chichiri Museum Curator, Blantyre, 28 February 2018.

picked the deteriorating condition of the bus as one indication of poor conservation at the museum.⁸⁵

Most of the objects in the galleries inside are ethnographic. There are also less elaborate historical objects and some pockets of natural objects in the displays. At the entrance into the museum, there is a bronze plate ingrained with words that explain that the museum was opened on 29 June 1966 by Kamuzu Banda. And that the building was erected for the benefit of Malawi with the assistance of the generous grant from the Beit Trust.

In the foyer a visitor is introduced to the natural history section which has six glass showcases. The main objects in this section include mammals at Liwonde National Park and Majete Game Reserve, for example antelope and impala. A diorama, set in the background, is used to depict the natural habitat of these animals. The texts in this showcase provide the history of the Liwonde National Park and Majete Game Reserve and the common animals found in these sanctuaries. A large painting of a life-size map of Malawi shows the location of all national parks and game reserves in Malawi. Other showcases contain the skulls of various wild animals, for example, duicker, kudu, baboon, leopard, lion and zebra depicting their eating habits as herbivores, carnivores and omnivores. In essence, the natural history section depicts Malawi as a place of wildlife.

Still in the natural history section, at the corner in front of the main door to the exhibition hall, stands on an open showcase a meteorite called the 'Machinga Meteorite' that had fallen down from space onto one of the villages in Machinga district in January 1981. Since this was at the time of civil war in Mozambique the villagers thought it was one of the missiles from Mozambique until the geologist had taken it for examination and confirmed it was a meteorite.

⁸⁵ 'Museums of Malawi in Mess,' *Daily Times*, 19 March, 2009, p.16.

The accompanying text for the meteorite contextualizes it in the discussion of astronomy and how space operates. There is nothing about civil war in Mozambique and what the villagers thought. It is therefore ‘naturalized’ and not ‘culturalised.’

At the top of the entrance into the exhibition gallery the main theme is ‘Man in Malawi’ which essentially creates an anticipation of the works of man in shaping Malawian society. All the objects in this main gallery are displayed in large glass showcases. The paint inside these showcases varies from a faintly yellow, to a light blue, dark green to deep blue and pink. The labels and texts, on paper that is white, blue or khaki, imbue ethnographic and curatorial authority ⁸⁶ In terms of lighting, the museum uses natural light with a touch of fluorescent bulbs attached to the showcases. Each glass showcase represents a theme under which the objects are represented.

The first showcase, a small one, is a history display, provides a history of banknotes in Malawi. It narrates the changes in the use of currency from colonial to democratic era. The main objects include banknotes of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Kamuzu Banda banknotes and Bakili Muluzi banknotes. The next showcase is about the Stone Age with implements displayed. After this, there is a showcase on human evolution. A small mural presenting images of *Australopithecus Africanus* as early ancestors and how they lived by gathering fruits and making fire are shown. The next showcase is about the Iron Age. It explains the movement of the people from the north to the present territory of Malawi and how they introduced iron instruments through smelting. Objects in this section include arrowheads, bangles, harpoon heads, axes, spearheads and knives.

⁸⁶I. Karp and C. Kratz, ‘Reflections on the Fate of Tippos’s Tiger: Defining Cultures through Public Display,’ in E. Hallam and B. Street, (eds), *Cultural Encounters: Communicating Otherness* (London: Routledge, 200), pp.194-228.

The next showcases are all ethnographic as ethnic. In fact, the ethnographic section dominates the museum with its thirteen showcases. The main themes include: Fishing and Hunting, Farming Tools, Domestic Appliances, Jewelry, Ceremonial Objects, Gule Wankulu Traditional Medicine, Traditional Musical Instruments (strings), Traditional Musical Instruments (percussion), Ingoma dancing apparel and Weapons. Here the categories are by type. But the objects in the type are identified ethnically. Thus, the objects are meant to depict the perceived traditional life and material culture of different groups of people classified ethnically. These objects include fishing and hunting materials such as bird traps, mouse traps, spears, harpoons, fish nets. Farming tools and implements such as hoes, axes sickle. Domestic appliances such as salt container, salt bag, broom, calabash, mortar, grinding stone, wooden pillow, bark cloth, *Ngoti* which is object for balancing a pot by women. Jewellery and ornaments such as bone beads, copper necklace, beads for waist on women, ivory nose plugs, brass bangles, wooden earrings, ivory amulets. There are ceremonial and ritual objects such as a chiefs' scepter, axes, spears, Gule Wankulu masks. Traditional musical instruments such as xylophone, *Banjo*, *Malimba*, *Mkangala*, *Chisekese* and *Ulimba*. Stringed objects such as *Gunda*, *Mpanje*, *Chitsukulumene*, *Phenenga* and percussion instruments such as drums. Traditional medicine and presentation of witchcraft with objects such as *Nsupa* which is a gourd containing a concoction of herbs believed to be medicine that are apotropaic. Ingoma dancing costumes such as shields, *chibizo*. A mural showing warriors in their dancing costumes. Weapons for fighting such as spears, clubs, bow and arrows.

The mural above the showcase of Ingoma dancing depicts what is imagined as a typical rural Malawian village scene. It shows chickens moving by, young women pounding maize into flour using mortar and pestles, men going about their daily work and some playing *bawo* games

under the tree. The village is composed of round and thatched huts. Looking at the designs of the huts, and arrangements of the facilities, the village scene fits that of Chewa. The Ngoni, Yao, Lomwe, Tonga, Sena and other designated ethnic groups have distinct indigenous architecture from the one presented on the mural.⁸⁷ In fact in 1966 during the opening of the New Museum building President Kamuzu Banda had instructed the Museum to construct a hut, *Ndiwula* modelled after Chewa rural homestead. According to Nyirenda, the president recommended the builders from his home district of Kasungu to construct what he thought would be the representative of ‘pure village house in Malawi.’⁸⁸ Today the *Ndiwula*, a round thatched house, stands as a part of the open-air exhibition. The Museum also used to publish its annual letter which was called *Ndiwula* and had the image of the *Ndiwula* hut as its iconic symbol. As discussed in chapter one I argue that this Chewa village mural was an attempt that was made to make what is Chewa as presenting the national. This mural is also part of the ethnographic exhibition.

What is common in these ethnographic displays is that the labels do not assign dates when the objects were produced. Neither do they provide names of the artists or carvers other than the ethnic group to which the objects belong. This approach makes objects timeless and ethnographic. In an exhibition analysis that I conducted with Ruth Mckew, a design and exhibition consultant working with Society of Malawi, in 2010, in preparation for a conference paper, we argued that ‘considering the history of its establishment by the colonialists much of the

⁸⁷In 2012 with the support of the Royal Norwegian Government I was part of the team from the Department of Culture that carried out the research on Indigenous Architecture. The main goal of the project was to come up with Cultural Village Museum in capital city Lilongwe to promote cultural heritage tourism. The other objectives were to identify the distinct architectural designs of each designated ethnic group in Malawi. The ethnic groups that were covered included, Ngoni, Yao, Lomwe, Chewa, Sena, Tumbuka, Lambya, Manga’nja and Tonga. All these ethnic groups displayed distinct indigenous architecture in terms of designs, materials and lay out of the features associated with a homestead. See Report on ‘Research into Malawi’s Traditional Architectural Technologies with Funding from the Royal Norwegian Embassy 2013,’ (Unpublished, 2012).

⁸⁸ Interview with Yohannes Nyirenda.

materials though Malawian in nature are in such a way of presenting Malawi society as primitive, archaic, and retrogressive in comparison with the advanced world of the British.’⁸⁹

In Mtotha’s work in which she presented the contrasting ways in which the repatriated Cox Collections were exhibited at Whatcom Museum and Chichiri Museum Mtotha showed how Chichiri Museum was largely ethnographic in practice and philosophy. She wrote:

In terms of lighting, the Chichiri Museum exhibition used natural light with a touch of fluorescent bulbs attached to the showcases. For that reason, it was slightly dark in the exhibition space as juxtaposed to the Whatcom Museum exhibition which was evenly distributed with floodlighting. Again, the Whatcom Museum exhibition was characterised by bright colours making the objects to appear appealing as individual art pieces. Chichiri Museum, on the other hand, had red and ivory colours in the showcases which were rather dull on some of the ceremonial objects in the collection. Lastly, it should be mentioned that the Whatcom Museum exhibition was situated in a sort of contemporary art exhibition environment as evident with the white walls in the space. In all this, I speculate that the type of museum the Cox collection rested in, defined how it was finally displayed. *For instance, Chichiri Museum is basically an ethnographic museum which explains the reason the collection was displayed in an ethnographic standard after its repatriation in 1989.* [My emphasis]⁹⁰

Once again with Ruth Mckew, we noted that the story told through the national museum’s historical and cultural collection ended in the mid-twentieth century with few contemporary acquisitions, which produced a selective history that fails to reflect postcolonial Malawi. We also argued that besides the design itself the objects that are on the exhibition had been there for the past forty-two years and it is important that the exhibition should undergo an overhaul in order to accommodate other emerging issues like HIV/AIDS. This situation was

⁸⁹ R. Mckew and M. Lusaka, ‘A Tale of Two Collections in Blantyre Malawi,’ paper presented at The Conference on Archives of Post- Independence Africa and Its Diaspora, Goree Island, Senegal, 20-22 June, 2012 (Unpublished, 2012).

⁹⁰ C. Mtotha, ‘The Cox Collection,’ pp.102-3; For an elaborate description and discussion of the Cox Collections see Mtotha’s thesis.

observed by one visitor when he commented in the visitors' book that 'please add more items, this is my third time but we keep finding the same thing.'⁹¹

The last showcases are about the biography of David Livingstone and his expeditionary journey to Central Africa and Malawi. The objects include a map showing his three journeys, bibles, medical box, photographs of his house and village in Blantyre and objects associated with the slave trade. Livingstone is presented with no connections to colonialism but as one who brought civilization. In chapter six I discussed why Livingstone's biography is sanitized in Malawi. The next showcase is about the coming of other Scottish missionaries and the missions they opened and also the coming of Scottish planters and industrialists. The next showcase has the Hiroshima stone that commemorates peace and justice. Following this is a showcase that shows how the blind people in Malawi are able to weave cotton into various fabrics. The last showcase is about the Second World War. Titled 'King's African Rifles' it shows and explains Malawian soldiers in this British regiment. The main objects here are world war medals and medals that were taken from captured German soldiers. An old Lewis machine gun is in this display.

While the Chichiri Museum tries to incorporate other aspects in its exhibitions, for example, those of natural history, archaeology, Livingstone and the Second World War, the ever presence of ethnographic philosophy, design and exhibition is still easy to detect.

Exhibitions at Lake Malawi Museum and Mzuzu Museum

Lake Malawi Museum is housed in an old building that used to be a gymkhana yachting club for the British settlers.⁹² In the mid-1980s due to poor conservation condition of the

⁹¹Chichiri Museum Visitor Comments book.

⁹² Interview with Nyson Kalimira, Formerly in charge of Lake Malawi Museum, Blantyre, 15 March 2018; Interview with Chasokera, Assistant Curator at Lake Malawi Museum, Mangochi, 2 March 2018.

building, the museum was closed for a long time. Earnest restoration commenced in 1990 and finished in December 1991.⁹³ A new exhibition was conceptualized with a theme ‘The People of the Lake and their Environment.’ Collection for this new theme began in 1999. Ethnographic, archaeological, historical and natural artefacts were collected by the museum researchers along the Lake Shore stretching from Karonga district in the northern tip of Lake Malawi to Mangochi district in the southern end of the Lake. There were some significant differences with the earlier exhibition in terms of design and coverage of the collection. While the earlier collection had only covered the Mangochi district this new exhibition covered the entire stretch of the Lake. Even though the collections were new they were under the same old categories and disciplines. The new exhibition opened to the public in 2001.⁹⁴ Since the opening of this exhibition in 2001, there has not been any substantial change. The museum has mixed collections that can be broadly categorized as cultural history and natural history collections. In total, the museum has twenty-eight displays (showcases including the dioramas) with the ethnographic displays being dominant. The techniques of display follow exactly that of Chichiri Museum.

The exhibition at Mzuzu Museum in northern Malawi is also largely ethnographic. There are only thirteen showcases, one of which is dedicated to the history of the Livingstonia Mission. While at Chichiri Museum and Lake Malawi Museum the texts are written in English and Chichewa here they are written in English and Chitumbuka which is the dominant language in the northern region. The exhibition techniques in terms of lighting and in colour of showcases and presentation of ethnographic objects are quite the same as at Chichiri and Lake Malawi Museum. The changes that have taken place to the exhibition since its opening in 1990 were the

⁹³ S. N. Mlendo, ‘Lake Malawi Museum Building undergoing rehabilitation,’ *Ndiwula*, Number 4, (December 1991), p.3.

⁹⁴ Interview with Nyson Kalimira, Blantyre.

removal of the natural history section in 1992 which had a few showcases. This was because of problems in its conservation due to the death of its taxidermist and a lack of funds.⁹⁵ Some of the ethnographic objects that were mounted during the opening in 1990 were replaced by other ethnographic objects that were collected between 1994 and 2012, continuing the trend of collecting ethnographic objects.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the chapter has explored important themes that range from Museum discourse which relates to museum policy, collecting discourse that explains the collection methods and ethics, and presentation discourse that engages exhibition methodologies and approaches. All these discourses narrow down to the ways how Museums of Malawi has produced and continues to produce its heritage. In doing so the chapter has discussed the history of Museums of Malawi and explained the reasons for its continued production of an ethnographic heritage long after independence. I have shown that the continuities of ethnographic practice at Museums of Malawi are embedded in its administrative structures and prevailing political ideologies that informed its curatorial practices. It has been argued that it is largely through ethnographic collections that the Museums of Malawi construct the identity of the nation or community more than anything else. The ethnographic collection in Malawi has the utilitarian function of constructing and performing what is the national. As Derek Petersen has argued 'for curators in newly independent states, the museum was an arena from where cultural forms that hitherto had represented the authority of colonial-era kingdoms and tribes could be revalued as objects representing the culture of the nation.'⁹⁶ It has been shown that the continuity

⁹⁵Museums exhibition-Report on the Vimbuza Exhibition at Mzuzu Museum/Museums of Malawi/ Intangible heritage/170/44; Interview with Upson Thole, Secretary for Mzimba Heritage Association, in Mzuzu on 29 June 2018.

⁹⁶ D.Petersen, 'Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,' p.12.

of ethnographic heritage in Museums of Malawi after independence especially in its main branch at Chichiri Museum was the result of nationalism and tribalism during Kamuzu Banda era in which he sought to promote anti-colonial identity as well as his ethnic Chewa to entrench his autocratic rule. The democratic era has also sustained ethnographic exhibition as a way to address the lack of representation of other ethnic groups during the Banda era. As discussed in the chapter 3, the intangible cultural heritage convention has also sustained ethnographic heritage in Museums of Malawi. At the end Museums of Malawi, continues to become a fundamental site of ethnic formation in discursive terms. In the process, this entrenches and reinforces the notion that only through the ethnographic museum is a nation or community defined in Malawi. Consequently, this poses a challenge of undoing the ethnographic museum in Malawi. As Ciraj Rassool suggests it is important to revisit the museum as epistemology in which tribe is made, remade and potentially unmade.⁹⁷

There is a raging debate in museum circles between those who argue for the destruction of ethnographic collections and those who espouse the notions of remediation, recontextualisation and re-thinking of the ethnographic museums and its objects. In situating myself in this larger debate of post-ethnographic museums in relation to Malawi my position is that there is no need to destroy the ethnographic objects. Rather there is need to recontextualise these objects. I am not of the view that the curation of ethnographic objects at Museums of Malawi deliberately or purposefully, like colonial museums, seeks to freeze or 'primitivise' its communities many decades after independence. Rather the problem is lack of creative methodological approaches to undoing the colonial ethnographic logic and gaze that has trapped the displays. The curatorial

⁹⁷ C. Rassool, seminar paper on 'The politics of non-racialism in South Africa', 2018:3/10, Center for Humanities Research, University of the Western Cape. In this paper Rassool explored how colonialism constituted and promoted racism and also the category of tribe. He argued that it's through these institutions (museums) where we must think of how we can deconstruct these categories.

logic of ethnographic displays in Malawi is that of using the objects as materials to embody the heritage of the nation. But while doing this the curatorial practice is caught up in the colonial mode of freezing and giving no life to the objects



CHAPTER 5

Kamuzu Banda's Memory and Negotiation of Power in Malawi

'Songs should praise only Banda and no other party leader.'¹

'Was it for erecting this marble Mausoleum for Hastings Banda That ... Hundreds of thousands of freedom Fighters were accidentalised, imprisoned, Exiled.'²

'Empirical research shows that civilized people preserve their history while those that are primitive destroy their history. We the people of Malawi are civilized and will therefore preserve and cherish our history. My government will continue to honour this hero, our national hero Ngwazi Dr Kamuzu Banda.'³

Introduction

Even though ethnicity, its materiality and intangible heritage are constituted and presented in this thesis as prime elements for reconstructing Malawi's heritage and identity it is also through public memory that the discourse of identity and Malawi's heritage is re/interpreted, contested and re/negotiated in the public domain. By public memory I refer to 'a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help public or society understand both its past and its present, and, by implication, its future. It is fashioned ideally in a public sphere in which various parts of the social structure exchange views. The major focus of this communicative and cognitive process is not the past, however, but serious matters in the present such as the nature of power and the question of loyalty to both official and vernacular cultures.'⁴ This chapter concerns itself with how changing governments in Malawi reconstructed national heritage and identity mainly through the memory of and counter memory to Kamuzu Banda. Monuments and commemorative

¹ P. Short, 'The Making of Malawi,' in P. Short, *Banda* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1974), p.150.

² J. Mapanje, *Beasts of Nalunga* (Northumberland: Bloodaxe Books, 2007), p.21.

³ 'UDF wanted to Erase Kamuzu's Name -Bingu,' *The Nation*, 15 May 2006, Vol. 13 No. 91, pp 1-3; 'Kamuzu Mausoleum Unveiled,' *The Daily Times*, 15 May 2006, p.1.

⁴ J. R. Gillis, (ed), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.76.

public holidays became the sites on which Kamuzu Banda's memory was either inscribed or contested as national heritage.

The chapter provides a historical discussion of how Kamuzu Banda and his government sought to inscribe Banda's memory as nationalist history. It also discusses how in the democratic era Kamuzu Banda's memory was contested and challenged by president Bakili Muluzi and his United Democratic Front (UDF). It further shows how Kamuzu Banda's memory was later reaffirmed and re-inscribed by the new government of Bingu Wa Mutharika and his Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). From this discussion I present two significant observations. The first is that during the dictatorship of Kamuzu Banda his memory was inscribed and constituted as part of Kamuzu Banda's auto/biographical narration of nationalist history that excluded other contributors to an anti-colonial struggle. This resonates with Brutus Simakole following Caine and Holden that 'the auto/biographies of some of the leaders of movements and organizations that fought colonialism and for independence especially in Africa and Asia have acquired a high symbolical status in that they are deemed to be particularly illustrative of the narratives dealing with the end of colonial power and how the new nations were born.'⁵ Consequently, monuments and commemorative days were constituted that largely promoted Kamuzu Banda's memory. Indeed, some of the constituted monuments reflected Kamuzu Banda's association with his Chewa ethnic group. This was part of what has been called '*Kamuzism*' which was a concept that propagated ideas, beliefs and values to popularize as well as legitimize Kamuzu Banda's rule. A second observation is that the democratic dispensation provided new ways of thinking

⁵ B. M. Simakole, 'Political Auto/biography, Nationalist History and National Heritage: The case of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia,' Master's Thesis, University of Western Cape (Unpublished, 2012), p.20; See also C. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa,' PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape (Unpublished, 2004).

how to commemorate in the public domain Malawi's pasts in ways that appeared to respond to democratic ideals of liberties, inclusivity and recognition of important figures, events and places in Malawi's history that were hitherto suppressed or ignored. This explicitly meant contesting, re-interpreting, reconstructing and re-inscribing Kamuzu Banda's memory that was constituted in the public domain.

The main argument advanced in this chapter is that although there have been remarkable changes in reconstruction, re-interpretation and re/appropriation of Kamuzu Banda's memory as national heritage, the utility, function and instrumentalisation of his memory remained the same for each government. Thus, just like in autocratic government of Kamuzu Banda the contestation of his memory during the government of Bakili Muluzi and the re-inscription of his memory by Bingu Wa Mutharika's government served same particular interests of legitimizing and supporting a government in power even though the rhetoric was made to sound and appear as serving the ideals of democracy in Malawi. At the end the chapter shows that Kamuzu Banda's memory was re/negotiated by three governments in order to serve and satisfy particular interests for each government.

Re/constructing sites of public memory in Malawi, A brief history

As was the case with the establishment of Museums of Malawi the formalization of an institution for conserving and promoting spaces of public memory through monuments, sites and important historical dates was directly linked with the activities of Society of Malawi (formerly Nyasaland Society). Apart from the ethnographic objects British settlers were also interested in discovering the sites that they thought to have belonged to 'early man' in Malawi. This was driven by colonial desire to preserve rock shelters in the country that featured rock paintings as evidence of human existence of Stone Age and Iron Age. Gadi Mgonezulu has shown how the

period from 1863 to 1950 and from 1950 to 1965 was a period of ‘antiquarianism’ marked by colonial government’s sponsored projects on excavation of archeological sites that included the Rift Valley region of Karonga district.⁶ I suggest this was part of the colonial project to study the Malawian people for purposes of governing them. Or perhaps, as Tony Bennett would say, it located the settlers in a deep history of the land where they had very little history as settlement. These sites were not of people as ancestors of Malawians but deep in the realm of long ago. The time scale was not one of descent.⁷

With the formation of Nyasaland Museum in 1957 the British settlers through the Society of Malawi kept some of the archeological objects that they collected in the museum. Along with the establishment of the Museum Board discussed earlier ‘the settlers further pushed to formally conserve as national monuments some of the important immovable material remains in different parts of the country.’⁸ According to Juwayeyi the colonial settlers ‘convinced the colonial government to draft a law that would protect objects of archeological and historical interest, including buildings and military fortifications built in the late nineteenth century by the colonial government, missionaries, and various European settlers. The Monuments Act would also protect places of distinctive natural beauty.’⁹ In addition, ‘the law would provide for the establishment of a Monuments Advisory Council composed of members appointed by the relevant government on matters related to the declaration and preservation of national monuments.’¹⁰ According to Yusuf Juwayeyi the law was drafted when the country was on the verge of independence. When the law

⁶ G. Mgonezulu, ‘Malawi Archeology Revisited,’ *the Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol. XXXII, No. II, (1979), p.11.

⁷ See T. Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 2004).

⁸ Y. Juwayeyi, ‘Excavating the History of Archaeology in Malawi,’ in L. R. Lozny (ed), *Comparative Archaeologies: A Sociological View of the Science of the Past* (New York: Springer, 2011), p.789.

⁹ Interview with John Chilachila, Retired Chief Rock Artist officer, Department of Antiquities, Lilongwe, 30 April, 2018; See also Y. Juwayeyi, ‘Excavating the History of Archeology in Malawi.’

¹⁰ See also Y. Juwayeyi, ‘Excavating the History of Archeology in Malawi.’

was passed as the Monuments Act in 1965 it was the independent Malawi that passed it. Until 1967, all activities related to archeological research were under the Museum Board.¹¹ Juwayeyi discusses how the Department of Antiquities carried out its archeological and conservation activities, its challenges in staffing and how it developed into a fully-fledged department with qualified personnel in all its sections.¹² Perhaps the most significant development during the early years of Department of Antiquities was when in 1968 the Kamuzu Banda government through UNESCO Malawi consulted Desmond Clarke to provide guidance on the activities of Department of Antiquities especially on its archeological research and national monuments preservation program.

Two important approaches inform the way sites of public memory are constituted in Malawi. The first approach is informed by what Smith calls an Authorized Heritage Discourse. Under this approach it is members of the Monuments Advisory Council, a body of heritage experts affiliated with Department of Antiquities, who are responsible for designating some sites, and dates as monuments or public holidays. They recommend sites and dates to the minister responsible who, through parliament, endorses them as gazetted.¹³ The second approach is more directly related to government policy where the president using his constitutional powers declares a certain day or site/ object to be a monument or public holiday. This is an approach whereby those in government influence what should be heritage. It is an approach very much grounded in the dominant ideology thesis. This chapter focuses on this approach.¹⁴ However, in

¹¹ Interview with John Chilachila; See J. D. Clark, 'Antiquities Malawi UNESCO Programme,' (UNESCO, 1968).

¹² Y. Juwayeyi, 'Excavating the History of Archeology in Malawi,' p, 790.

¹³ Interview with Sara Samba, the Principle Monuments officer with Department of Museums and Monuments, Lilongwe, 30 April 2018.

¹⁴ See J. E. Tunbridge and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1996).

some cases the decisions of the experts in the Monuments Advisory Council are also influenced by the government in power.¹⁵

The Monuments and Advisory Council in Malawi categorized monuments into five groups: ‘graves of important colonial explorers, missionaries, chiefs who are deemed to have played a greater role in Malawi’s history, soldiers who died in First and Second World Wars, and some individuals who died during Malawi’s struggle for independence; war fortifications; buildings including churches constructed during the early colonial period and those that are related to Malawi’s struggle for independence; painted rock shelters; and sites of significant natural beauty such as Cape Maclear.’¹⁶ According Chrisey Chiumya, ‘Malawi’s attitudes towards archaeology and immovable cultural heritage can also be attributed to Banda’s personal convictions and his government policies.’¹⁷ Chiumya has shown that 19 national monuments that were gazetted between 1968 and 1985 reflected Kamuzu Banda’s bias towards what should be national monuments.¹⁸ For example most of the monuments were of colonial heritage associated with the Scottish missionaries and David Livingstone (in the next chapter I will discuss how the memory of David Livingstone is constructed and used as heritage of diplomacy between Malawi and Scotland). Again Kamuzu Banda himself was an ‘elder of Church of Scotland.’¹⁹ Even though Islamic religion had preceded Christianity in Malawi its sites were not recognized as national monuments and not considered as part of the country’s heritage.²⁰ The gazetted sites that

¹⁵ Interview with Sara Samba.

¹⁶ Y. Juwayeyi, ‘Excavating the History of Archeology in Malawi,’ p.797; Interview with John Chilachila; Interview with Sara Samba.

¹⁷ C. C. Chiumya, ‘Historical amnesia: A study into the causes of the disconnection between communities and their rock art sites at Chongoni rock art World Heritage Site,’ MATHesis, University of the Witwatersrand (Unpublished, 2012), p.67.

¹⁸ C. C. Chiumya, ‘Historical amnesia,’ p.67.

¹⁹ P. Short, *Banda*, p.214.

²⁰ For the gazetted national monuments during Kamuzu Banda. See ‘Gazetted National Monuments.’ Antiquities Department.

were perceived to depict pre-colonial history or indigenous sites were largely those of his Chewa ethnic group and they were mostly shrines and rock shelters.²¹ This could be an attempt of using archeology to assert the Chewa as the ‘first comers’ to the territory of Malawi and therefore rightful rulers of the country as was evident with Kamuzu Banda’s policy of promulgating everything Chewa as symbolic of Malawi’s national culture and thereby promoting Chewa cultural hegemony. It was also common during Kamuzu Banda’s rule to inscribe his name on public infrastructure for example roads, hospitals, schools and on other material spaces in order to entrench his memory in the public for the support of his rule. Mostly this was to assert that he was the singular champion of Malawi’s development agenda. Reuben Chirambo provided an interesting anecdote to illustrate and emphasise Banda’s manipulation of public memory in Malawi:

If a foreign dignitary were to visit Kamuzu Banda in Malawi, he would arrive through *Kamuzu International Airport* in the capital Lilongwe. He would then be driven through *Kamuzu Procession Road* from the airport past *Kamuzu Round About* en route to see Banda in Blantyre. In case of an accident on leaving Lilongwe, he would be rescued by soldiers from *Kamuzu Barracks*, graduates of *Kamuzu Military College* who, with Banda’s permission, would fly him by helicopter to *Kamuzu Central Hospital*. Nurses attending him would have come from *Kamuzu College of Nursing* of the University of Malawi. Upon discharge from hospital, the trip by helicopter to Blantyre would afford him a view of *Kamuzu Dam*, two *Kamuzu Bridges* over the Shire River and on approaching Blantyre, a magnificent view of Lower Shire where there is *Kamuzu Cattle Ranch* and one more *Kamuzu Bridge*. Before taking leave of Kamuzu, he would be taken to *Kamuzu Stadium* through *Kamuzu Highway* to be entertained to traditional dances by *Kamuzu’s mbumba*.²²

The above quotation demonstrates that the kind of public memory that was inscribed during Kamuzu Banda era was clearly a political construction, derived from the needs of autocratic rule.

²¹ Interview with Sara Samba; Interview with John Chilachila.

²² R. Chirambo, ‘Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship: Song, Dance, and Politics in Malawi, 1964–1994,’ Doctoral Thesis, University of Minnesota (Unpublished, 2005), p.300.

This appropriation of memory to legitimize oneself has also been observed in other parts of the continent. Kodzo Gavua's work is compelling on how monuments are linked to heritage, identity and political agendas. He explored the relationships that may be found between monument building and definitions of heritage to show how successive governments in Ghana employed physical constructions to define heritages that objectified their respective ideals and interests to legitimize and promote themselves in the process of gaining and sustaining power mostly revolving around the memory of Kwame Nkrumah.²³ His work has resonance in understanding that governing party politics informs the constitution of national heritage in public domain through monuments and commemorative days informed by dominant ideology using the memory of Kamuzu Banda in Malawi.

The Department of Antiquities (which became the Department of Museums and Monuments) has also been responsible for taking a leading role in organizing the events on public commemorations. These are especially public holidays that celebrate or commemorate specific events in Malawi's history. Since 1964 five dates have been inscribed onto the national public calendar as part of constituting the country as the rendering of a political biography. These dates are 15 January known as John Chilembwe's Day which celebrates the uprising of John Chilembwe in 1915 against the British. 3 March is the Martyrs Day that commemorates Malawians who contributed to the anti-colonial struggles. 14 May is Kamuzu Day which celebrates the life of Kamuzu Banda. 14 June is Freedom Day which celebrates the end of

²³ K. Gavua, 'Monuments and Negotiation of Power in Ghana,' in D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures* (Johannesburg: Academic Press, 2015), p.101.

Kamuzu Banda's dictatorship and birth of multiparty democracy and finally 6 July which is the Independence Day.²⁴

Some of these public holidays are associated with sites or memorials that help narrate the event. For example, Nkhatabay Memorial in Nkhatabay is associated with Martyrs Day, Independence Arch in Blantyre is associated with 6 July, Chilembwe Memorial Pillar and site is associated with 15 January. The Department of Museums and Monuments is active in making sure that the monuments are well conserved before the day of the events on these sites.²⁵ Reuben Chirambo and Bryson Nkhoma have discussed how 3 March (Martyrs Day), 6 July (Independence Day) and 14 May (Kamuzu Day) were celebrated during the time of Kamuzu Banda. They have all argued that the celebration of these days promoted Kamuzu Banda as the leading figure during the anti-colonial struggles while excluding others whom Banda perceived as his enemies. And this worked to legitimize his dictatorial rule.²⁶ In fact Kamuzu Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party had even declared that 'songs should praise only Banda and no

²⁴It was in 1960 that the first commemoration of the State of the Emergency took place. The Malawi Congress Party, which was proscribed during the State of Emergency, organized prayers to commemorate the martyrs in the districts of Blantyre, Limbe, Nkhatabay, Karonga and Mangochi. Songs were composed by the members of Malawi Youth League, a youth wing of Malawi Congress Party. Songs stressed the importance of remembering the fallen heroes of 1959. For the various songs that were sung see B. Nkhoma, 'The Politics of the 1959 State of Emergency,' in K. Phiri, J. McCracken, and W. Mulwafu, (eds), *Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 State of Emergency and its Legacy* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2012). After attaining independence on 6 July 1964, Kamuzu Banda placed more value on the 3 March commemoration. He formally declared 3 March a Martyrs Day. Three days before Independence Day Kamuzu Banda had opened a monument, the Independence Arch, on 3 July 1964 at Chichiri in Blantyre along Kamuzu highway (now Masauko Chipembere highway). The Independence Arch commemorates the struggle and sacrifice for independence. 14 June is the day on which in 1993 Malawians voted in a referendum to choose between one party rule or multipartyism. It is also a day that is used to mark the end of injustices, gross abuses of human rights during the Kamuzu Banda regime. It was constituted as public holiday in 1994 under Bakili Muluzi. No monument has been erected for this day. However, during rule of Bingu Wa Mutharika 14 June was stopped to be a public holiday. One could speculate this was because he felt that Bakili Muluzi had instituted this day as a way to castigate Kamuzu Banda's regime. However, some Malawians continue to debate issues of relevance that relate to this day through the print media and the radio and televisions.

²⁵ Interview with Sara Samba.

²⁶ R. Chirambo, 'Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship'; B. Nkhoma, 'The Politics of the 1959 State of Emergency,' in K. Phiri, J. McCracken, and W. Mulwafu, (eds), *Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 State of Emergency and its Legacy* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2012); J. Lwanda 'Memory and Music: Memorialising The Malawi Martyrs,' in K. Phiri, J. McCracken & W. Mulwafu, (eds), *Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 Nyasaland State of Emergency and its Legacy* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2012).

other party leader.²⁷ It was for this reason that in 1994 when Bakili Muluzi came to power he began contesting and reinterpreting these public memories. For example, the definition of who the martyrs were included also those who fought against the dictatorship of Banda. Muluzi also declared 15 January as Chilembwe's Day in order to give prominence to the role played by John Chilembwe during the anti-colonial struggle thereby countering the narrative of Kamuzu Banda as the sole figure in the anti-colonial struggles.

The three successive governments in Malawi of Kamuzu Banda, Bakili Muluzi and Bingu Wa Mutharika created a tradition of commemorative days, monument building, naming, and renaming that was marked by subjective definitions of Malawi's heritage centering on the memory and counter memory of Kamuzu Banda. In what follows I provide a discussion of Kamuzu Day and its subsequent politics of negotiation of power. I also consider Kamuzu Day in order to argue that the older colonial cultural form of Queen's Day has been revalued and repackaged as heritage in post-colonial Malawi.

From Queen's Day to Kamuzu Day

14 May in Malawi is Kamuzu Day. It was initially designated to celebrate Kamuzu Banda's official birthday. However, the paradox is that Kamuzu Banda's precise birthday is not known. Even his year of birth, 1898, that appeared in his passport was an approximation by the passport officer in South Africa where Kamuzu Banda got his first passport to travel to the United States. Kamuzu Banda himself revealed that when he could not provide a birth certificate or give the year of his birth, the officer looking at how tall he was gave him the year 1898.²⁸ In the multiparty democracy it is no longer presented as a birthday but rather a special day in which

²⁷ P. Short, 'The Making of Malawi,' in P. Short, *Banda* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1974), p.150.

²⁸ P. Short, *Banda*, p.82.

Malawians are asked by the state to remember and appreciate the life and legacy of Kamuzu Banda as a ‘founding father’ of the Malawian nation.²⁹ Kamuzu Day is a clear example of a commemorative public holiday that came into being with the sole objective of magnifying Kamuzu Banda’s image and deeply entrenching his autocratic leadership in what has been termed by Chirambo as *Kamuzism*.³⁰

In April 1967 the speaker of parliament, Chidzanja, announced to members of the parliament that a new public holiday has been created and it would be called ‘Kamuzu Day,’ replacing ‘Queens day’. The announcement was received with the applause.³¹ The Secretary General of Malawi Congress Party Albert Muwalo in his press statement to the public provided a background to Kamuzu Day:

May 14 each year has been observed in Malawi as well as in other Commonwealth countries still under British rule as an official birthday of Queen Elizabeth the second. Since Malawi attained her republican status in July 1966, we now have the President of the Republic who is the Head of State and Government. The position of the Queen as Queen of Malawi therefore automatically disappears.³² But May 14 will remain a public holiday in Malawi and it will be called ‘Kamuzu Day’ after the head of State and government, H. E the President of the republic of Malawi.³³

²⁹ Republic of Malawi, National Assembly, Third Meeting: 39th Session, Thursday 22nd February, 2007/NA/TD/01/Malawi National Archives/ Zomba/p.24; ‘Kamuzu’s Day Back.’ *The Nation*, Vol.14 No. 44, 2 March 2007, pp,1-2.

³⁰ R. Chirambo, ‘Culture, Hegemony and Dictatorship,’ p.184.

³¹ ‘Kamuzu Day holiday in May,’ *The Times*, 3 April 1967, p.5.

³² During the Kamuzu Day on 14 May 1975 Banda told the people the background to the day. He said, ‘This day, May 14 has been given the name or title of Kamuzu Day. Why is this?... Kamuzu Day is successor to Queen’s day, Kings Day, Victoria’s Day or Empire Day... every year when they were celebrating Queen’s Day in Britain the government here put on a function right here in Zomba. After the death of Queen Victoria the function continued- Empire Day or Kings Day. So that by the time we became independent in 1964 there was a function right here in Zomba presided over by governor. When we became independent the question arose: Shall we do away with this function altogether or shall we replace it with something else? The Central Executive of the Malawi Congress Party decided not to abolish the function altogether but to replace it with something else which is our own. So they decided to call it Kamuzu Day since Kamuzu is the head of State; and in the old days the function was performed in the name or honour of head of State on Britain. That is how it came to be.’ see ‘Kamuzu and Kamuzu Day,’ *The Nation*, 30 May 2007, Vol.14 No.106 p. 18.

³³ ‘Kamuzu Day to be celebrated by all districts,’ *The Times*, 24 April 1967, p 1.

One could expect the new republic to abandon altogether the celebrations of 14 May considering its colonial baggage. However, Kamuzu Banda's government did not want to abandon it. Instead it saw how effective the day could continue being used to praise the leadership of the country, this time not praising the Queen but Kamuzu Banda. In his justification for the creation of Kamuzu Day to parliamentarians Chidzanja, argued that 'it was fitting that Malawi should pay tribute to her leader, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda in this way.'³⁴

The main event for the day was held in Zomba (then the capital city). Other events would take place at regional level with Malawi Congress Party regional chairmen representing Kamuzu Banda. At district level the District Commissioners would represent the president.³⁵ The first Kamuzu Day was celebrated on 15 May 1967 in Zomba.³⁶ The *Times* reported the following day 'that people all over Malawi turned in thousands to celebrate Kamuzu Day.'³⁷ The paper gave what it maintained was a description of the event:

The President greeted his people from a bright red Rolls Royce on his official birthday yesterday. Wearing full morning dress with a grey top hat, he waved to crowds lining the street of Zomba. Dr Banda travelled in the open - top car to the Kamuzu day trooping of the colour, at Zomba Gymkhana club. His guest there was Chief Jonathan who travelled from Nyambadwe House for the parade. The colour was trooped by the 1st Battalion of the Malawi Rifles who saluted the President and ended the ceremony with three cheers. During the afternoon, after a lunch and reception at state house, Chief Jonathan ascended Zomba Plateau.³⁸

Chirambo also captured vividly the activities, pomp and ceremony associated with Kamuzu Day during Banda's regime.³⁹ He wrote that on this day 'birthday wishes were delivered mainly in the form of songs than cards. The songs prayed for Kamuzu Banda's long life and praised him for

³⁴ 'Kamuzu Day holiday in May', *The Times*, 3 April 1967, p.5; 'Kamuzu Day to be celebrated by all districts,' *The Times*, 24 April 1967, p.1.

³⁵ Kamuzu Day celebrations are well organized,' *The Times*, 11 May 1967, p 5.

³⁶ This was because the actual 14 May had fallen on Sunday so the celebrations were shifted to Monday 15th.

³⁷ 'Malawi goes gay as thousands turn out to celebrate Kamuzu Day,' *The Times*, 16 May 1967, p.5.

³⁸ 'Dr Banda greets people,' *The Times*, Blantyre, 16 May 1967, p.1.

³⁹ R. Chirambo, 'Culture, Hegemony and Dictatorship,' pp.188-190.

the leadership of the country, and as was always the case, they also pledged loyalty to him personally.⁴⁰ I also recall in the late 1980s, attending the Kamuzu Day Celebrations at Kamuzu Stadium in Blantyre. The acrobatic displays by the Malawi Young Pioneers, a paramilitary wing of Malawi Congress Party and the colourful marching and singing by the Malawi Police Band with their trumpets and drums, and the parades by the Malawi Army, were the spectacle of excitement for the audience. Kamuzu Day was essentially a day of merriment and celebration. It afforded Kamuzu Banda the opportunity to enjoy in a party mood with Malawians. This gesture of partying with Malawians seemed to strengthen his bond, connection and patriarchal relationship with ordinary Malawians. This had an effect of popularizing his regime. Kamuzu Banda could also make some political announcements on this day. For example, on the first Kamuzu Day in 1967 he announced the release of the political prisoners. One of the prominent to be released was N.A Mwambungu, former Member of Parliament for Karonga North, who was serving a five year prison sentence.⁴¹ On Kamuzu Day in 1983 Kamuzu Banda expressed anger at four prominent politicians who later became the subject of Bakili Muluzi government's inquiry into the atrocities of Kamuzu Banda's regime, Dick Matenje, Secretary-General of the Malawi Congress Party, Aaron Gadama, Minister for the Central Region, Twaibu Sangala, Minister of Health, and David Chiwanga, MP for Chikwawa District. It was alleged they were against some of the policies of Kamuzu Banda. On 17 May they were arrested at a roadblock in Zomba. Two days later they were all found dead in a crashed car after what was reported to be 'road accident' in Mwanza near Mozambique border.⁴² Thus Kamuzu Day, apart from being a day of celebration, was also a day for Kamuzu Banda to challenge his political opponnets.

⁴⁰ R. Chirambo, 'Culture, Hegemony and Dictatorship,' pp.188-190.

⁴¹ 'Many Prisoners to be released 'but no tricks.' President warns,' *The Times*, 8 May 1967, p.1.

⁴² J. K van Donge, 'The Mwanza Trial as a Search for a Usable Malawian Political Past,' *African Affairs*, Vol.97, No.386, (1998), p.111.

Post-Banda memorial/heritage complex; Kamuzu Day, mausoleum and statue

When Bakili Muluzi came to power in 1994 he began to contest public memorializations of Kamuzu Banda because they mainly focused on promoting Banda's name while excluding others. He was on a drive to efface the public memory of Kamuzu Banda from landscape. In the process Kamuzu Banda's name was removed from structures and institutions associated with his memory. For example, the Kamuzu Highway in Blantyre was changed to Masauko Chipembere Highway in memory of Masauko Chipembere whom Kamuzu Banda had once designated as a 'rebel' during the cabinet crisis of 1964 to 1965. Kamuzu Stadium was changed to Chichiri Stadium and Kamuzu International Airport to Lilongwe International Airport, reflecting the places where they are situated. While Bakili Muluzi could invest time in doing away officially with Kamuzu Banda's memory he could also recast Banda's memory in order to tarnish Banda's legacy. This was expressed in the language of 'restitution for injustices.' Jan Kees van Donge writes that 'Bakili Muluzi's drive at restitution for the injustices of Kamuzu Banda's government involved instituting a Compensation Tribunal in 1994 to compensate victims, specifically the ones who could not access the courts for redress.'⁴³ Donge further notes that 'in 1994, a Commission of Inquiry into the alleged political murders in 1983 of four prominent members of parliament, Aaron Gadama, Dick Matenje, Twaibu Sangala and David Chiwanga was set up. Their bodies were exhumed, and a national memorial of reburial took place as part of dealing with the terrible past of Kamuzu Banda.'⁴⁴ Later a memorial pillar inscribed with names of the murdered parliamentarians was erected at Thambani in Mwanza district as a reminder of the brutal murders on the site and also as monument to Kamuzu Banda's brutal regime.

⁴³ J.K van Donge, 'The Mwanza Trial,' p.91.

⁴⁴ J.K van Donge, 'The Mwanza Trial,' p.91.

Commenting on the above memorial practices Jan Kees van Donge argues that ‘nations need memories and that there is in many contemporary African states a need to create a memory of the period between independence and reintroduction of multipartyism. That process often takes the form of inquests into human rights abuses which can result in trials.’⁴⁵ I would like to further argue that while such memories were presented to serve the democratic ideals of human rights they were also used to legitimize and support Bakili Muluzi’s government as a promoter of human rights in the country. Muluzi’s politics of memory finds expression in Yael Zerubavel’s assertion that ‘when a society undergoes rapid developments that shatter social and political order, its need to reconstruct the past is as great as its desire to set its future agenda.’⁴⁶

It was against the above political background that in 1994 Kamuzu Day was erased from the public calendar. The two terms of Bakili Muluzi therefore had no celebration of Kamuzu Day. This was until Bingu Wa Mutharika succeeded Bakili Muluzi in 2004. In chapter two I discussed the precarious political circumstances for President Bingu Wa Mutharika after ditching the United Democratic Front, the party that aided him to power, and forming his own Democratic Progressive Party. This precarious political situation, I argued, compelled him to establish the Mlahkho Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association as a vehicle of mobilizing his own ethnic political base. It seems it was also this very same political situation that motivated him to rekindle the memory of Kamuzu Banda ten years after it was being repressed by the Bakili Muluzi government. This was a ploy to seek sympathy not only from the wider Malawian population which began showing disillusionment of the Bakili Muluzi regime due to rampant corruption but also specifically to Kamuzu Banda’s central region which still showed strong

⁴⁵ J.K van Donge, ‘The Mwanza Trial,’ p.91.

⁴⁶ Y. Zerubavel, ‘The historic, the legendary and the incredible: Invented traditions and collective memory in Israel,’ in J. R. Gillis, (ed), *Commemorations*, p.105.

support and sympathy with Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party. The dynamics in the parliament that time had meant that the members of the United Democratic Front would rally against him. It was only with the Malawi Congress Party that he could reach for any form of alliance. Against this unstable political situation Bingu Wa Mutharika turned to Kamuzu Banda's memory and past by reviving it in order to gain popularity from Kamuzu Banda's sympathizers across the political spectrum for his own survival. A number of legacy projects on Kamuzu Banda were initiated. First in August 2004 Bingu Wa Mutharika declared that the names of some institutions be reverted to that of Kamuzu Banda in recognition of late Banda's achievements. For example, Lilongwe International Airport was reverted to Kamuzu International Airport, Chichiri Stadium to Kamuzu Stadium and Lilongwe Central Hospital to Kamuzu Central Hospital.⁴⁷ On 6 October 2004, speaking in Kasungu district, home of late Kamuzu Banda, at a function to celebrate the elevation of fifteen Chewa chiefs Bingu Wa Mutharika attacked his predecessor Bakili Muluzi for failing to recognize the achievements that Kamuzu Banda had made. He told the chiefs that 'it was sad that seven years after Kamuzu Banda's death government has not been able to build a mausoleum.'⁴⁸ The president repeated his pledge to have the mausoleum built as a matter of urgency when he announced that 'I will source funding for the monument if there is no money. Whether you like it or not there was Hastings Kamuzu Banda who at one point ruled this country and this is in history books. Even if you destroy the books facts will remain the same.'⁴⁹ Following the president's announcement the government allocated a sum of K20 million (about \$25,000) in the 2004/ 2005 budget for the construction of a

⁴⁷ 'Bingu is Right on Kamuzu,' *The Nation*, 8 October 2004, p.2; 'Kamuzu deserves the honour', *The Daily Times* 6 October 2004, p.8.

⁴⁸ 'Bingu is Right on Kamuzu,' *The Nation*, 8 October 2004, p.2; 'Kamuzu deserves the honour', *The Daily Times* 6 October 2004, p.8.

⁴⁹ 'Bingu Restates Case on Kamuzu,' *The Nation*, 7 October 2004, p.2.

mausoleum for Kamuzu Banda. According to the then minister responsible for sports and culture, Henry Chimunthu Banda, the construction of the mausoleum was supposed to be done in phases. The first phase was the tour by stakeholders (including the Department of Museums and Monuments) to countries such as Ghana and Kenya to see how other mausoleums were built. The second phase was the designing which involved architectural landscaping. The third phase was the actual construction of the mausoleum which would among other things include a museum, office block, library, VIP lounge, recreation center and statue of the late Kamuzu Banda. The whole complex would be called Kamuzu Memorial Park. The minister said the mausoleum project was intended to highlight the history of Malawi from the time the country was under colonial rule to the death of the former head of state: 'This will include the struggle of our country to break from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the state of emergency in 1959 and attainment of independence from the colonial powers. This will assist school children to visualize and conceptualize the history of Malawi before 1994'.⁵⁰

It was in such a political climate that Kamuzu Day was reinstated through parliament on 1 March, two days before, the Martyrs Day, in 2007.⁵¹ The motion to reinstate Kamuzu Day was moved by Member of Parliament of Malawi Congress Party, Kamuzu Banda's party, from Lilongwe North West, Ishamael Chafukira. It was seconded by the Minister of Finance, Goodall Gondwe of Democratic Progressive Party, and the party of President Mutharika. Chafukira moved the motion by saying:

This House requests the government of the Republic of Malawi to declare May 14 a public holiday on its official calendar to honour the first head of state, Ngwazi Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, father and founder of this nation in view of the

⁵⁰ 'Kamuzu's Mausoleum now in 2004/5 Budget,' *The Nation*, 1 September 2004, p.2.

⁵¹ Republic of Malawi, National Assembly, Third Meeting: 39th Session, Thursday 22nd February, 2007/NA/TD/01/Malawi National Archives/ Zomba/p24; 'Kamuzu's Day Back', *The Nation*, 2 March 2007 Vol.14 No.44 pp1-2.

resounding contributions he made and in line with the spirit world wide to accord a place in the history of their nations to men of that stature.⁵²

Chafukira further argued in the motion that by restoring Kamuzu Day government would place the former head of state at the same footing with other heroes such as John Chilembwe. He also suggested that government should erect Kamuzu Banda's statue, possibly at the new parliament building being constructed in Lilongwe. In response, as government Chief Whip, Gondwe supported the idea but wondered why Kamuzu Day was not considered at the time Chilembwe Day was established. In a way Gondwe wanted to ridicule and scorn Bakili Muluzi's United Democratic Front government for doing away with Kamuzu Day. It is important to mention that during this motion the members of the ruling Democratic Progressive Party, exchanged harsh words with those of United Democratic Party, accusing them of effacing Kamuzu Banda's memory by scrapping Kamuzu Day from the calendar. The motion was voted, passed and Kamuzu Day was reinstated.⁵³

If there was debate in parliament on the reasons for reinstating Kamuzu Day, the general public did not sit back. A look at some of the newspapers in the month of May, the month of Kamuzu Day, reveal the tensions. One letter writer attempted to reason why ten years after his demise Kamuzu Banda was becoming a hero, and what had happened for him to move from a dictator in 1994 to a hero in 2007? He offered three reasons. First, he argued that after the 1994 elections Kamuzu Banda was seen through the new administration (the Bakili Muluzi administration). Thus, people had high expectations with the new regime and they were much disillusioned by it when it failed to meet them. He cited growing food insecurity in the country which was not the case previously. The second argument was that it was now revealed to all that

⁵² Republic of Malawi, National Assembly, Third Meeting: 39th Session, Thursday 22 February, 2007/NA/TD/01/Malawi National Archives/ Zomba/p24.

⁵³ Republic of Malawi, National Assembly, Third Meeting: 39th Session.

some of the injustices were not committed or decreed by Kamuzu Banda but some of his henchmen. The third reason was that the persistent ‘torture’ by Bakili Muluzi on Kamuzu Banda, especially dragging the old and ailing Kamuzu Banda to court to answer some charges committed by his regime encouraged some sympathy from a large section of Malawians.⁵⁴ He concluded that the love of Kamuzu Banda and his rise to heroism was outcome of an understanding of his role in Africa and an expression of disillusionment with Bakili Muluzi in whose decade solid social structures of Malawian life were falling apart. Perhaps it was quantifiable: drug abuse grew, corruption was almost normal while disorder and punishment went unpunished.⁵⁵ For him there was therefore public nostalgia for Kamuzu Banda amid growing disenchantment with Bakili Muluzi government.

Another letter writer was unhappy with this show of nostalgia. Her criticisms and arguments through her contribution blatantly exposed the fact that the day was invented to support Banda’s regime. She argued that according to research that she made at the national archives of Malawi, Kamuzu Day is a continuation of the British tradition that was meant to honour the Head of State. She further argued that the ‘President’s Day’ would be better than calling it using the personal name of who so ever would be in power because of divisive nature of personal names. These comments by these two contributors reveal two important things about Kamuzu Day in Malawi. First, they reveal that Kamuzu Day was a repackaging of an old colonial cultural form to prop up Kamuzu Banda’s regime. Second the day came to be reinstated for political expediency which was dressed up as nostalgia.

⁵⁴ For the trial of Kamuzu Banda on the alleged murder of four of his prominent members of his government in 1983 see J. K van Donge, ‘The Mwanza Trial,’

⁵⁵ M.Nkolokosa, ‘Kamuzu Lives on’ *The Nation*, 9 May 2007, Vol.14 No .92, pp 20-22.

It was on Kamuzu Day, 14 May 2006, when President Bingu Wa Mutharika officially opened Kamuzu mausoleum in the capital city Lilongwe next to the new Chinese funded National Parliament Complex. The site is designated as part of Kamuzu Memorial Park which in its initial plans was to include among other things a library stocked with books and literature about Kamuzu Banda and interactive center showcasing some other personal effects as supposedly defining Kamuzu Banda.⁵⁶ On this occasion the president once again vilified the Bakili Muluzi government for trying to erase Kamuzu Banda's name from public memory. The president eulogized and praised Kamuzu Banda by describing him 'as a true national hero who laid a foundation stone for the country's development and inspired other African leaders in their struggle for independence.'⁵⁷ He went on to explain that 'empirical research shows that civilized people preserve their history while those that are primitive destroy their history. We the people of Malawi are civilized and will therefore preserve and cherish our history. My government will continue to honour this hero, our national hero Ngwazi Dr Kamuzu Banda.'⁵⁸ Bingu Wa Mutharika re-inscribed Kamuzu Banda's memory as Malawi's heritage through the mausoleum as Ken Lipenga has asserted following Stuart Hall,

The historicity of the statue cannot be overemphasised. As part of a national heritage, a statue is one of the ways in which the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory. Just as individuals and families construct their identities in part by 'storying' the various random incidents and contingent turning points of their lives into a single, coherent, narrative, so nations construct identities by selectively binding their chosen high points and memorable achievements into an unfolding 'national story.'⁵⁹

⁵⁶Interview with Elizabeth Gomani-Chindebvu, Director of Museums and Monuments of Malawi, Lilongwe, 30 April 2018: Kamuzu Park, <https://www.nyasatimes.com/malawi-govt-start-kamuzu-memorial-park-construction-project/>, accessed 14.07.2019.

⁵⁷ 'UDF wanted to Erase Kamuzu's Name- Bingu,' *The Nation*, 15 May 2006, Vol.13, No.91, pp 1-3; 'Kamuzu Mausoleum Unveiled,' *The Daily Times*, 15 May 2006, p.1.

⁵⁸ 'UDF wanted to Erase Kamuzu's Name- Bingu,' *The Nation*, 15 May 2006, Vol.13, No.91, pp 1-3; 'Kamuzu Mausoleum Unveiled,' *The Daily Times*, 15 May 2006, p.1.

⁵⁹K. Lipenga Jnr, 'Tale of Political Monuments in Malawi: Re-storying National History,' *Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies*, Vol.5, No.2, (2019), pp.1-20.

Thus ‘the Kamuzu Banda mausoleum became the monument through which Malawi’s nationalist history is retold.’⁶⁰ Speaking on behalf of Kamuzu Banda’s family Ken Kandodo thanked Bingu Wa Mutharika’s government for honouring its pledge to build the Kamuzu Banda mausoleum. ‘We thank your excellence for your personal interest, ensuring that the workmanship is of high quality.’⁶¹

The mausoleum has two compartments. The upper part is the replica of the tombstone. The actual tombstone where Kamuzu Banda is buried is on the ground floor with the inside chamber which is restricted to the public. The mausoleum has some symbolic features. Engraved on the mausoleum ‘are the four cornerstones of Unity, Loyalty, Obedience and Discipline that Kamuzu Banda in his 30-year reign, 1964–1994, advanced as the so-called foundational principles of his government and the country. The epigrams on the mausoleum claim Kamuzu Banda as the father and founder of the Malawi nation.’⁶² At the front of the mausoleum are several steps leading up to an arch where there is a life size portrait of Kamuzu Banda. There are twenty-four pillars as part of the structure representing the districts of Malawi during Kamuzu Banda’s time. As one goes up four pillars represent the additional districts that were added to during the democratic era. There are also large sized photos of lions that symbolize his power as he was referred to as the Lion of Malawi. One photo depicts 71-year-old Kamuzu Banda in 1969 holding a flywhisk given to him by Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. As a Christian and elder in a Scottish Presbyterian Church his favourite scripture Psalm 123 ‘the Lord is my shepherd’ is inscribed on one of the plaques. The assistant curator at the mausoleum told me that Kamuzu

⁶⁰K. Lipenga Jnr, ‘Tale of Political Monuments in Malawi: Re-storying National History,’ *Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies*, Vol.5, No.2, (2019), p.17.

⁶¹‘Kamuzu Mausoleum Unveiled,’ *The DailyTimes*, 15May 2006, pp1-3.

⁶²K. Lipenga Jnr, ‘Tale of Political Monuments in Malawi: Re-storying National History,’ *Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies*, Vol.5, No.2, (2019), p.17.

Banda's body was preserved to last for 100 years.⁶³ The biography of Kamuzu Banda that is told by the assistant curator presents a sanitized version of Kamuzu Banda's 'great lived life' with no mention of his brutal regime. It presents Kamuzu Banda as the hero of the anti-colonial struggle and one who triumphantly rescued the nation from British bondage.⁶⁴ According to Chirambo this monument constitutes 'the nationalist memory of Malawi and in ways recovers and re-imagines the nation's postcolonial history.'⁶⁵ Its failure lies in the absence of other prominent figures that Kamuzu Banda fought together with. This is what heritage and memory work does. It is always selective.

It seems apart from capitalizing and instrumentalising the memory of Kamuzu Banda for his own political gains Bingu Wa Mutharika had other grand ambitions of inscribing the country's memory for the imagination and inspiration of the nation. This was evident when in 2005 he had instructed the Ministry of Lands to set aside a piece of land 'within the vicinity of government's central administration, the Capital Hill'⁶⁶ for what would be the country's supposed national mall or national memorial park. With a team from the Department of Lands and Department of Museums and Monuments he surveyed the portioned land and suggested how structures would stand. In a similar fashion of the Egyptian pharaohs and Roman emperors who could design and commission obelisks and grand monuments Bingu Wa Mutharika designed and sketched a memorial tower that would dominate the capital's skyline for the memorialization of

⁶³ Interview with Mbali, Assistant archeologist and in charge of Memorial Pillar, 30 April 2018, Lilongwe.

⁶⁴ Interview with Mbali.

⁶⁵ R. Chirambo, 'The Sinking Cenotaph,': Jack Mapanje's and Steven Chimombo's Contestation of Monumentalised Nationalist Public Memories of Malawi's President Banda,' *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 36, No.3, (2010), p.551; R. Chirambo, 'Banda's Monuments and Narrativisation of Malawi's History in the Post-Banda Era,' *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, Vol. 23, No.1, (2008), p.145: See also R. Chirambo, 'A Monument to a Tyrant,' or Reconstructed Nationalist Memories of the Father and Founder of the Malawi Nation, Dr H.K Banda,' *Africa Today*, Vol.56, No.4, (2010), pp.2-21.

⁶⁶ R. Chirambo, 'The Sinking Cenotaph,': Jack Mapanje's and Steven Chimombo's Contestation of Monumentalised Nationalist Public Memories of Malawi's President Banda,' *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 36, No.3, (2010), p.551

the war dead to be erected at the park that would be called Umodzi Memorial Park.⁶⁷ The memorial park was to host among other things a state of the art national museum, a library center, cultural village, botanical garden and other recreational facilities.⁶⁸ On Remembrance Day, 11 November 2007, the memorial tower was officially opened by Bingu Wa Mutharika. On the walls surrounding it the names of the fallen soldiers who served different military missions are inscribed. One could suspect that Bingu Wa Mutharika might have been inspired by the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in the United States capital dedicated to United States troops who had served in the Vietnam War.⁶⁹ Unlike the Heroes acre in Zimbabwe which memorializes the heroes of the liberation struggle in that country, the memorial tower remembers Malawian soldiers who died fighting either during the First or Second World War and other peace keeping missions that Malawi has been involved.⁷⁰ The memorial park is at some elevated ground making the drive up towards it like climbing the steps to a temple on a hill top.

On Kamuzu Day, in 2009 Mutharika unveiled the statue of Kamuzu Banda on the ground of this memorial park next to the memorial towers. It is a bronze statue which weighs 680 kilograms and stands three meters high. Its South African sculptor, Jean Doyle, had also produced statues of Nelson Mandela and Angolan Agostino Neto.⁷¹ The statue shows Kamuzu Banda in his landmark suit and flywhisk. Like at the mausoleum the epigrams depict Kamuzu Banda as the father and founder of the nation. On the statue are quotations from Kamuzu

⁶⁷ Interview with Elizabeth Gomani; Interview with Samba Samba; Interview with John Chilachila.

⁶⁸ Interview with Gomani; After Mutharika's death these other projects were never continued.

⁶⁹ See K. Savage, *Monuments Wars: Washington DC., the National Mall and the transformation of the memorial landscape* (Berkeley and Los Angeles California: California University Press, 2003).

⁷⁰ In Zomba City, the old colonial capital, the British erected the Zomba War Memorial in memory of the members of the Kings African Rifles who died in both the first and second world wars. This was the first attempt to commemorate the dead soldiers in Malawi. For the politics of commemoration at Heroes' Acre in Zimbabwe see B. Magadzike, 'An investigation of Zimbabwe's Contemporary Heritage Practices of Memorialising War: A Case Study of the Heroes' Acres in Matebeleland South Province.' Masters Thesis, University of the Western Cape (Unpublished, 2011).

⁷¹ 'Kamuzu Day: JZU, Muluzi both absent,' *Daily Times*, 15 May 2009, pp.1-3.

Banda's speeches, one of 1958 when he arrived at Chileka Airport to join the independence struggle against British colonial rule, in which he was reported to have said, 'I have come back to break their stupid federation and to give you my people the Africans of this country your own government and independence. I have come back home to act as a bridge, to break the gulf of disunity between the races: between the Europeans and the Indians on one hand, and my own people, the African people of this country.'⁷² In his speech Bingu Wa Mutharika explained that he was restoring the honour which was stripped of Kamuzu Banda. He announced that the government would put up other statues at the memorial park in honour of the countries' heroes and add a park where children would have fun. 'What was interesting during the unveiling of the statue was how the honorific term *Ngwazi* appeared on the plaque twice in reference to Kamuzu Banda and Bingu Wa Mutharika. Both Kamuzu Banda and Bingu Wa Mutharika were once accorded such title by the Ngoni Chiefs.'⁷³ The statue therefore seems to project Mutharika as Banda's 'heir'. Chirambo argued,

For many, the staging of the unveiling of the statue and the statement of the plaque seemed not merely coincidental but things by which Bingu sought to gain popular support for the purpose of winning the elections. The statement that the statue of Ngwazi Banda was unveiled by Ngwazi Bingu establishes a direct connection between them, one succeeding the other.⁷⁴

Conspicuously missing at the unveiling of the statue were the leaders of Malawi Congress Party, John Tembo, and former president, Bakili Muluzi, and his United Democratic Front who had shunned the unveiling ceremony. John Tembo claimed that he did not receive the invitation letter. Perhaps it is important to mention that this was a campaign period and it was only five days to go before the polls. UDF spokesman Robert Jamieson argued that 'what Mutharika is

⁷²R. Chirambo, 'The Sinking Cenotaph,' p.551.

⁷³R. Chirambo, 'The Sinking Cenotaph,' p.551.

⁷⁴R. Chirambo, 'Democracy as a Limiting Factor for Politicised Cultural Populism in Malawi,' *Africa Spectrum*, Vol.44, No.2, (2009), p.88.

doing is to confuse the electorate. He wants to disfranchise the electorate that is with Malawi Congress Party. The timing of unveiling the statue is very bad, he wants to win votes from Malawi Congress Party. Why didn't he do it before the election or after the election if at all he will win? These people want to make political capital but they have got it wrong this time.⁷⁵ In fact Mutharika went on to win the elections with a landslide victory for his second term in office. Gavua commented on how monuments influence electorate votes when he wrote why the NDC government in Ghana built the monument for King Tackie Tawiah 1, the twentieth century King of the Ga state in Accra with the hope of winning the votes in that Accra region.⁷⁶ It is important to note that both the mausoleum and statue of Kamuzu Banda were enlisted as national heritage in the inventory of Malawi's tentative list of ungazetted monuments by the Department of Museums and Monuments.⁷⁷

The memory or 'legacy' projects on Kamuzu Banda by Bingu Wa Mutharika did attract different views from both within and outside the country. There was a mixed reaction among the participants to British Broadcasting Corporation debate on the Kamuzu Banda's mausoleum. The question posed was 'what do you think? Is this a waste of money or a suitable memorial? How important is it to honour the dead?' One respondent reacted by saying that 'Kamuzu deserves more than whatever we can do because Malawi is where she is because of him- no tribal wars and peaceful.'⁷⁸ Another supported it by arguing that, 'the democracy in Malawi has taken Malawi back 200 years and it has to take a lot of time to make up standards set by Kamuzu Banda. Banda will always be the number one leader for Malawi. He deserves the monument.'⁷⁹

⁷⁵ 'Kamuzu Day: JZU, Muluzi both absent,' *Daily Times*, 15 May 2009, pp.1-3.

⁷⁶ K. Gavua, 'Monuments and Negotiation of Power in Ghana,' in D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures* (Academic Press: Johannesburg, 2015), p106.

⁷⁷ Interview with Sara Samba.

⁷⁸ 'Kamuzu's mausoleum gets world reaction', *The Nation*, 16 May 2005, Vol 12. No.94, p.3.

⁷⁹ 'Kamuzu's mausoleum gets world reaction', *The Nation*, 16 May 2005, Vol 12. No.94, p.3.

One respondent who was against the mausoleum maintained it was uncalled for at a time when people are dying of HIV/AIDS, hunger and poverty. He asked if it was not enough that his casket was golden.⁸⁰ One of the civil society organizations, the Malawi Care's advocacy group, welcomed the project of the mausoleum when it released a press statement arguing that it was ideal that 'the first president should be buried in a mausoleum. He deserves it. People who did good things in the past should be respected despite whatever atrocities they might have committed.'⁸¹ At scholarly level Kamuzu Banda's monuments have also received some attention and criticisms. Reuben Chirambo has argued that 'monuments that seem to only celebrate Banda's reign without necessarily taking into account the atrocities of his reign are problematic.'⁸² Jack Mapanje and Steve Chimombo, once imprisoned and exiled by Kamuzu Banda, in their resistance poems argue that 'Kamuzu Banda was a dictator undeserving of such posthumous memorialization and that the narratives constituted in the monuments do not represent the interests of the victims of his dictatorship.'⁸³ Instead of celebrating his heroism they have claimed that Kamuzu Banda's monuments should narrativise his repression, injustices and the innocent blood that he shed in his autocratic rule.⁸⁴ Extracts from Mapanje's poem 'A Monument to a Tyrant' and Chimombo's poem 'The Sinking Cenotaph' read:

Was it for erecting this marble
Mausoleum for Hastings Banda
That ...
Hundreds of thousands of freedom

⁸⁰ 'Kamuzu's mausoleum gets world reaction', *The Nation*, 16 May 2005, Vol 12. No.94, p.3; 'Kamuzu's Mausoleum not priority now,' *The Nation*, 6 April 2005, Vol.12. No. 66, p.13; 'Malawians welcome Kamuzu Mausoleum,' *The Daily Times*, 14 May 14 2006, Supplement, p.3.

⁸¹ 'Kamuzu's mausoleum gets world reaction,' p.4.

⁸² R. Chirambo, 'Banda's Monuments and Narrativisation of Malawi's History in the Post-Banda Era,' *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, Vol.23, No.1, (2008), p.145 ; See also R. Chirambo, ' 'A Monument to a Tyrant', or Reconstructed Nationalist Memories of the Father and Founder of the Malawi Nation, Dr H.K Banda,' *Africa Today*, Vol.56, No.4, (2010), pp.2-21.

⁸³ R. Chirambo, 'The Sinking Cenotaph,' p.551.

⁸⁴R.Chirambo, 'The Sinking Cenotaph,'p.551.

Fighters [were] accidentalised, imprisoned,
Exiled.⁸⁵

The memory chills over Kamuzu's bones.
Cold marble mourns over his mausoleum,
Built for the demagogue of all times.⁸⁶

The above discussion of Mutharika's initiatives on new heritage projects involving monumentalisation and memorialization of Kamuzu Banda only reaffirm that memory and history are never stable, settled but always contested and negotiated. The disagreements and criticisms also resonate with Levine when he argued that 'the age of monumentality, or meaningful memorials and memorialization in the public sphere, is over because there is no shared understanding, in broad terms, of the events being memorialized'⁸⁷ I argue that by re-inscribing Kamuzu Banda's memory as Malawi's national heritage through monuments, Kamuzu Day, naming and renaming the institutions after Kamuzu Banda, Bingu Wa Mutharika managed to find a supportive political base in Kamuzu Banda's central region which helped him to hold on to power at the time of political crisis.

Conclusion

I have attempted in this chapter to historicize and demonstrate how Kamuzu Banda's memory was appropriated, recast and re-inscribed by three successive governments in Malawi in their quest to reconstruct national heritage that revolve around his memory. I have shown how Kamuzu Banda inscribed his memory as the nationalist biography and history, how Bakili Muluzi sought to legitimize himself and gain clout by either recasting Kamuzu Banda's memory or attempting to put amnesia to it, how Bingu Wa Mutharika revived Kamuzu Banda's memory

⁸⁵ J. Mapanje, *Beasts of Nalunga*, p.21.

⁸⁶ S. Chimombo, *Napolo and other poems* (Zomba, Malawi: WASI Publications, 2009), p.128.

⁸⁷ M.P. Levine, 'Mediated Memories, The Politics of the Past,' *Annales Philosophici*, Vol.1, (2010), p.30.

and re-inscribed it as national heritage through monuments, commemorative Kamuzu Day and renaming of institutions after Kamuzu Banda's name. I have argued that all these attempts at promoting, reconstructing and recasting Kamuzu Banda's memory were political technologies for each government to negotiate power in order to legitimize and sustain itself. This seems to resonate with the dominant ideology thesis which attempts to understand how heritage is produced and interpreted. It argues that 'the interpretation of heritage is endowed with messages which are deliberately framed by existing power elite to legitimize the existing dominant regime. Or that each government, upon assuming power, must appropriate itself control over cultural capital if it is to legitimate the exercise of such political power.'⁸⁸ It has also been shown that because the monuments associated with Kamuzu Banda's memory have been placed under regulations of conservation management by an institution of legitimizing heritage they have become Malawi's heritage. Banda's monuments have been listed or inventoried as Malawi's national possessions that need to be taken care of in the language of gazetted or non gazetted national monuments. In the end the chapter brings to light a debate on who defines national heritage and under what kind of circumstances heritages are defined. In this chapter it has been shown that the inscribing, constitution and definition of heritage is the preserve of the governments and their ruling political parties in order to serve their interests. The chapter has also shown how a colonial cultural form of the Queen's Day was appropriated, revalued and repackaged as a cultural form in the post-colonial Malawi that enables narration of the country's nationalist history through Kamuzu Banda.

If the memory and heritage of Kamuzu Banda shifted with different governments in Malawi, that of David Livingstone, the missionary, imperial and colonial figure, remained stable

⁸⁸J. Tunbridge and J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1996), p.47.

and the same through out. Why is that the case? The next chapter attempts to explore and respond to this intriguing question.



CHAPTER 6

Heritage of Diplomacy Or ‘Scottish Exceptionalism?’: The Memory of David Livingstone and Malawi – Scotland Relations

‘It is symbolic that after 150 years we should celebrate his honour here in the city of Blantyre. This city here is the living testimony of Malawi’s appreciation of this great missionary and of his medical work.’¹-President Bingu Wa Mutharika.

‘There is real affection in Malawi for Scotland. We don’t associate Scotland with empire, really. It is seen warmly. A lot of Scottish missionaries were supportive of the independence struggle. The Scots have good standing.’²-Thandika Mkandawire former Director of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

‘There is no escaping the fact that David Livingstone, more than any other single individual, is responsible for the special relationship which exists between Malawi and Scotland.’³-Kenneth Ross, former chair of Scotland-Malawi Partnership.

Introduction

This chapter extends the discussion in the previous chapter on public memory as heritage in Malawi by focusing on the country’s most celebrated ‘colonial figure’ David Livingstone. Donik Geppert and Frank Lorenz Muller have pointed to the ubiquity of the colonial past when they argued that ‘the imperial past is all around us.’⁴ They further pointed that ‘decades have come and gone since dissolution of Europe’s great colonial empires, but the footprints they have left in the realm of memory all over the world are plain to see. Legacies of empire are present in the demarcations of state borders, in architecture and urban topographies, on the pedestals of monuments, in books, on cinema screens, in photo albums, in public rituals and in political

¹ President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Speech at ‘Dr. David Livingstone 1859-2009 Commemoration,’ 11 April 2009, Blantyre. DVD- ‘Livingstone 150 years,’ Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

² K. Ross, ‘“A Very Definite Radicalism”: The Early Development of the Scotland-Malawi Partnership, 2004-2009,’ in A. Adogame and A. Lawrence, (eds), *Africa in Scotland, Scotland in Africa: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Hybridities* (Leiden /Boston: Brill, 2014), p.323.

³ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859* (Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2013), p.15.

⁴ D. Geppert and F.L. Muller, (eds), *Sites of Memory: Commemorating colonial rule in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p.1.

debates.’⁵ In a similar vein Cain Mathema, governor of Bulawayo protested against the colonial memory in Zimbabwe when he charged that ‘all over the country you find schools named after colonialists, statues erected to celebrate colonialism. I am struck and baffled by the attitude of our people to continually embrace a bygone system that worked tirelessly to thwart their energy and aspirations.’⁶ The pervasiveness of colonial memory had also prompted Max Jones to pose a probing question when he asked ‘why have imperial heroes, vestiges of a bygone and, more often than not, loathed era been granted new leases of life, displaying an unexpected capacity for revival and, even, rejuvenation, not only at home but also abroad?’⁷ In Malawi David Livingstone provides such an example of a ‘colonial’ embodiment whose memory is resilient in the public spaces and imagination and this chapter attempts to revisit Max Jones’ question on the meanings of colonial heritage in our present times.

Most specifically this chapter interrogates why in Malawi, since independence in 1964, David Livingstone’s memory has not been obliterated from the country’s landscape of memory by each successive government but is continuously reconstructed and promoted in various ways. In other words, why is the memory and commemoration of an imperial and colonial icon given so much prominence and reverence in Malawi many years after his death and Malawi’s independence? Following Justin Livingstone, the chapter does not seek to uncover the true nature of the ‘biogrohee’ David Livingstone ‘but is rather concerned with the malleability and ‘ideological embeddeness’ of his biographical representation’ under the rubric of heritage.⁸

⁵ D. Geppert and F.L. Muller (eds), *Sites of Memory*, p.1.

⁶ J. Stuart, ‘David Livingstone, British Protestant, missions, memory and Empire,’ in D. Geppert and F. Lorenz Muller, (eds), *Sites of Memory*, p.154.

⁷ M. Jones, B. Sèbe, J. Strachan, B. Taithe & P. Yeandle, ‘Decolonising Imperial Heroes: Britain and France,’ *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42:5, (2014), p.807.

⁸ J. Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon,’ PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh (Unpublished, 2011), p. II.

In response to the question above the chapter provides a central argument that in Malawi, just like in Scotland, the memory of David Livingstone, his legacy and myths have been preserved, reconstructed, framed and fashioned to enhance the diplomatic and international cooperation in what could be understood as ‘heritage diplomacy’ in ways that claim to challenge the fraught relationship that exists between the former colonizer and the colonized. This heritage diplomacy functions simultaneously to create and strengthen strategic bilateral economic, cultural and political ties between the two nations while it promotes and solidifies the idea of Scotland’s national identity, nationalism and its determination and aspirations of sovereignty, autonomy and global player. Furthermore, commemorations, memorials, museum exhibitions, state institutions and civil organizations have become the main sites upon which the memory of Livingstone is reconstructed as a heritage to facilitate international cooperation. In the end, the figure of Livingstone emerges as the ‘heritage of diplomacy’ for Scotland and Malawi.

David Livingstone, Malawi and Scotland: A historical perspective

The relationship between Malawi and Scotland is often presented in a sanitized way with not much attention paid to the connection with colonialism and its brutal consequences. John McCracken and Kenneth Ross, both claiming Scottish ancestry, have championed this version. In this version Scotland’s relationship with Malawi traces its origins from David Livingstone’s expeditionary travels to Central Southern Africa and the Zambesi expeditions in the area between 1858 and 1864.⁹ It is important to note that ‘throughout his travels he operated within largely British, rather than a narrowly Scottish context and largely supported by the London Missionary Society and not any Scottish entity.’¹⁰ He first arrived ‘in what was to become

⁹ J. McCracken, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Prince*, Second edition, (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2008); K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859* (Mzuzu; Mzuni Press, 2013).

¹⁰ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859* (Mzuzu; Mzuni Press, 2013).

Nyasaland (the colonial name for Malawi) by boat up the Shire River from Zambezi River. He eventually reached Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) in 1859.¹¹ Ross wrote that while in Malawi Livingstone noted that the Shire Valley was suitable for growing tobacco and cotton and the Shire Highlands were suitable for European settlements. He also maintained that there was something he asserted was ‘a flourishing Arab slave trade and deep ethnic rivalries and wars.’¹² After appealing to some missionaries to join him to address what he saw as tragic problems a number of them responded to his invitation. Impressed by Livingstone’s report regarding Shire highlands the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) arrived in 1861 and established a mission in the area at Magomero. The UMCA then later moved to Likoma Island in 1875. Later Scottish protestant missions followed. The Free Church of Scotland established a mission and named it Livingstonia, in memory of Livingstone, in 1875. Church of Scotland Mission also arrived and settled in Kabula and it was later renamed Blantyre Mission in remembrance of Livingstone’s home village of Blantyre in Scotland.¹³ According to Kenneth Ross ‘the missions were planned and named as initiatives that would bring to fruition Livingstone’s dream of a Central Africa freed from the slave trade, embracing Christian faith and prospering through legitimate commerce.’¹⁴ Ross claims that ‘in their early years the Scottish Missions built up relations with local communities in a pre-colonial context. Only when faced by the twin threat of Portuguese annexation in the south and “Arab” slavers in the north, did they campaign successfully for the British Protectorate which became a reality in 1891.’¹⁵ This claim and

¹¹ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859* (Mzuzu; Mzuni Press, 2013).

¹² K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.4.

¹³ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.6.

¹⁴ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.12.

¹⁵ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.12.

history presented by Ross has been disputed. Justin Livingstone has argued that ‘while there were of course litanies of factors involved in leading Britain to so forcefully defy Portuguese claims in the Zambesi basin, historians like David Birmingham have pointed to the importance of the emotional heritage of Livingstone in the pious politics of Victorian Britain.’¹⁶

In the new colon, the Scottish people became ‘disproportionately highly represented not only among the missionaries but also among the settlers and planters.’¹⁷ Like David Livingstone who was critical with the way the British authorities dealt with locals, it seems, according to Ross’s version, that the Scottish missionaries adopted a similar anti-colonial stand. For example, ‘on the issues of land, labour and taxation the Scottish missionaries,’ according to Ross, ‘were behind the local peasant Malawians as they resisted the pressure of the colonial regime on these aspects.’¹⁸ Ross maintains that ‘as a settler-dominated economy and an accompanying racist ideology came to hold sway, the Scottish missions stood for African advancement and for the appreciation of the positive qualities of African life and culture. The primary instrument through which they worked was the vast network of schools that they developed.’¹⁹ Ross further writes that ‘through the schools, they cultivated the values which implicitly challenged racism and colonialism and educated the Malawians who in due course would form the nationalist movement which led the country to independence.’²⁰ In this historical narrative presented by Ross the Scottish missionaries side with and are the forces of liberation. Ross claims that ‘although the Scottish missionaries, particularly after the First World War, were by no means free from the prevailing racist assumptions of their day, nonetheless they entered into a sympathetic

¹⁶J. Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon,’ p.110.

¹⁷ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.12.

¹⁸ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.12.

¹⁹ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.12.

²⁰ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.12.

understanding of African life and community.²¹ He explains that fluent in indigenous languages, the Scottish missionaries ‘formed friendships that proved to be deep and enduring. From an early stage, they also invited promising African leaders to spend time in Scotland, further cementing the distinctive connection between the two peoples.’²² Ross writes that ‘a growing number of families and communities, in both Nyasaland (as Malawi was known from 1907 to 1964) and Scotland became aware of one another and of the particular history that united them.’²³

What is interesting above is how Ross presented the Scottish encounter with Malawi in more benign manner. Christianity is completely absolved from the subsequent emergence of the brutality of colonialism. However, a number of scholars have argued for the direct relationship between the advent of Christianity and colonialism and that the ending of slave trade was in fact an alibi for colonialism. W.E.B. Dubois argued that ‘let not the cloak of Christian missionary enterprise be allowed in the future, as so often in the past, to hide the ruthless economic exploitation and political downfall of less developed nations, whose chief fault has been reliance on the plighted faith of the Christian church.’²⁴ Aime Cesaire also argued in the same vein when he asserted that ‘the chief culprit in this domain is Christian pedantry, which laid down the dishonest equations Christianity=civilization, paganism=savagery, from which there could not but ensue abominable colonialist and racist consequences, whose victims were to be the Indians, the yellow peoples, and the Negroes.’²⁵ The fact that Kenneth Ross is chair for the Scotland –

²¹ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859* (Mzuzu; Mzuni Press, 2013).

²² K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.28.

²³ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, p.28.

²⁴ W.E.B. Dubois Speech, ‘To the Nations of the World’ at Pan-African Conference, Westminster Town Hall, London, 25 July, 1900, <https://face2faceafrica.com/article/read-w-e-b-du-bois-famous-to-the-nations-of-the-world-speech-at-the-1st-firstpan-african-conference-in-1900>, accessed 19.9.2018.

²⁵ A. Cesaire, ‘From Discourse on Colonialism,’ in P. Williams and L. Chrism (eds), *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader* (Harlow: Longman, 1994), p.173.

Malawi Partnership should therefore come as no surprise for the sanitized version of history of Malawi and Scotland relations.

Perhaps it can be argued that the Scottish relationship with Malawi came into more glaring form during the resistance against the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In 1953 the British imposed the Federation against the will of the Malawians. 'The British government took the view that this new arrangement would be economically beneficial, and that the African population would eventually come to recognize its advantages.'²⁶ According to McCracken 'it was only in Scotland that there was significant resistance as the many personal connections were well informed about the strong African resistance to the Federation.'²⁷ John McCracken and Kenneth Ross have argued that 'in Scotland the General Assembly of Church of Scotland mounted a persistent campaign against the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and supported the aspirations of Malawian nationalists.'²⁸ This prompted John Watt the British African secretary to express his worries about the Scottish position and situation when he observed that 'nearly all the Scottish papers, at least, are in favour of some radical revision of Federation, and quite a number are backing secession. With an election not very far distant the government, I am sure, will realise that it will have to do something if it is not going to lose heavily in Scotland at least.'²⁹ Support in Scotland for anti-colonial struggles is also evident in the report of the Devlin Commission that the British government had directed to look into the circumstances that led to the State of the Emergency of 1959. In his report, Lord Devlin highlighted what he said was 'the unique contribution made by the Scottish Missions in the campaign against the Federation of

²⁶ J. McCracken, 'Missionaries and Nationalists,' p.40.

²⁷ J. McCracken, 'Missionaries and Nationalists,' p.40.

²⁸ J. McCracken, 'Missionaries and Nationalists,' p.43.

²⁹ J. McCracken, 'Missionaries and Nationalists,' p.43.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland.³⁰ This view was also shared by the British Prime Minister, Harold McMillan, who informed Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister in 1960 that ‘uncertainties in public opinion in Britain concerning the federation was due largely perhaps to propaganda by Church of Scotland and the sympathies felt for the growing of national consciousness in Africa.’³¹ In explaining why Scotland and its missions supported the Malawian nationalists against the federation McCracken has argued that ‘not one single factor can explain why in 1959 the Church of Scotland intervened so actively on the side of Malawian nationalists. One reason appears to be historical: the belief that Scotland had a special responsibility for the Nyasaland protectorate as the result of a connection with Livingstone.’³² Kenneth Ross has also echoed McCracken when he asserted that ‘there is no escaping the fact that David Livingstone, more than any other single individual, is responsible for the special relationship which exists between Malawi and Scotland.’³³ After ten years of continuous fight against the federation, it was eventually dissolved in 1963. Scotland’s role during the state of emergency is also depicted by McCracken as crucial. The Church of Scotland, he writes, convinced ‘an important section of British public opinion to reject the government’s claims that Dr Banda and his colleagues were men of violence embroiled in a murder plot, who therefore could legitimately be detained without trial for an indefinite period of time.’³⁴ The Synod appealed to the people of Scotland to remember their various links with the people of Nyasaland and consider their political responsibility towards them. He points to how Scottish missionaries in Malawi either provided logistics for the Malawian nationalists or provided them shelter from the colonial government.

³⁰ J. McCracken, ‘Missionaries and Nationalists,’ p.45.

³¹ J. McCracken, ‘Missionaries and Nationalists,’ p.45

³² J. McCracken, ‘Missionaries and Nationalists,’ p.43.

³³ K. Ross, *Together in the Talking Place since 1859*, p.15.

³⁴ J. McCracken, ‘Missionaries and Nationalists,’ p.45.

Scottish mission schools in the country were accused by the colonial government ‘of giving encouragement to Africans to oppose federation by unconstitutional means and of permitting ‘political hatred’ to be inculcated in the minds of school children.’³⁵ It seems this support had some significant impact in influencing the position of the British government towards the federation. This can be determined from the report on British public opinion made by the Deputy High Commissioner for the Federation in London during the height of the emergency:

There is no appreciation of the reasons for keeping Nyasaland in the federation and you know, self-determination is very popular in this country and is widely supported by Welshmen and Scotsmen who want self-government for their own countries. It is, therefore, true that the average man in the street again sees no reason whatever why, if Banda wants Nyasaland, he should not have it.³⁶

The State of Emergency was one key historical moment that highlighted a Scotland-Malawian relationship that was supposedly rooted in the fight for justice and freedom that was championed by David Livingstone in his fight against forms of oppression in Malawi, exemplified by his opposition to what he termed ‘the Arab slave trade’.³⁷

It is important to consider the distinction between Malawi’s relation to the United Kingdom and Malawi’s relation to Scotland. There is certain ambivalence and ambiguity to Scotland’s position in this triangular relationship. Christopher Fevre has referred to this position as ‘Scottish exceptionalism.’ This is because Scotland was part of the British imperialism and it played its full part in the imperial project. And today it is still part of the United Kingdom. However, in its politics with former territories of the British Empire Scotland appears to isolate itself from the entire project and presents itself as benign and benevolent partner. One good

³⁵ J. McCracken, ‘Missionaries and Nationalists,’ p.56.

³⁶ J. McCracken, ‘Missionaries and Nationalists,’ p.114.

³⁷ See D. Livingstone and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries and the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyasa 1858-64* (London: John Murray, 1865).

example is the Scottish role during the State of Emergency discussed above. Fevre argues that ‘at the core of this is the belief that Scotland is both more liberal and more left-wing than anywhere else in Britain.’³⁸ He further asserted that the different ways in which British Anti- Apartheid Movement and Scottish Committee of the Anti- Apartheid Movement operated ‘should be conceptualized in an alternative light owing to the presence of a distinctly Scottish national identity.’³⁹ This ambivalence or ‘Scottish exceptionalism’ continues to be played out in Malawi with the figure of David Livingstone occupying the central space. Even though the United Kingdom also uses the figure of Livingstone as its historical link with Malawi it is with Scotland that the figure of Livingstone emerges more glaringly and with much more invested enthusiasm from both sides.

After gaining independence, during the Kamuzu Banda era, the relationship between Malawi and Scotland seemed to have cooled down as Banda’s government accused the Scottish missionaries of intervening in his government. McCracken noted that the cabinet crisis of 1964 ‘had set in a new era of uneasy relationship with the Scottish missionaries.’⁴⁰ Banda sent a stern warning to the missionaries who were incessantly criticizing his government in a speech in parliament in 1964.

I didn’t interfere when I was in other countries. I abided by the law. So nobody must come here under the guise of exercising freedom, siding with rebels, peoples who are traitors, Chirwa is a traitor, Chisiza is a traitor. Therefore, anyone under the guise of being a missionary who supports these people has no right to be living in this country. Whatever church, that church must withdraw from this country and send him back. And if the churches do not send people back then I will have to sign an order declaring them prohibited immigrants, because I must have peace of mind and I cannot have peace of mind if some missionaries

³⁸C. Fevre, ‘ “Scottish Exceptionalism?” Trade Unions and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1976–1994,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol .45, No 3, (2019), p.16.

³⁹ C. Fevre, ‘Scottish Exceptionalism?’ p.6.

⁴⁰ J. McCracken, ‘Missionaries and Nationalists,’ p.253.

interfere in our internal politics. Let missionaries stick to their preaching... and leave my politics alone.⁴¹

As argued in chapter one, Banda's life and practice illustrated a 'radical anti-colonial cultural conservatism.' It was radical in the sense that it was against the colonial system, but it was conservative in the ways that it promoted tradition. While we might in some ways understand his speech above as informed by this radical anti-colonial cultural conservatism, what is interesting is that although Banda developed an attitude toward the Scottish missionaries he never changed the name of landscapes that were associated with them. For example, at independence he had changed all colonial names to local names Fort Johnstone, Fort Herald, Fort Manning were changed to Mangochi, Nsanje and Mchinji respectively. The spaces that were associated with Livingstone, for example, Blantyre city, Livingstone Hills and others remained unchanged. Slave trade heritage resources and sites related to David Livingstone were protected under the Monuments and Relics Act of 1990. Six heritage sites along a Slave trade route and Dr. David Livingstone trail were gazetted as protected national Monuments during Kamuzu Banda's era.⁴² In the later years of his government, Kamuzu Banda also supported Museums of Malawi's participation at Livingstone's memorial in Scotland with an exhibition with his name and that of Livingstone as the title. It could be perhaps because Kamuzu Banda was a member and elder of the Church of Scotland that he maintained sympathy for Malawi's historical association with Scotland. It seems in Malawi the memory of Livingstone is treated as a sacred cow and no one dares to tamper with it.

⁴¹ J. McCracken, 'Missionaries and Nationalists,' p.253.

⁴² O. Malijani, S. Bruku and G. Sofianopoulos, 'Management Plan for Slave Trade Heritage and Dr David Livingstone Trail in Malawi,' Dissertation Assignment in MA Heritage Management, Athens University of Economics and Business (Unpublished, 2014), p.26.

Nevertheless, ‘the bond between the missionaries and government was strained in Banda’s time and the Church of Scotland in Scotland reverted to the classic church posture of giving priority to the pastoral role while seeking to re-establish relations with the Malawian state along strictly non-political lines.’⁴³ McCracken maintains that ‘the church had to walk in a tight rope to avoid public confrontation with Banda and his government’.⁴⁴ Still later, in the early 1990s when Malawians began their struggle to break from the shackles of a decadent one-party system, the influence of the Church of Scotland proved again to be a significant source of support for those challenging Banda’s dictatorship.⁴⁵ The new political developments from both countries helped to revive the relationships and memory of Livingstone between the two nations. In Malawi, this political development was the waning power of Banda in the late eighties with the eventual coming of democracy in 1993. While in Scotland it was its achievement in 1997 of devolution of powers which made Scotland to seek ways to project its identity and forge relations beyond the UK. It was within this historical moment that the memory of Livingstone found a new lease of life and became once again a facilitator of diplomatic ties between Scotland and Malawi.

Memorialisation of David Livingstone and heritage diplomacy in Malawi

The discussion and the argument in this chapter relies extensively on Tim Winters concept and analysis of heritage diplomacy which looks at how relations between nations are forged and sustained by relying on the construction of a shared history and shared past. ‘In this regard, heritage diplomacy can broadly be defined as a set of processes whereby cultural and

⁴³ J. McCracken, ‘Missionaries and Nationalists,’ p.69.

⁴⁴ J. McCracken, ‘Missionaries and Nationalists,’ p.69.

⁴⁵ K. Ross, ‘Malawi’s Peaceful Revolution 1992-94: The Role of the Church of Scotland,’ *Scottish Church History Society Records*, Vol. XXVII (1997), pp.280-304.

natural pasts shared between and across nations become subject to exchanges, collaborations and forms of cooperative governance.’⁴⁶

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter Malawi has reconstructed the memory of Livingstone mainly through museum exhibitions, commemorative events, and the naming of institutions and landscapes after him. As I have already shown, these names were never changed even during the dictatorship of Banda. None of the presidents after Banda (Bakili Muluzi and Bingu Wa Mutharika) sought to challenge and change the names associated with Livingstone even though names associated with Banda could be changed, as shown in the previous chapter. Following the democratic dispensation in Malawi and devolution of powers to Scotland, the renewed relationship has actively reconstructed the memory of Livingstone in the new millennium through museums and memorials in ways that seek to enhance and strengthen the bilateral and diplomatic relationship. Apart from having permanent exhibitions of David Livingstone’s work in all its museums, Malawi has also participated in important commemorative events of Livingstone’s life. There had been three important exhibitions on David Livingstone whose objectives were to demonstrate and strengthen the international relations between Malawi and Scotland. Two of these exhibitions were in Scotland, the 1990 ‘From Livingstone to Kamuzu’ exhibition’ at the David Livingstone Memorial Center in Scotland and the 2013 ‘David Livingstone, I presume Exhibition’ at National Museum Scotland. In 2013 Museums of Malawi opened the ‘David Livingstone the Man! Exhibition as part of celebrating the bicentenary of his birth. As exhibition curator, Sarah Worden has argued ‘an exhibition is a form of the memorial which, like other monuments and memorials is an exercise in power relations, which narrate history in selective and controlled ways. This is an active

⁴⁶T. Winter, ‘Heritage diplomacy,’ *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 10, (2015), p.1007.

performance by which the past is produced to serve the present.⁴⁷ Worden argues that ‘societies, in fact, reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them, and that they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind – manipulating the past in order to mould the present.’⁴⁸ As will be shown, celebrated figures like Livingstone provide a focus for such reconstructions to serve in the present. In 2009 Malawi commemorated the 150th anniversary of Livingstone’s arrival on its territory while in Scotland a memorial lecture was held in the Scottish Parliament to celebrate the 150th anniversary of his landing in Malawi. It is through these commemorative performances and platforms that his memory was and is reconstructed as a heritage of diplomacy.

‘From Livingstone to Kamuzu Exhibition’ at the David Livingstone Memorial Center

In 1989, the Board of Trustees of the David Livingstone Memorial Centre in Blantyre South Lanarkshire extended an invitation to the Kamuzu Banda government to install an exhibition on Malawi at its African Pavillion. The Pavilion was opened at the Center in 1977. It supplements the Livingstone Centre and enables the visitors to compare development in Africa today with what existed during the time of David Livingstone. President Kamuzu Banda largely contributed towards the building of the African Pavillion.⁴⁹ Since the Pavillion was not being fully utilized, the Board of Trustees had devised a new method whereby commonwealth African countries would be invited to install exhibitions at the centre in order to ensure its maximum utilization. ‘To this end, and in recognition of the friendly relations and historical links between Malawi and Scotland Malawi had been accorded the honour and privilege of being the first

⁴⁷S. Worden & G. N. Swinney, ‘Exhibiting Livingstone: A Life and Legacy on Display,’ *Scottish Geographical Journal*, Vol.129, No.3-4, (2013), p.258.

⁴⁸S. Worden & G. N. Swinney, ‘Exhibiting Livingstone,’ p.258.

⁴⁹ Ministry of Information. Ref.CONF.236. ‘Report on the to David Livingstone Memorial Centre in Blantyre, Scotland,’ 7 December 1989.

country to be invited to mount such an exhibition at the centre.’⁵⁰ It is important to highlight that the establishment of David Livingstone Memorial Center in 1929 had sought to enshrine Livingstone as a distinctly national hero and it marked an era in which the connection between him and Scottish identity was at its strongest.⁵¹ The invitation by the Trustees of David Livingstone Memorial, therefore, should be understood within the framework of Scotland’s national consciousness and its assertions of fraternity with African countries whom it shares Livingstone’s memory. It can also be understood as Scotland’s desire to position itself as a global player in world affairs.

The David Livingstone Memorial Board proposed that the exhibition should depict Malawi before and after independence.⁵² Each ministry or department in Malawi that was involved came up with a concept of the exhibition showing how its institution had developed over time highlighting achievements in various fields such as agriculture, industry, education, health and others. The exhibition theme and title would be ‘Malawi Then and Now.’⁵³ The exhibition opened on 5 April 1990 and ran until 30 September 1991.⁵⁴ However, the theme and title was no longer ‘Malawi Then and Now.’ It was ‘From Livingstone to Kamuzu.’ The insertion of the name of Kamuzu in the title of the exhibition had to do with the tendency at that time in Malawi where everything was attributed to Kamuzu Banda. Malawi’s development was being inscribed in the biography of Banda. This was the period when Banda’s reign and his

⁵⁰ Museums of Malawi/ Ref.No./14/29, ‘Minutes of the 1st Preparatory Meeting on the Exhibition at The David Livingstone Memorial Centre, Blantyre, Scotland, Held on the 31 August 1989 at 2.00 pm in the Conference Room of the Office of the President and Cabinet,’ 11 September 1989.

⁵¹ J. Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon,’ p.14.

⁵² Museums of Malawi/ Ref. No.14/14/29, ‘Exhibition at the David Livingstone Memorial Centre, Blantyre, Scotland,’ 29 August 1989.

⁵³ Museums of Malawi/ Ref.No./14/29, ‘Minutes of the 1st Preparatory Meeting on the Exhibition at The David Livingstone Memorial Centre, Blantyre, Scotland.’

⁵⁴ M. Nhlane, ‘Museums of Malawi Participates in the Malawi Exhibition at The David Livingstone Centre in Scotland,’ *Ndiwula. The Annual newsletter of the Museums of Malawi*, No.3, (1990), p.27.

international image was waning and the exhibition might have been away to garner international support and sympathy.

The exhibition had eight sections. The introductory panel at the entrance carried the main title of the exhibition which encompassed the theme of the exhibition, 'From Livingstone to Kamuzu.' The main text gave a brief political history of Malawi beginning from the colonial period to the time when the country became a republic in 1966. The panel on missionary work presented the establishment of early churches which had come into being through Livingstone's appeal. The panel also displayed the photographs of the first Malawian Christian convert, Albert Namalambe, and the first Malawian ordained church ministers of Blantyre Mission. The early bibles in Tumbuka, Tonga and Chichewa were also displayed. The Antiquity of Malawi section presented the prehistory period in Malawi covering the early stone age, middle stone age, late stone age and the iron age. Objects of stone, iron and pottery were displayed to represent this period. The ethnographic display presented objects of Malawian material culture associated with the three basic activities of everyday life: domestic appliances, traditional music and rituals and ceremonies. The masks of *Gule wankulu* of the Chewa people and the Ingoma dance regalia of the Ngoni people were part of the objects. The Malawi Arts and Crafts section showcased various objects of arts and crafts in Malawi. The infrastructure section showed some of the developments that had taken place in Malawi, for example, road construction, housing, communication, and lake and land transport showing travel by steamers and buses. The panel on agriculture presented various items of produce grown in Malawi. The last section was about industrial development and various products such as tea, tobacco cigarettes and sugar were displayed.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ M.Nhlane, 'Museums of Malawi Participates in the Malawi Exhibition at The David Livingstone Centre in Scotland,' p.27.

Museums of Malawi through the office of High Commissioner to Britain reported that the exhibition 'From Livingstone to Kamuzu' 'proved to be very popular' in Scotland such that the chairman of The David Livingstone Memorial Board, Fredk McDermid, requested the Malawi government through the high commission in London to consider the possibility of extending the time of the exhibition for another year. Initially, the exhibition was expected to run from 5 April to 30 September 1990.⁵⁶ The exhibition was then extended for another year. The Malawian government had hoped that extension of the exhibition would attract more Scots not only as tourists to Malawi but as investors in various sectors of development.⁵⁷ The exhibition had intended to show the development of Malawi in a linear fashion from the time of Livingstone up to the time of Kamuzu Banda. It had also sought to cement the relationship between Malawi and Scotland. Going by the theme of the title with the name of Livingstone and also the fact that the exhibition was at Livingstone Memorial Center is easy to see that memory of Livingstone had a critical role in evoking a relationship between Malawi and Scotland. The other two exhibitions that were to be held in both Scotland and Malawi in 2013 were to highlight more this diplomatic relationship and the material benefits for Malawi.

Making the Festival: 'The 150th Anniversary of David Livingstone Landing in Malawi'

On 11 April 2009 Malawi celebrated David Livingstone in an event that commemorated 150 years after his arrival on Malawian territory. It was a national event attended by high-level dignitaries including the state president Bingu Wa Mutharika, reverend Lenard Runan moderator of the Church of the Scotland, the moderators of Blantyre, Livingstonia and Nkhoma synods of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian and an array of cabinet ministers, deputy ministers,

⁵⁶ Museums of Malawi/ Ref.No. 14/01/29/II/18, 'Exhibition at The David Livingstone Memorial Centre, Blantyre, Scotland: Request for Extension,' 8th August 1990.

⁵⁷ Museums of Malawi/ Ref.No. EA/8/1/12, 'Request to Extend Time of Exhibiton. David Livingstone Centre,' 14th January 1991.

church leaders, diplomats, business leaders and civil society organizations.⁵⁸ The event was commemorated at Kamuzu Stadium in a city that bears the name of Livingstone's home village, Blantyre. However, the Church had made it that all its churches in Malawi commemorate it in their various congregations as it was also jointly celebrated with Easter Saturday.

The Blantyre and the Livingstonia synods, formerly under the Scottish missionaries, but now under the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP), organized the commemoration. The two synods still maintain close ties with the mother church in Scotland 'which celebrates and commemorates the life of David of Livingstone at every opportunity of his important date in his life.'⁵⁹ The Synods maintained it was important to remember and celebrate David Livingstone whom they claimed as playing a crucial role in the spread of Christianity in Malawi especially through the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland and Church of Scotland which later together came to be known as CCAP after joining with the Dutch Reformed Church Mission. The Synods also felt that apart from the establishment of Christianity in Malawi Livingstone's arrival heralded the spread and development of Commerce and Civilization (commonly known as the three Cs). It was only later that the city of Blantyre and the Malawian government were approached to be involved in the commemoration.⁶⁰

There was a main committee and several sub-committees that were assigned different tasks to oversee the success of the event. For example, the Publicity Committee for the commemoration was mandated to design and produce a commemorative cloth, publications and t-shirts, depicting the work of David Livingstone in Malawi.⁶¹ The blue cloth that was produced

⁵⁸President Bingu Wa Mutharika, 'Dr David Livingstone 1859-2009 Commemoration.' DVD, Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Library, Blantyre.

⁵⁹Interview with Reverend Alex Maulana, General Secretary of Blantyre Mission, Blantyre, 20 June 2018.

⁶⁰ Interview with Steve Nhlane, Editor at National Publications Limited, Blantyre, 5 January 2019; Interview with Banda, Chair of Ladies affairs, Blantyre Mission, Blantyre, 11 July 2018.

⁶¹Interview with Steve Nhlane; Interview with Banda.

bore a portrait of David Livingstone on which was printed the theme of the commemoration ‘Gospel, Peace, Freedom and Fair Trade in Malawi’ to highlight what was claimed as Livingstone’s visions for his missionary work in Africa and Malawi in particular.⁶² During the preparatory meetings of the committee the discussion dwelt much on how best to commemorate the event —what activities to hold to mark the occasion, who to invite as guests or guest of honour, what to preach, what dances to perform, songs to compose or sing, what displays to organize, what drama to depict historical incidents, the budget, how to accommodate the invited people and what lasting impression the event would make.⁶³

A number of activities were performed to mark the event at the stadium. These included a procession of floats in the stadium that featured different aspects of what were seen to be by the organizers as Livingstone’s contribution. 150 years of ‘civilization Christianity and commerce’ had to be exhibited in the pageant that highlighted certain events of Malawi’s history. For example, there was a float that exhibited slavery and David Livingstone depicted as an anti-slave reister. The float portrayed people chained by slave raiders on the way to Zanzibar slave market and Livingstone as the figure who rescued them. There was also a float which depicted David Livingstone going to the mission society in England and convincing its members that there was a need to bring the gospel to Africa. The float depicted how the people responded to his appeal and how the missionaries came to the territory that was to become Malawi. Another float depicted the coming of the Scottish merchant brothers, John and Fredrick Moir who established the African Lakes Cooperation in Malawi, a British trading company, portrayed as legitimate commerce to replace the slave trade. Other floats represented a narrative of national progress and

⁶² Interview with Banda.

⁶³ Interview with SteveNhlane.

development since the time of Livingstone.⁶⁴ In these ways, David Livingstone was given prominence and pride of place in Malawi's public history as the initiator and motor of development. It is interesting to note that what was being shown here formed part of what Tonny Bennet called the 'exhibitionary complex' in which displays of industrial progress take centre stage in order to depict how western civilization triumphs over the 'savagery' of the 'native condition.'⁶⁵ After all, Livingstone is always represented as an embodiment of civilization to Malawi. Other activities included, church choirs, dances by the church's faithful, preaching of the word of God, recital of poems, speeches. The event ended with soccer match featuring Malawi's top two sides, Big Bullets and MTL Wanderers. The scheduling of the commemoration on Easter Saturday equated Livingstone's work and contribution to Malawi with that of Jesus Christ. Thus David Livingstone 'the saint' was commissioned by Christ to Africa to die for the good cause of Africans and Malawians. At the moment when Malawians were celebrating the death of Jesus Christ who had died for their sins and salvation, they were also commemorating how Livingstone had come and died in order to bring civilization to them. Livingstone's role reflected Jesus's role. In this way, the Church entrenched the mythification of Livingstone as the saint in the public imagination of the Malawians just like the Scottish missionaries before them had.

'Protestant saint' or 'Patron of imperialism?' Public imagination of Livingstone in Malawi

In his speech at the anniversary, the state president Bingu Wa Mutharika maintained that the commemoration was not a celebration of colonialism but the humanitarian work of Livingstone. He further argued that Livingstone was a champion of the goodwill of Africa and

⁶⁴ Interview with Reverend Alex Maulana.

⁶⁵ L. Witz, G. Minkley and C. Rassool, *Usettled history: Making South African Public Pasts* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), p. 60; T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory and Politics* (Abington: Routledge, 1995).

that he was not only for the church but the social justice. It was worthwhile to celebrate such a figure he maintained. For the president, Livingstone was not an imperial hero in a sense of the word 'to denote those individuals endowed with heroic status for their actions in support of the expansion, promotion or defence of the empire.'⁶⁶ The president was responding to a BBC news report about the event.

This morning there was the news item on the BBC to say that Malawi was celebrating 150 years of Dr David Livingstone's work.... Then there was the question which I thought was rhetoric, and it said, is Malawi celebrating colonialism? And I am saying ... clearly anyone who has read Dr Livingstone's work would believe and know that colonialism was the furthest if at all in his mind. He was the man of God. He came here to preach the gospel of God and Jesus Christ. But also, to emancipate Africa from slavery and indeed to introduce commerce. What happened afterwards is a different story because there comes a time in the history of humankind when someone has a vision and starts a vision but later on the vision can be turned by others into something else. So, I don't think it is correct to associate Dr David Livingstone with any form of colonialism. It is symbolic that after 150 years we should celebrate his honour here in the city of Blantyre. This city here is the living testimony of Malawi's appreciation of this great missionary and of his medical work.⁶⁷

The above comments by the state president form part of the scholarly debates on the biography of Livingstone on whether he should be understood as a patron of imperialism and colonialism in Africa or as a protestant saint who fought for Africa's rights. Kenneth Ross argues that 'as a matter of fact, Livingstone was in the Malawi area in the late 1850s and early 1860s and there was certainly no colonial rule in place at that time. The British Protectorate was not declared until 1891 – 30 years later. So in a strict sense, Livingstone was pre-colonial. While it is true that his life and work was part of the incursion of Europeans into Africa that eventually led to colonial rule, in his own time he was operating in a pre-colonial context. Colonialists later tried

⁶⁶ See M. Jones, B. Sèbe, J. Strachan, B. Taithe & P. Yeandle, 'Decolonising Imperial Heroes: Britain and France,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42:5, (2014), pp.787-825.

⁶⁷ President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Speech at Dr David Livingstone 1859-2009 Commemoration.'

to claim him as one of their own but their claim must be open to question.⁶⁸ Justine Livingstone has shown that ‘given Livingstone’s political utility in the empire, the more recent debate over his imperial status has hinged around the extent to which the subsequent history of British intervention in Africa was or was not a logical consequence of his endeavours.’⁶⁹ He cites Tim Jeal who is a strong proponent of the view that the empire in Africa largely followed Livingstone’s ideal. According to Jeal, ‘Livingstone strongly advocated colonization, on the pattern of a minority of whites ruling, albeit philanthropically, a vast majority of blacks.’⁷⁰ Joanna Lewis has shown how after his death Victorian commemorations and memorials contributed to mythification of Livingstone for the cause of the empire. Lewis has argued that his ‘death raised Livingstone to the status of a protestant saint.’⁷¹ Like Lewis, John Mackenzie has argued that in fact Livingstone was used by others as ‘a patron saint’ of imperialism and missionary endeavour.⁷² However other scholars, for example, Andrew Ross have rejected the position of Tim Jeal. Ross has argued that ‘Livingstone has been misinterpreted and appropriated. Colonialism as it later took shape was foreign to Livingstone’s conception of the word.’⁷³ Christopher Petrusic has shown how by sympathizing with the Xhosa-speaking people Livingstone’s mind was not about imperialism. He argued, ‘rather than confirm and venerate the imperial undertaking, Livingstone questioned Britain’s right to appropriate the lands and resources of Africans. In siding with the enemy, he championed the right of the Xhosa and the

⁶⁸ Email Interview with Kenneth Ross, Scotland Malawi Partnership Chair, 12 February 2019.

⁶⁹ J.Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of aVictorian Icon,’p.101.

⁷⁰ J.Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of aVictorian Icon,’p.101.

⁷¹ J. E. Lewis, ‘Empiresof Sentiment; Intimacies from Death: David Livingstone and African Slavery at the Heart of the Nation,’*The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 43, No.2, (2015), pp. 210-237.

⁷² J.Mackenzie, ‘David Livingstone Prophet or Patron Saint of Imperialism in Africa: Myths and Misconceptions,’*Scottish Geographical Journal*, Vol.129, No.3-4, (2013), pp. 277-291.

⁷³ A. Ross,*David Livingstone and Empire* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002) cited in J. Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of aVictorian Icon,’p.101.

Khoikhoi to fight for their freedom and independence in a war against his countrymen.’⁷⁴

Surveying these different biographical representations of Livingstone Justin Livingstone argued that ‘Livingstone has been moulded variously by writers emerging from differing socio-cultural locations and with contrasting political purposes. His historical reputation has... shown a remarkable malleability.’⁷⁵

In his analysis of how settler colonialism operates Patrick Wolfe has argued that settler invasion ‘is a structure and not an event.’⁷⁶ Following this argument, I would intervene in these debates by arguing that if colonialism is a structure or process that did not begin with the event in 1891 when the British declared Malawi as its protectorate, then David Livingstone can be conceived as part of this structure and process that culminated in the declaration in 1891. These debates indicate the complexity of the biography of Livingstone and the challenges of how he must be remembered. Indeed, Livingstone has emerged ‘as a site of competing meanings; the Victorian hero has himself become a colonised space.’⁷⁷

Other scholars, for example, Nicolaas Rupke have offered that ‘in examining the diverse versions of biographical figures the aim should not be to discover some ‘essential’ identity or to finally retrieve the ‘real figure’ from historical misappropriation. Rather, the task must be primarily to explore the fact and the extent of the ideological embeddedness of biographical portraits, not to settle the issue of authenticity.’⁷⁸ Thus ‘the purpose is not to offer the last word on the debate, but instead to interrogate representational difference and its underlying

⁷⁴ C. Petrusic, ‘Violence as Masculinity: David Livingstone’s Radical Racial Politics in the Cape Colony and the Transvaal, 1845–1852,’ *The International History Review*, Vol. 26, No.1 (2004), p.55.

⁷⁵ J. Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon,’ p.2.

⁷⁶ P. Wolf, ‘Settler Colonialism and the elimination of the native,’ *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 8, No.4, (2006), p.388.

⁷⁷ J. Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon,’ p II.

⁷⁸ Cited in J. Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon,’ p II.

preoccupations.’⁷⁹ It might be interesting to ask what are the underlying political preoccupations in Malawi that made the president cast Livingstone in hagiographical terms? It is because in Malawi Livingstone is a free gateway to Scotland and its development packages.

The Malawian president went on to briefly outline the contribution made by Livingstone through his envisioned three Cs –Christianity, Civilization and Commerce – which he argued had enabled the country making improvements, progressing and modernizing. He attributed the growing and expanding industrial city of Blantyre to the work of Livingstone who had encouraged the early British trading companies, for instance, African Lakes Cooperation in 1878 and the Imperial British Central Africa Company who established their trading posts and companies in the city of Blantyre. The president praised the contribution made by the Scottish missionaries in the areas of education and that he himself was the beneficiary of that education. Another contribution that he cited was commercial agriculture through the introduction of cash crops for example coffee, tea, tobacco and cotton which today constitute the backbone of the country’s economy. He also paid tribute to the Church of Scotland, asserting that it contributed to the social economic and political support to the people of Malawi. He asserted a memory of the support of the Scottish people to Malawians during the anti-colonial struggle.⁸⁰ In his entire speech, the President was trying to reaffirm a diplomatic relationship between Scotland and Malawi. He was also implying that this relationship was anchored in history and this history is that of David Livingstone. The commemoration, therefore, played the role of further strengthening the relationship between the two countries by evoking a hagiographic memory of Livingstone. In so doing Livingstone’s memory was reconstructed as an arbiter of the

⁷⁹ J. Livingstone, ‘Livingstone’s Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon,’ p.3.

⁸⁰ President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Speech at ‘Dr David Livingstone 1859-2009 Commemoration.’

relationship between Malawi and Scotland. He is the heritage that both countries pursue for their continued diplomatic ties.

The memorialization of Livingstone in 2009 had served two important objectives. First, the event highlighted the pivotal role of the Church in Malawi not only C.C.A.P. but also other faith groups in supposedly encouraging the socio-economic development of the country. Second, which is important to this chapter, the memory of Livingstone was reconstructed to enable a diplomatic relationship that is anchored in history between Malawi and Scotland as nations and Livingstone was sanitized as a saint and a Malawian liberator. He was not in any way cast as an imperialist.

The commemoration of Livingstone in Malawi never attracted any protests or contests. The church, the state and people joined together in celebrating him.⁸¹ There were no protests from the newspapers and other publications about the event. For example, *Sunday Times* of 12 April 2009 had a supplement specially around David Livingstone where contributors showered praise on the work of Livingstone to the extent of even charting the course of Malawi's history and destiny.⁸² In a special publication for the event a woman who had been interviewed explained that 'without Livingstone we could have missed Christianity, civilization, and education...and we are thankful to God that he served us through David Livingstone.'⁸³ Livingstone was presented as the liberator of Malawians and a figure worth commemorating. Thus Livingstone has become in public iconography not a symbol of colonialism but that of his espoused three 'Cs' of civilization, Christianity and commerce along with social justice for

⁸¹ Interview with Reverend Alex Maulana.

⁸² C. Mpaka, 'David Livingstone, the Livingstone' in *Sunday Times*, Supplement celebrating the Life and Work of David Livingstone, April 2009, p1-3.

⁸³ *The Life, work and impact of Dr David Livingstone: A celebration of 150 years of three Cs: Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation* (Blantyre: Blantyre Mission, 2009), p18.

Malawians. This image as Thomson suggested could be as the result of mythification by the Scottish missionaries to local Malawians.⁸⁴ While this may be so, it is how his memory is reconstructed in ways that prop up and support the diplomatic ties between Malawi and Scotland and making Scotland appear as a nation which I argue has made him the heritage of diplomacy.

Cementing partnerships: ‘Warm hearts in Africa, 1859-2009: The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture’

It was not only Malawi that commemorated the 150th Anniversary of Livingstone arrival. On 17 September 2009 the Scottish First Minister, Jack McConnell led the Scottish people in the commemoration in parliament in a memorial lecturer entitled ‘Warm hearts in Africa, 1859-2009: The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture.’ The phrase ‘warm hearts in Africa’ was an entry in David Livingstone’s diaries in which he described what he said were the friendly people and good environments in Central Africa. By using this as a title for the memorial lecture was a way of emphasizing the supposedly good disposition of Malawians and a friendly relationship with Scotland. In his lecture, McConnell provided a history of the Scotland-Malawi relationship. He highlighted that the special relationship between ‘the two countries began 150 years tonight with David Livingstone on the shores of Lake Malawi.’⁸⁵ Like Bingu Wa Mutharika in Malawi, McConnell also claimed that the two nations had fought side by side against colonialism and dictatorship. He particularly described the Scottish role in ending the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which according to him ‘would have left

⁸⁴ J. Thomson, ‘Foreword,’ in S. Worden (ed), *David Livingstone: Man, Myth and Legacy* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises Limited, 2012), p.v.

⁸⁵ ‘Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture.’ Right Hon. Jack McConnell, MSP, 17th September 2009, *European and External Affairs Committee*, EUR,3-04-11 (2011), Paper 7, p.5. It is important to point out that the United Kingdom is still the biggest aid donor to Malawi government. Its international agency The Department for International Development takes the lead in tackling a wide range of developmental challenges in Malawi. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/dfid-malawi-profile-july-2018>

Malawi/Nyasaland in the clutches of apartheid for decades.’⁸⁶ McConnell summoned the Scottish people to work on areas that he maintained David Livingstone had begun through the exchange of skills and experience.

Just as David Livingstone had opened up Africa and laid the foundations for African nationalism I believed it was now time for the people of a newly devolved Scotland to use their skills and talents to make a lasting contribution to international development. Time for Scots to stand side by side with people in the developing world as they battled poverty and disease, just as Livingstone stood side by side with the Manganja tribe on the shores of Lake Malawi as they battled the Arab slave traders. International development is the responsibility of the UK government, but the Scotland Act of 1998 made it clear that the Scottish government could assist the Crown in relation to foreign affairs.⁸⁷

McConnell asserted that the relationship had been enhanced and revitalized when ‘in 2000 Strathclyde University launched the Malawi Millennium Project with Bell College, the higher education college closest to Blantyre, Livingstone’s birthplace. And in 2004, the Scotland Malawi Partnership inspired by the Rev Andrew Ross – one of Livingstone’s best biographers - was established to foster links between the two nations into the 21st century.’⁸⁸ McConnell described how he experienced the horrors of poverty in Malawi and appealed to Scots to emulate the courage of Livingstone to come to Malawi and help it in its present development challenges.⁸⁹ In the lecture, the memory of Livingstone was used to appeal for the brevity and courage of the modern-day Scotsmen to leave the comfort of Scotland and come to the aid of Malawi. He further cited how some important Scottish missionaries had followed Livingstone’s

⁸⁶ ‘Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture.’ Right Hon. Jack McConnell, MSP, 17th September 2009, *European and External Affairs Committee*, EUR,3-04-11 (2011), Paper 7, p.5.

⁸⁷ ‘Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture,’ p.8.

⁸⁸ ‘Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture,’ p.8.

⁸⁹ ‘Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture,’ p.10.

call and substantially turned around the fate of some Malawians. McConnell mentioned that during his visit to Malawi he agreed with his counterpart, President Bingu Wa Mutharika, to work together on priority areas of development for Malawi such as healthcare and governance. He claimed that the nature of their cooperation was not 'aid' instead 'it was about people helping people. An exchange of experience and expertise that would benefit both countries.'⁹⁰ In other words, it was about 'mutual partnership.' He asserted that the Co-operation Agreement that the two governments signed in November 2005 'was much more than a concordat between two governments.'⁹¹ It was a solemn promise undertaken on behalf of the people they represented 'for the two countries to work together to build a better future.'⁹² McConnell concluded his lecturer when he remarked that:

For the last 150 years, the fate of our two countries has been intertwined. David Livingstone is Scotland and Malawi's national hero. In fact, the Malawians say they discovered David Livingstone. Together we fought the UK government for Malawi's freedom and together we are trying to build a better world.⁹³

Like in Malawi the memorial in Scotland reaffirmed the cooperation between Scotland and Malawi that was supposedly begun by Livingstone. The memorial became the platform to suggest ways to further harness and enhance the relationship. But as can be inferred the memorial in Scotland also served as means to project and protect the unique identity of Scotland vis-à-vis United Kingdom in political terms. It also became a space to claim notions of nationhood based upon Livingstone for Scotland.

There are important issues to consider from the memorial lecture given by the Scottish First Minister Jack McConnell in 2009. An assertion was made of the relationship between

⁹⁰ 'Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture,' p.19.

⁹¹ 'Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture,' p.19

⁹² 'Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture,' p.19.

⁹³ 'Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture,' p.19.

Malawi and Scotland not being neo-colonial through development aid. Anti-slavery was used to assert a legacy of anti-imperialism emanating from Livingstone – when in fact anti-slavery was the alibi for colonialism. It is also important to consider how others have challenged the post-colonial relationship between the former empire and its former colonies based on development aid as neo-colonialism. For example, Jacques Depelchin argued that ‘the concept of development could be said to be to the post-World War II African history what the civilizing mission was to the imposition of colonial rule.’⁹⁴ He further argued that ‘development as a modernized version of the civilizing mission silences its genesis as well as what is common to both, namely the reproduction of the relations of domination and oppression between Europe and Africa. Both concepts reproduce the paternalism inherent in the abolitionist mode of thinking and the syndrome of discovery: they both carry with them positive connotations which automatically convey their altruistic nature, and by the same token reinforce the idea that if it were not for colonial rule, there would not have been economic development to speak of.’⁹⁵ Mark Duffield and Vernon Hewitt have compared and contrasted nineteenth century techniques of imperial and colonial governmentality with techniques and technologies of humanitarian intervention and development. They have argued that there is ‘the general conviction that colonialism is a direct relative of contemporary debates on development.’ They suggested that there is ‘a complex shift in vocabulary in the discourse of development, history and modernity that has also been accompanied by metropolitan attempts in popular and public discourses on the centre and right of the spectrum to normalize the ‘new’ imperialism as the only option for global governance.’⁹⁶

⁹⁴ J. Depelchin, ‘Economics and World Bank reports as silencing Narratives,’ in J. Depelchin, *Silences in African History: Between the Syndromes of Discovery and Abolition* (Dar Es Salaam: Mkuki Wa Nyota, 2006), p.128.

⁹⁵ J. Depelchin, ‘Economics and World Bank reports as silencing Narratives,’ p.128.

⁹⁶ M. Duffield and V. Hewitt, *Empire, Development and Colonialism: The Past in the Present* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009), p.27.

Duffield and Hewitt contend that ‘what occurs via this shift in vocabulary is a narration of the contemporary moment as a rupture from its past through a repackaging of a British colonial history in an apologetic frame.’⁹⁷ It is no surprise therefore that Scotland, which was part of the British colonial machinery, seems to frame its development programs with Malawi in a framework as ‘mutual partners’ or ‘development partners’ as elucidated by Jack McConnell and others before and after him.

Four years later the heritage diplomacy between Malawi and Scotland was also to be observed in the exhibitions celebrating bicentenary of his birth. The first exhibition entitled ‘David Livingstone, I presume?’ was officially opened by Humza Yousaf, the Scotland government Minister for External Affairs and International Development on 22 November 2012 at National Museum of Scotland. On 17 September 2013 at Chichiri Museum in Blantyre the Minister of Tourism and Culture, Rachael Mazobwe Zulu opened the exhibition entitled *Dr Livingstone, The Man!* Jilly Burn, Project Co-ordinator, represented The National Museum of Scotland. This exhibition was to emulate the one that was mounted at National Museum of Scotland earlier. Both exhibitions emphasized the importance of international links between Malawi and Scotland. However, it was the one in Scotland which went further to highlight Scottish identity and Scotland’s aspirations to become independent nation. For example, ‘Alex Salmond, Scotland’s then First Minister, and leader of Scotland’s pro-independence moderate Scottish National Party chose the exhibition as the setting for part of his Christmas television broadcast.’⁹⁸ Worden and Swinney wrote that ‘in the broadcast, he identified Livingstone as one of Scotland’s great humanitarians whose values were still shared by Scots today glossing him as

⁹⁷ M. Duffield and V. Hewitt, *Empire, Development and Colonialism*, p.27.

⁹⁸ S. Worden & G.N. Swinney, ‘Exhibiting Livingstone: A Life and Legacy on Display,’ *Scottish Geographical Journal*, Vol.129, No.3-4, (2013), p.268.

epitomizing the nation's character.'⁹⁹ In his speech Salmond argued that 'we can reflect on David Livingstone as exemplifying many of the best characteristics of Scotland.'¹⁰⁰

Justin Livingstone has discussed three reasons why Livingstone's memory is appropriated in Scotland. He has argued that Livingstone's memory has been used to facilitate Celtic revival against the Anglo- Saxons. It has also been used as a unifying figure in Scotland between the rival highlanders and lowlanders because of his shared parentage from both his father and mother. And lastly 'many of them sought to use Livingstone to demonstrate the significant role that Scotland had played in Britain's international and imperialist projects. Livingstone thus served as a vehicle to assert a Scottish national consciousness, but one that operated within the confines of the Union.'¹⁰¹

Worden further noted that 'political interest in Livingstone was further evidenced by visits to the exhibition by politicians from both the Scottish and Westminster (UK) parliaments.' 'Their rhetoric variously claimed him as either Scottish or British (he was, after all, sponsored by the London Missionary Society and the Royal Geographical Society, and his remains, in part, rest in Westminster Abbey), thereby deploying him on both sides of the debate about Scottish independence.'¹⁰² It could also be that an additional motivation for Scotland in promoting the memory of Livingstone vis-à-vis Malawi is an interest in re-writing its colonial past by distancing itself from the UK's imperial history. This is evident when European countries are due for some difficult conversations about their colonial pasts, and some are eager to avoid these.

⁹⁹ S. Worden & G.N. Swinney, 'Exhibiting Livingstone,' p.268.

¹⁰⁰ S. Worden & G.N. Swinney, 'Exhibiting Livingstone,' p.268.

¹⁰¹ J. Livingstone, 'Livingstone's Lives: A Metabiography of a Victorian Icon,' p.156.

¹⁰² S. Worden & G.N. Swinney, 'Exhibiting Livingstone,' p.268.

Memory of David Livingstone and the Scotland-Malawi Partnership

The Scotland-Malawi Partnership is another important forum which has recourse to memory reconstruction of David Livingstone to facilitate the relations between Malawi and Scotland. According to its website, it describes itself as ‘the national civil society network coordinating, supporting and representing the people to people links between Malawi and Scotland.’¹⁰³ It claims to represent a community of 109,000 Scots with active links to Malawi. The organization was officially formed in April 2004 by David Livingstone’s alma mater the University of Strathclyde in collaboration with Bell College. This was the result of the response of these two institutions in 1990 to United Nations Millennium Development goals which led to the launch of Malawi Millennium Project.¹⁰⁴ In simple terms, it is an umbrella organization which mobilizes support from the Scottish side to network with Malawians in order to tackle what it sees as development challenges. As its website proclaims, it exists ‘to inspire the people and organizations of Scotland to be involved with Malawi in an informed, coordinated and effective way for the benefit of both nations.’¹⁰⁵ It is this organization which to large extent influences the development and relations policy between Scotland and Malawi. It appeals for the continued mutual friendship between Malawi and Scotland that was supposedly begun by David Livingstone in 1859.

A monumental achievement of Scotland–Malawi Partnership was when after the Gleneagles G8 summit, it organized a two-day conference, on 4-5 November 2005, under the theme of ‘Malawi After Gleneagles: A commission For Africa Case-Study.’¹⁰⁶ The conference

¹⁰³Scotland-Malawi Partnership, <https://www.scotland-malawipartnership.org/> accessed on 15.3.2018.

¹⁰⁴ Scotland-Malawi Partnership, <https://www.scotland-malawipartnership.org/> accessed on 15.3.2018.

¹⁰⁵Scotland-Malawi Partnership, <https://www.scotland-malawipartnership.org/> accessed on 15.3.2018.

¹⁰⁶ See Report of the Conference ‘Malawi after Gleneagles: A Commission for Africa Case-Study.’ The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 4–5 November 2005.

brought together ‘key Scots and Malawians’ from across government, parliament and civil society. The conference discussed the bilateral relationship and mapped out future cooperation together. The conference further explored priority areas in which Scotland could help alleviate what were represented as Malawi’s development challenges and also how Scotland could benefit from Malawi. ‘The conferences further gave the opportunity to both donors and recipients to air their concerns and produce a better-coordinated response.’¹⁰⁷ What was significant in the speeches during the conference was how they invoked the memory and discourse of David Livingstone. His memory was reconstructed as an ‘oral tradition’ that enabled explanation, description and justification of the relationship between Malawi and Scotland. The relationship between Scotland and Malawi is always told by reconstructing the memory of Livingstone into ‘a folklorist taxonomy of etiological legend’ (‘that is a story that takes place in a world more or less as we know it, claims to tell the truth and describes the origins of objects or institutions that may be still observed’.¹⁰⁸)

A day before the conference on 3 November 2005 the State president of Malawi Bingu Wa Mutharika and the Scottish First Minister Jack McConnell signed a co-operation agreement between Scotland and Malawi in the Scottish Parliament. George Reid the presiding officer of the Scottish Parliament, Bingu Wa Mutharika the president of Malawi and Jack McConnell the First Minister of Scotland made keynote speeches during the signing of this agreement. As a way of emphasizing how intimately warm and strong the relationship between Scotland and Malawi was Reid explained how Malawi seemed to have the privilege and honour of being the first country to witness Scottish political developments in the recent past:

¹⁰⁷Report of the Conference ‘Malawi after Gleneagles: A Commission for Africa Case-Study.’The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 4–5 November 2005, p.1.

¹⁰⁸ V. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage: El condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), p.133.

Finally, Mr President, the first foreign Head of State ever to address a Meeting of Members of the Scottish Parliament was your predecessor, President Dr Bakili Muluzi, in May 2000. Today we have another first. You have the honour of being the first foreign Head of State to address Members here in the Chamber of our new Scottish Parliament building.¹⁰⁹

What was more emphatic in the signed agreement document was its claim for mutuality, reciprocity and spirit of partnership that builds on alleged historical links forged by David Livingstone. 'It pioneers a new approach to North-South relations, one built on friendship and respect between two nations built up over generations of close collaboration.'¹¹⁰ In this way it tries to separate itself from the paternalism that exists in bilateral relationships between the north and global south and advances the ideals of social justice for all that David Livingstone supposedly championed.¹¹¹ This agreement was all about development strategies between the two nations. However, looking at the how the objectives would be achieved in each theme Malawi was on the receiving end of the benefits and its partner Scotland appears as the wealthier and far more advanced economy.¹¹² This difference invites the question, what benefit does Scotland reap in this partnership from its impoverished partner Malawi? The Scottish leaders cite experience and being a global citizen as its benefits.¹¹³ But it is more than this. It is about its visibility as a global player in the affairs of other countries which links to its Scottish identity and autonomy. Malawi helps Scotland to make claims to nationhood.

¹⁰⁹Report of the Conference 'Malawi after Gleneagles: A Commission for Africa Case-Study.' The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 4–5 November 2005, p.3.

¹¹⁰ P. A. West and K. Ross, *Scotland Malawi Partnership Strategic Plan, 2000-11* (Edinburgh: Scotland Malawi Partnership, 2008), p.2.

¹¹¹ See Report of the Conference 'Malawi after Gleneagles: A Commission for Africa Case-Study.' The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 4–5 November 2005.

¹¹² Report of the Conference 'Malawi after Gleneagles,' p.1.

¹¹³ See Speech of Jack McConnell in Report of the Conference 'Malawi After Gleneagles: A Commission For Africa Case-Study'. The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 4–5 November 2005; Speech of Alex Salmond on President Joyce Banda - Address to the Scottish Parliament 13 March 2013; Speech of Nicola Sturgeon on President Mutharika - Speech to the Scottish Parliament 24 April 2018.

The Scotland-Malawi Partnership continues to contribute to development work in Malawi and the Malawi side has also formed a sister organization called Malawi-Scotland Partnership in order to coordinate the activities well with its sister organization in Scotland. The Scotland-Malawi Partnership regards the memory of David Livingstone as crucial to its continued relationship with Malawi. In his assessment of 'the modern Scotland-Malawi Partnership,' John McCracken argued that 'the partnership has its roots beyond the intervention of Strathclyde University or Jack McConnell's assertion of alliances that were established during the anti-colonial struggles in Malawi especially in 1959.'¹¹⁴ Even the alliances between the Scots and Malawians during the anti-colonial struggles were informed by the memory of David Livingstone and in that respect, the Scotland-Malawi Partnership draws its roots and claims of existence from him. Alex Salmond the former First Minister of Scotland seems to agree with this assertion when he argued that 'the values that David Livingstone lived by still formed the basis of our friendship of Malawi today. The cooperation agreement between our two nations signed by my predecessor Jack McConnell in 2005 is the partnership of equals.'¹¹⁵

Conclusion

The chapter has explored an interesting phenomenon of how post-colonial Malawi has found itself choosing to glorify the umbilical cord of heritage that is linked with British colonialism. The chapter has demonstrated that in Malawi there has been no attempt to obliterate the memory of David Livingstone from the country's 'sites of memory.' His memory is preserved and has survived different governments since independence in 1964. The chapter has also shown how since 1964 Livingstone's memory continues to be promoted in various ways through museum exhibitions, commemorations and works of the various organizations. It has

¹¹⁴ J.McCracken, 'Missionaries and Nationalists,' p.114.

¹¹⁵ See Speech by Alex Salmond on President Joyce Banda 's Address to the Scottish Parliament 13 March 2013.

also shown how his memory is central to asserting diplomatic ties between Malawi and Scotland, both cast as autonomous nations. The chapter has argued that the memory of David Livingstone is preserved and reconstructed in what is called heritage diplomacy between Malawi and Scotland. This heritage diplomacy functions to create and strengthen strategic economic, cultural and political ties between the two nations while promoting and solidifying Scotland's national identity, nationalism and its assertions and aspirations of sovereignty, autonomy, statehood and global player. In this heritage diplomacy, commemorations, memorials, museum exhibitions, state institutions and civil organizations are the 'sites of memory' upon which David Livingstone is either evoked or reconstructed as a heritage to facilitate the international cooperation. In other words, his life has been recreated according to contemporaneous needs. In the end, the figure of Livingstone bears the 'heritage of diplomacy'.



CONCLUSION

In this thesis I focused on the period from 1964 to 2009 and looked at how the politics and history during this period impacted on different practices of cultural production that sought recourse to the past as way of rendering Malawi's national identity and heritage. It has been shown that this period had distinct and important politics that informed the production of each cultural form or practice understood as national culture or heritage. The period was marked by transition from colonialism to independence, dictatorship, the transition to democracy, democracy and post- democracy. During this period Malawi's national identity and heritage were negotiated through different cultural forms. These cultural productions took the forms of national museums, ethnic festivals, cultural performances, national language, commemorations and memorials (monuments, commemorative days and biographical memory) and the framing of traditions and customs into what is referred to as intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO. Through a discussion of how various governments and institutions constituted Malawi's national heritage it has become evident that not a single theoretical concept can be used to explain the mode of heritage production. All the theories discussed in the introduction were applied in the analysis for certain specific cultural forms. And sometimes there could be a situation where two approaches could be used to explain the way heritage was constituted. The thesis sought to find out how heritage was constituted and what changes were made to national heritage in relation to the changing of governments during this period of differing histories and politics in Malawi.

I first undertook the task of tracing the emergence of the discourse of cultural heritage in Malawi by distinguishing the discourse of national culture from that of cultural heritage. I drew on the cultural politics of the first president of Malawi, Kamuzu Banda, from 1964 to 1990. By

looking at Kamuzu Banda's cultural politics in which he sought to use the cultural traditions and customs, for example language and performances, for nation building, I argued that what was dominant during his period was the discourse of national culture which was aiming at constructing a distinct and single Malawian identity but one that was largely premised on his ethnic Chewa while suppressing differences in the country. I also argued that the emergence of cultural heritage discourse particularly with democracy after 1994 challenged Kamuzu Banda's discourse of national culture as Chewa. The new discourse of cultural heritage promoted the idea of ethnicity as the basis of cultural differences within the country. However, what was significant in the study was the recognition that both Kamuzu Banda's discourse of national culture and the new discourse of cultural heritage sought recourse to the past to reconstruct Malawi's national identity based on ethnicity and tribe. The study gestured to the ever presence of a dominant ideology which worked to legitimize and support Kamuzu Banda's regime and influenced his ideas and policies of what should be Malawi's national culture and identity.

The study proceeded to show how the discourse of cultural heritage in democratic Malawi from 1994 found its expression in the workings of different ethnic-based heritage associations through their annual cultural festivals as celebrating difference through what they presented as traditions and customs. I argued that while this heritage production celebrates ethnic pride and identity it has transformed itself into a site of party politics and a campaign ground which reinforces, reproduces and reaffirms the notions of tribe and ethnicity in Malawi. The study showed that the formation of one of these ethnic heritage associations the Mlakhwa Wa Ahlomwe could be understood within the framework of dominant ideology thesis considering the role played by the former president Bingu Wa Mutharika in its formation. The study further pointed to the striking resemblance between the older colonial native associations and the present

ethnic heritage associations. Following McCracken and Mamdani I argued that the present-day ethnic heritage associations and their cultural works are colonial relics of tribes and ethnicity, consequences of indirect rule and following Gary Minkley they are therefore a fragile inheritance in the post-colonial Malawi.¹

With regard to the aspect and recent discourse of intangible heritage I examined the workings of UNESCO as an authorizing institution of heritage in Malawi. I focused on its implementation of the 2003 Convention on Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The study showed how UNESCO in Malawi focuses on communities that are understood to be traditional and ethnic in the implementation of the convention by nominating and inscribing their cultural elements on its lists as heritage. I argued that the convention has become instrument of promoting ethnic awareness and reinforcing the idea of ethnicity and tribe. I also contended that the convention justifies the establishment of the ethnic based heritage associations and the enhancement of ethnographic museums and their associated ethnographic practices as its partner institutions in the implementation of the convention. The study showed that UNESCO's tendency to define communities for the implementation of the convention only in ethnic terms is anchored in Malawi's history and its contours of colonialism. This was further reinforced by Kamuzu Banda when what was perceived as national culture was about ethnic and traditional customs. This has continued in democratic times when cultural heritage is more identified with ethnic-based heritage associations and their perceived traditions and customs. It was also evident in the study that UNESCO through its experts, despite the rhetoric of community involvement,

¹ See J. McCracken, 'Contours of colonialism,' in J. McCracken, *A history of Malawi, 1859-1966* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2012); M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); G. Minkley, 'A fragile inheritor': The post-apartheid memorial complex, A.C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape,' *KRONOS: Southern African histories*, Vol. 34, (2008).

still produces heritage that is governed and informed by what Laurajane Smith refers to as an Authorized Heritage Discourse.²

With regard to national Museums of Malawi the study considered how it has produced heritage through its exhibitions and representations from the time of its establishment in 1957 up to 2009. On this aspect of heritage production, I argued that it is largely through ethnographic collections that the Museums of Malawi was constructed and continues to construct the identity of the nation and community. What is an ethnographic collection in Museums of Malawi has the function of constructing and performing what is national. The study revealed that the continuity of ethnographic heritage in Museums of Malawi after independence has been part of the nationalism and tribalism during Kamuzu Banda era in which he sought to promote anti-colonial identity as well as his ethnic Chewa to entrench his autocratic rule. In the post-Banda era ethnographic exhibitions have continued as a response to democratic demands of inclusivity to reflect the ethnic representation of groups of people who were marginalized and therefore not represented during Kamuzu Banda's dictatorship. The discourse of intangible heritage as espoused by UNESCO since 2003, especially its convention to safeguard intangible cultural heritage also works to sustain the ethnographic heritage in Museums of Malawi. It has become evident therefore that the Museums of Malawi continues to become the fundamental site of ethnic formation in discursive terms. Consequently, this has entrenched and reinforced the perception that only through the ethnographic can a nation or community be defined in Malawi. This has a net effect of posing a challenge of undoing or questioning the ethnographic museum in Malawi. This situation at Museums of Malawi echoes Derek Petersen who argued that 'for curators in newly independent states, the museum was an arena from where cultural

²See L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

forms that hitherto had represented the authority of colonial-era kingdoms and tribes could be revalued as objects representing the culture of the nation.³ In this study it has been shown how the cultural works of experts (or in Smith's terms an Authorized Heritage Discourse)⁴ is sometimes influenced by the present governments in the selection and representation of ethnographic objects as Malawi's heritage.

The discussion also considered public memory and showed how the biographical memory of first president Kamuzu Banda was constituted as the national history and national heritage. It also considered how the memory of the colonial and imperial icon David Livingstone was constituted and also made the nation's heritage. The study showed how the three governments of Kamuzu Banda, Bakili Muluzi and Bingu Wa Mutharika played around with Kamuzu Banda's memory by re-inscribing and re-interpreting it as Malawi's heritage through monuments and commemorative days in order to legitimize their respective governments. I argued that although each government presented different reasons for either promoting or scrapping Kamuzu Banda's memory the underlying motive was an instrumentalisation of Banda's memory in order to serve and satisfy specific interests and positions for each government. In the end the study brought to light the debate on who defines national heritage and under what kind of circumstances heritages are defined. In particular the study revealed that the inscribing, constitution and definition of heritage through monuments and commemorative days is the preserve of the governments and their ruling political parties in order to serve their interests.

³ See D.Petersen, 'Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,' in D. Petersen, K. Gavua and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures* (Johannesburg: Academic Press, 2015), p.12.

⁴ See L.Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

Still on public memory the study posed the question as to why the memory of David Livingstone, a colonial and imperial icon, is still strong long after independence and is promoted by each successive government in different ways? In response to this question the study showed that his memory has been used as a heritage of diplomacy. The study discussed how sites associated with Livingstone have been conserved and how his memory is mutually promoted through commemorations and museum exhibitions in both Malawi and Scotland. I argued that this heritage diplomacy functions simultaneously to create, strengthen strategic bilateral economic, cultural and political ties between Malawi and Scotland while it promotes and solidifies the idea of Scotland's national identity, nationalism and its determination and aspirations of sovereignty, autonomy and global player. Moreover, commemorations, memorials, museum exhibitions, state institutions and civil organizations have become the main sites upon which the memory of Livingstone is either evoked or reconstructed as a heritage to facilitate international cooperation. In this study it was revealed that when governments share common interests in terms of heritage there seems to be no haste to alter it. The discussion on Livingstone's memory invited us to question the identity of a colonialist and whether Christian missionaries were largely part of the colonial project. The study further pushed us to ask how do we locate some benevolent and acts of 'goodwill' in the context of memorialisation and heritage in a post-colonial state in Africa and other former colonialized states. The study further pushed us to consider whether the commemoration of Livingstone, with or without a choice, is the manifestation of neo-colonial heritage discourse in a post-colonial Malawi.

All the above taken together revealed that although from 1964 up to 2009 changes were made in national heritage with changing governments the older colonial heritage and elements of ethnicity /tribe, ethnographic objects in national museums and the memory of colonial icon

David Livingstone remained in place and were constantly revalued and constituted as the rendering of the country's national heritage and identity. This underscores that it is not that simple that different politics and change in governments had a direct alignment in terms of change in heritage. It has become evident, and this frames the main argument of the thesis, that while there were some notable changes in national heritage with the changing of governments over this period, sometimes older colonial heritage and elements from older periods remained in place and they are actually stronger that it seems to align with new heritage. Moreover, the older colonial cultural forms are very powerful hence underlining the residual nature of heritage. In fact, what happened was the revaluation of these older colonial heritages in the post-colonial times. The study has also underlined that heritage is 'a form of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past'⁵ in order to meet the current needs. And in the study these needs were mainly political, economic and cultural in nature. However, to argue that the older colonial heritage has remained in place as revealed by the study is not adequate. It is important to go beyond and interrogate why this is so. In other words, why is it that although there has been changes in governments and notable changes in national heritage the older colonial heritages of ethnicity/ tribe, ethnographic collections and memory of David Livingstone still remained in place and even stronger? There are possible and plausible explanations that can be detected and deduced from the study.

The first explanation could be that the Malawian politicians discovered that the category of ethnicity or tribe is an effective tool for political mobilization and governance in order to achieve their political ends and agendas. In the study this is evident with how Kamuzu Banda

⁵ D. Petersen, 'Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,' p.1; B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), p.149; B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett., 'Theorizing Heritage,' *Ethnomusicology*, Vol.39, No.3, (1995), pp. 367-380.

mobilized his ethnic Chewa for his political gains. The very same category of ethnicity and tribe was also deployed and instrumentalised by Bingu Wa Mutharika to mobilize his political support mainly from his Lomwe ethnic group under the guise of promoting cultural heritage through Mlakho Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association that he formed. A second explanation but related to the first is that category of the ethnic or tribe appears as as an effective platform on which to lobby, claim or assert demands from the state or government. This is because the government is aware of the potential power of ethnic mobilization politically hence the government is readier to listen to demands of groups of people mobilized in ethnic terms as has been the case of Mzimba Heritage Association with its land claims. These two explanations feed into a third one which is identity formation. It seems the category of ethnic or tribe is the one which is perceived to be readily available for the construction of group identities in Malawi. There is an acknowledgement of the effectiveness which the ethnic or tribe functioned to the benefit of the colonial governance and also native authorities. As such governments and the traditional authorities still revalue it in various ways to their benefit. Considering why these colonial ethnic categories of heritage are still strong I would like to pose a question: what are the alternative forms by which Malawi can rethink of construction of its national and group identities and political mobilization that transcend the ethnic and tribe in order to undo these colonial relics which are 'fragile inheritance' in the post-colony? While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a concrete answer to this question I still feel that it is significant in informing the debates of heritage production in Malawi for both politicians and other cultural players in the country.

On the ubiquity of the memory of colonial icon David Livingstone the explanation cannot only be reduced to the discussion on neo-colonialism. Rather the explanations should also be framed in terms of the economic independence and development needs and capacity of Malawi

to tackle its challenges on its own. I am of the strong view and opinion that the country's impoverished situation economically pushes it too much to regard the colonial heritage of David Livingstone as a bridge to reach out easily not only to Scotland but also Britain for its economic and development needs. In this context the nobility of heritage diplomacy as a terminology of government bureaucracy seeks to obfuscate the failure of an independent economic prosperity by the state. Since memory changes with changing situation will Malawi still view Livingstone as a benevolent imperial icon if it is not so dependent economically?

On the changing meanings of the memory of Kamuzu Banda the possible explanation is that the historical context and situations were the ones that dictated how he should be perceived and remembered. Thus immediately after independence his memory was mediated to explain the heroics of the anti-colonial struggle and thereby projecting him as the anti-colonial hero. The changing politics to democracy especially during the government of Bakili Muluzi saw his memory being mediated in relation to the human rights violations that he committed during his dictatorship and hence he was seen as a villain not worth remembering through any form of commemoration or monuments. Later during the government of Bingu Wa Mutharika Kamuzu Banda's memory was mediated through the corrupt and nepotist practices of Bakili Muluzi government and consequently Kamuzu Banda was presented as someone who put the welfare of his people first and therefore worth remembering through commemorative days and monuments. Thus, his memory has been historically located and defined to respond to the political needs of the present government for its self-legitimization. The maintenance and instrumentalisation of the Queen's Day and its new form of Kamuzu Day was attractive for political mobilization for Kamuzu Banda and Bingu Wa Mutharika.

It is my contention that the discussion in this study has provided significant political, social, and cultural insight and understanding connected to historical engagement in post-colonial Malawi which impacted on production of heritage in the country. The issues and ideas advanced through the analysis of heritage in the thesis will motivate us to think and rethink the crucial role of colonialism in influencing the ideas of heritage in post-colonial Malawi specifically and Africa in general. We are prompted to ponder how colonial legacy and its practices facilitate heritage production long after its demise. The thesis also allows us to understand that sometimes changes in heritage are most often made to satisfy the ideals and interests of those in power as has been the case with Kamuzu Banda's memory.

This study will contribute to a body of literature on the emergent and nascent discipline of heritage in Malawi specifically and understanding of heritage production in Africa in general. While the focus of this study largely concentrated on production of cultural forms as heritage to meet political and cultural needs it will be interesting to see a continuation of such study but one that mainly focuses on how the discussed forms of heritage in Malawi have been put to economic use, heritage as an industry through tourism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PUBLISHED SOURCES

(a) Books

Adogame, A, Lawrence, A, eds., *Africa in Scotland, Scotland in Africa: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Hybridities*, Leiden /Boston: Brill, 2014.

Baker, C, *The Revolt of the Ministers: The Malawi Cabinet Crisis 1964-1965*, London: L.B. Tauris Publishers, 2001.

Bennett, T, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums and Colonialism*, London: Routledge, 2004.

Bennett, T, *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory and Politics*, London: Routledge, 1995.

Blake, J, *Developing a New Standard-setting Instrument for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Elements for Consideration*, Paris: UNESCO, 2001.

Chimombo, S, *Napolo and other poems*, Zomba, Malawi: WASI Publications, 2009.

Davison, G, *The use and abuse of Australian History*, StLeonards: Allen Unwin, 2000.

Duffield, M and Hewitt, V, eds., *Empire, Development and Colonialism: The Past in the Present*, Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009.

Englund, H, ed., *A democracy of chameleons: Politics and culture in the new Malawi*, Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 2002.

Epstein, A, *Ethos and Identity: Three Studies in Identity*, London: Tavistock, 1978.

Fanon, F, *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove Press, 1968.

- Freeman, R, *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*, Boston: Pitman, 1984.
- Geppert, D and Muller, L.F, eds., *Sites of Memory: Commemorating colonial rule in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.
- Gillis, J.R, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Gilman, L, *The Dance of Politics: Gender, Performance and Democratisation in Malawi*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009.
- Hafstein, V, *Making Intangible Heritage: Elcondor Pasa and other Stories from UNESCO*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018.
- Harrison, R, and Hughes, L, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage: Global Heritage Perspective*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.
- Herwitz, D, *Heritage, Culture and Politics in the Post Colony*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Hylland, E.T, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, London: Pluto Press, 1993.
- Jeal, T, *Livingstone*, Yale: William Heinemann Ltd, 1973.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998.
- Mamdani, M, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Littler, J and Naidoo, R, *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race,'* Abingdon: Routledge, 2005.
- Lwanda, J, *Kamuzu Banda of Malawi: A Study in Promise, Power and Paralysis*, Glasgow: Dudu Nsomba Publications, 1993.
- Mapanje, J, *Beasts of Nalunga*, Northumberland: Bloodaxe Books, 2007.
- Marschall, S, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-apartheid South Africa*, Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- McCracken, J, *A History of Malawi, 1859-1966*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2012.

- McCracken, J, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi: The Impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Prince*, Second edition, Zomba: Kachere Series, 2008.
- Mpasu, S, *Political Prisoner 3/75 of Dr H. Kamuzu Banda of Malawi*, Balaka: APG, 1995.
- Muluzi, B, *Mau Anga: The Voice of the Democrat- Past, Present and Future*, London: Skotaville Media, 2002.
- Murray, M, *Commemorating and Forgetting Challenges for the New South Africa*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.
- Mutesa, E, *The Desecration of My Kingdom*, London: Costable, 1967.
- Mutibwa, P, *The Buganda Factor in Uganda Politics*, Kampala: Fountain, 2008.
- Pachai, B, ed., *The Early History of Malawi*, London: The Barleyman Press, 1972.
- Power, J, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi: Building Kwacha*, Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2010.
- Phiri, D.D, *History of Malawi Volume 2*, Blantyre: CLAIM, 2004.
- Read, M, *The Ngoni of Nyasaland*, London: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Ross, A, *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire*, London: Hambledon and London, 2002.
- Ross, K, *Together in the Talking Places since 1859*, Mzuzu; Mzuni Press, 2013.
- Rotberg, R, *The rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Savage, K, *Monuments Wars: Washington DC., the National Mall and the transformation of the memorial landscape*, Berkley and Los Angeles California: California University Press, 2003.
- Schoffeleers, M, *In Search for Truth and Justice; Confrontations between Church and State in Malawi, 1960-1994*, Blantyre: CLAIM, 1999.
- Short, P, *Banda*, London: Routledge and Keagan Paul Ltd, 1974.
- Smith, L, *Uses of Heritage*, New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Smith, L and Akagawa, N, eds., *Intangible Heritage*, Abington: Routledge, 2009.
- St-Arneault, S, *KuNgoni when water falls sand becomes crystal: A Guide to Mua and the KuNgoni Centre of Culture and Art Malawi*, Mua: KuNgoni Center of Culture and Art, 2007.

Tilley, H, ed., *Ordering Africa: Anthropology, European Imperialism and the Politics of Knowledge*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.

Tunbridge, J. E and Ashworth, G. J, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Belhaven: John Wiley and Sons, 1996.

Waelde, C, et al, eds., *Research Handbook on Contemporary Intangible Cultural Heritage: Law and Heritage*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2018.

West, P. A and Ross, K, *Scotland Malawi Partnership Strategic Plan, 2000-11*, Edinburgh: Scotland Malawi Partnership, 2008.

Witz, L, *Apartheid's Festival Contesting South Africa's National Pasts*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.

Witz, L, Minkley, G, and Rassool, C, *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017.

Worden, S, ed., *David Livingstone: Man, Myth and Legacy*, Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises Limited, 2012.

(b) Book Chapters

Biccum, A, 'Theorising continuities between Empire and Development: Towards a New Theory of History,' in Duffield, M and Hewitt, V, eds., *Empire, Development and Colonialism: The Past in the Present*, Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009.

Blake, J, 'UNESCO's 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage; The implications of community involvement in 'safeguarding,' in Smith, L and Akagawa, N, eds., *Intangible Heritage*, Abington: Routledge, 2009.

Cesaire, A, 'From Discourse on Colonialism,' in Williams, P and Chrism, L, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, Harlow: Longman, 1994.

Chirwa, W. C, 'Democracy, Ethnicity, and Regionalism: The Malawian Experience, 1992-1996,' in Phiri, K.M and Ross, K.R, eds., *Democratisation in Malawi: A stocktaking*, Zomba: Kachere Series, 1998.

Chipangura, N and Chiripanhura, P, 'Reconfiguring the *Jindwi* traditional drums in a post-colonial Mutare Museum setting,' in Nhemachena, A, et al, eds., *Decolonisation of Materialities or Materialisation of (Re-) Colonisation? Symbolism, Languages, Ecocriticism and (Non) Representationalisation in 21st Century Africa*, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, 2017.

Coombes, A.E, 'Museums and the Foundation of National and Cultural Identities,' in Carbonel, B.M, ed., *Museum Studies: An anthology of Contexts*, Malden/Oxford/Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004.

Depelchin, J, 'Economics and World Bank reports as silencing Narratives,' in Depelchin, J, ed., *Silences in African History: Between the Syndromes of Discovery and Abolition*, Dar Es Salaam: Mkuki Wa Nyota, 2006.

Foucault, M, 'Governmentality,' in Burchell, G, Gordon, C, Miller, P, eds., *The Foucault Effect*, London: Wheatsheaf Harvester, 1991.

Gavua, K, 'Monuments and Negotiation of Power in Ghana,' in Petersen, D, Gavua, K and Rassool, C, eds., *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures*, Johannesburg: Academic Press, 2015.

Gilman, L, 'Demonic or Cultural Treasure? Local Perspectives on Vimbuza, Intangible Cultural Heritage, and UNESCO in Malawi,' in Foster, M and Gilman, L, eds., *UNESCO on the Ground*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015.

Greene, S, 'In the Mix: Women and Ethnicity among the Anlo-Ewe,' in Lenz, C and Nugent, P, eds., *Ethnicity in Ghana: The Limits of Invention*, London: McMillan, 2001.

Hafstein, V, 'Making Festivals,' in Hafstein, V, *Making Intangible Heritage: El condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018.

Hafstein, V, 'Making Lists: The Dance Band in the Hospital,' in Hafstein, V, *Making Intangible Heritage: El condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018.

Harries, P, 'Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity among the Tsonga Speakers of South Africa,' in Vail, L, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1989.

Hobsbawm, E, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions,' in Hobsbawm, E and Ranger, T, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: CUP, 1983.

Kamwendo, G, 'Ethnic Revival and Cultural Associations in the New Malawi: The Case of Chitumbuka,' in H. Englund, ed., *A Democracy of Chameleons*, Blantyre: CLAIM, 2001.

Kayambazinthu, E, 'Language Planning Situation in Malawi,' in Baldauf, R. and Kaplan, R, eds., *Language Planning and Policy in Malawi Vol.1: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa*, Clevedon: Cromwell Press, 2004.

Karp, I and Kratz, C, 'Reflections in the Fate of Tippos's Tiger: Defining Cultures through Public Display,' in Hallam, E and Street, B, eds., *Cultural Encounters: Communicating Otherness*, London: Routledge, 2000.

Karp, I and Kratz, C, 'Interrogative Museum,' in Silverman, R, ed., *Museum as a Process: Translating Local and Global Knowledges*, New York: Routledge, 2015.

Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, B, 'World heritage and cultural economics,' in Karp, I, Kratz, C.A, Szwaja, L, Ybarra-Frausto, T, Buntiz, G, Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, B and Rassool, C, eds, *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/ Global Transformations*, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006.

Kishindo, P, 'Politics of Language in Contemporary Malawi,' in Phiri, K.M and Ross, K.R, eds., *Democratisation in Malawi: A Stocktaking*, Zomba: Kachere Series, 1998.

Kreps, C, 'Indigenous curation, museums, and intangible cultural heritage,' in Smith, L and AKagawa, N, eds., *Intangible Heritage*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.

Lwanda, J, 'Memory and Music: Memorialising The Malawi Martyrs,' in Phiri, K, McCracken, J and Mulwafu, W, eds., *Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 Nyasaland State of Emergency and its Legacy*, Zomba: Kachere Series, 2012.

Mapanje, J, 'Afterword. The Orality of Dictatorship: In Defence of My Country,' in Englund, H, ed., *A Democracy and Chameoleans: Politics and Culture in the New Malawi*, Blantyre: Christian Literature Association of Malawi, 2002.

McCracken, J, 'Contours of colonialism,' in McCracken, J, *A History of Malawi, 1859-1966*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2012.

McCracken, J, 'Conquests and of colonialisation,' in McCracken, J, *A History of Malawi, 1859-1966*, Woodbridge: Boydell& Brewer Ltd, 2012.

McCracken, J, 'Missionaries and Nationalists: Scotland and the 1959 State of Emergency in Malawi,' in Adogame, A. and Lawrence, A, eds., *Africa in Scotland, Scotland in Africa: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Hybridities*, Leiden /Boston: Brill, 2014.

Minkley, G and Mnyaka, P, 'Seeing Beyond the Official and the Vernacular: The Duncan Village Massacre Memorial and the Politics of Heritage in South Africa,' in Petersen, D, Gavua, K and, Rassool, C, eds., *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures*, Johannesburg:Academic Press, 2015.

Minkley, G, Witz, L and Rassool, C, 'Heritage and the Post Anti-apartheid', in Witz, L, Minkley, G and Rassool, C, *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017.

Mufuzi, F, 'The Livingstone Museum and the memorialisation of David Livingstone in Colonial and Post-colonial Zambia, 1934-2005,' in Worden, S, ed., *David Livingstone: Man, Myth and Legacy*, Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises Limited, 2012.

Newitt, M, 'Kinship, Religion, Language and Political Control: Ethnic Identity Among the Peoples of the Zambezi Valley,' in Keese, A, ed., *Ethnicity and the Long-term Perspective*, Bern: International Academic Publishers, 2010.

Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, S, 'For the Nation to Live the Tribe Must Die': The Politics of Ndebele Identity and Belonging in Zimbabwe,' in Zewde, B, ed., *Society State and Identity in African History*, Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies, 1998.

Ngongo, L.D, 'The Mfecane and the rise of new Africa States,' in Ade Ajayi, J.F, ed., *Africa in the Nineteenth Century until 1880s: General History of Africa, VI*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Nkhoma, B, 'The Politics of the 1959 State of Emergency.' in Phiri, K, McCracken, J and Mulwafu, W, eds., *Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 State of Emergency and its Legacy*, Zomba: Kachere Series, 2012.

Nuggent, P, 'Invasion of Acronyms: SAPS, AIDS and the NGO Take Over,' in Depelchin, J, ed., *Africa Since Independence: A Comparative History*, New: York Palgrave and McMillan, 2004.

Ott, M, 'KuNgoni Art Craft Center: History, Persons, Works,' in Ott, M, *African Theology in Images*, Blantyre: CLAIM, 2000.

Petersen, D, 'Heritage Management in colonial and contemporary Africa,' in Petersen, D, Gavua, K and, Rassool, C, eds., *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures*, Johannesburg: AcademicPress: 2015.

Phiri, K.M, 'Dr Banda's Cultural Legacy and its Implications in Malawi,' in Phiri, K.M, Ross, K.R, eds., *Democratisation in Malawi: A stocktaking*, Zomba: Kachere Series, 1998.

Ranger, T, 'Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe,' in Vail, L, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1989.

Rassol, C and Witz, L, 'The 1952 van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa,' in Witz, L, Minkley, G, and Rassool, C, *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017.

Ross, K, ‘A Very Definite Radicalism’: The Early Development of the Scotland- Malawi Partnership, 2004-2009’, in Adogame, A and Lawrence, A, eds., *Africa in Scotland, Scotland in Africa: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Hybridities*, Leiden /Boston: Brill, 2014.

Short, P, ‘The Making of Malawi,’ in Short, P, *Banda*, London: Routledge and Keagan Paul Ltd, 1974).

Stuart, J, ‘David Livingstone, British Protestant, missions, memory and Empire,’ in Geppert, D and Muller, L. F, eds., *Sites of Memory: Commemorating colonial rule in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.

Vail, L and White, L, ‘Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi,’ in Vail, L, eds., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1989.

Werbner, R, ‘Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun,’ in Werbner, R, ed., *Memory and the Post colony*, London: Zed, 1998.

Witz, L and Murray, N, ‘Fences, Signs and Property: Heritage, Development, and the Making of Location in Lwandle,’ in Petersen, D, Gavua, K and Rassool, C, eds., *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, History and Infrastructures*, Johannesburg: Academic Press, 2015.

Wright, J, ‘Reflections on the Politics of Being ‘Zulu,’ in Carton, B, Laband, J and Sithole, J, eds., *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, KwaZulu Natal: University of KwaZulu Natal Press, 2008.

Zerubavel, Y, ‘The historic, the legendary and the incredible: Invented traditions and collective memory in Israel,’ in Gillis, J.R, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

(c) Journal Articles and Published Reports

Abercrombie, N and Turner, B, ‘The Dominant Ideology Thesis,’ *The British Journal of Sociology*, 29:2, 1978, 149-170.

Baker, C, ‘The Society of Malawi: The first Fifty Years,’ *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 49:3, 1996, 46-48.

Berman, B, ‘Ethnicity Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism,’ *African Affairs*, 97:388, 1998, 305-341.

Chirambo, R, ‘ ‘A Monument to a Tyrant’, or Reconstructed Nationalist Memories of the Father and Founder of the Malawi Nation, Dr H.K Banda,’ *Africa Today*, 56:4, 2010, 2-21.

Chirambo, R, ‘Banda’s Monuments and Narrativisation of Malawi’s History in the Post-Banda Era,’ *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 23:1, 2008, 140 -167.

- Chirambo, R, 'Democracy as a Limiting Factor for Politicised Cultural Populism in Malawi,' *Africa Spectrum*, 44:2, 2009, 77–94.
- Chirambo, R, 'Protesting Politics of "Death and Darkness" in Malawi,' *Journal of Folklore Research*, 38:3, 2001, 205-227.
- Chirambo, R, 'The Sinking Cenotaph': Jack Mapanje's and Steven Chimombo's Contestation of Monumentalised Nationalist Public Memories of Malawi's President Banda,' *Social Dynamics*, 36:3, 2010, 547-564.
- Chirwa, W, 'Dancing Towards Dictatorship: Political Songs and Popular Culture in Malawi,' *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 10:1, 2001, 1-27.
- Chorowicz, J, 'The East African Rift System,' *Journal of African Earth Sciences*, 45:1-3, 2005, 379-410.
- Clance, A, 'Scotland in Kolkata: Transnational heritage, cultural diplomacy and city image,' *Historic Environment*, 26:3, 2004, 85-97.
- Clark, J. D and Haynes, C, etal, 'An Elephant Butchery Site at Mwanganda's Village, Karonga, Malawi, and Its Relevance for Palaeolithic Archaeology,' *World Archaeology*, 1:3, 1970, 390-411.
- Cobbing, J, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo,' *The Journal of African History*, 29:3, 1998, 487-519.
- Crespi-Vallbona, M and Richards, G, 'The Meaning of Cultural Festivals,' *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13:1, 2007, 103-122.
- Crooke, E, 'The politics of community heritage: motivations, authority and control,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16:1-2, 2010, 16-29.
- Donge, J.K, 'The Mwanza Trial as a Search for a Usable Malawian Political Past,' *African Affairs*, 97:386, 1998, 91-118.
- Fevre, C, 'Scottish Exceptionalism?' Trade Unions and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1976–1994,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 45:3, 2019, 525-542.
- Flint, L, 'Contradictions and Challenges in representing the past: The Kuwomboka festival of Western Zambia,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21:49, 2006, 701-717.
- Gaby, C. 'The Radical and Reactionary Politics of Malawi's Hastings Banda: Roots, Fruits and Legacy,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43: 6, 2017, 1119-1135.

Gilman, L, 'The Tradionalisation of Women's Dancing, Hegemony and Politics in Malawi,' *Journal of Folklore Research*, 41:1, 2004, 33-60.

Gondwe, M. M, 'The Mzuzu Museum is Now open to Visitors,' *Ndiwula. The annual newsletter of the Museums of Malawi*,4, 1991, 1-32.

Hamilton, C and Wright, J, 'The Making of the Amalala: Ethnicity, Ideology and Relations of Subordination in Pre-colonial Context,' *South African Historical Journal*, 22:1, 1990, 3-23.

Hall, S, 'Un-Settling 'the Heritage,' Re-Imagining the Post-Nation: Whose Heritage?' *Third Text*, 13:49, 1999, 3-13.

Harries, P, 'The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of Language Construction in South -East Africa,' *African Affairs*, 87:346, 1988, 25-5.

Hayes, G, 'The Museums of Malawi,' *Society of Malawi Journal*, 20:1, 1967, 49-57.

Hess, J, 'Exhibiting Ghana: Display, Documentary and 'National' Art in the Nkrumah era.' *African Studies Review*,44:1, 2001, 59-77.

Jones, M, Sèbe, B, Strachan, B, Taithe, J and Yeandle, P, 'Decolonising Imperial Heroes: Britain and France,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42:5, 2014, 787-825.

Kamwendo, G, 'Language, Identity and Politics of Recognition in Post-Band Northern Malawi,' *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 31:1-2, 2005, 40-69.

Kalinga, O, 'The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnstone, The Influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party,' *African Affairs*, 97:389, 1998, 523-549.

Kaspin, D, 'Tribes, Regions and Nationalism in Democratic Malawi,' *Ethnicity and Group Rights*,39, 1997, 464-503.

Kirshenblat-Gimblett, B, 'Intangible heritage as metacultural production,' *Museum*, 56:1-2, 2004, 52-65.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B, 'Theorizing Heritage,' *Ethnomusicology*,39:3,1995,367-380.

Kishindo, P, 'Flogging a Dead Cow?': The Revival of Malawian Chingoni,' *Nordic Journal of African Studies*,11:2, 2002, 206-223.

Konare, A, 'Towards a new Type of Ethnographic Museum in Africa,' in 'Key Ideas in Museums and Heritage (1949-2004),' *Museum International*, 261-264, 2015, 1-184.

- Lewis, J.E, 'Empires of Sentiment; Intimacies from Death: David Livingstone and African Slavery at the Heart of the Nation', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43:2, 2015, 210-237.
- Levine, M. P, 'Mediated Memories, The Politics of the Past,' *Journal of the Theoretical Humanities*, 11:2, 2006, 117-136.
- Lipenga, K, Jnr, 'Tales of Political Monuments in Malawi:Re-storying National History,' *Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies*, 5:2, 2009, 109-127.
- Mackenzie, J, 'David Livingstone – Prophet or Patron Saint of Imperialism in Africa: Myths and Misconceptions,' *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 129:3-4, 2013, 277-291.
- McCracken, J, 'The Ambiguities of Nationalism: Flax Musopole and the Northern Factor in Malawian Politics,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23:1, 2002, 67-87.
- McGregor, J and Schumaker, L, 'Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and marketing public culture and history,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32:4, 2006, 649-665.
- Mgomezulu, G, 'Malawi Archeology Revisited,' *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 32:2, 1979, 10-23.
- Minkley, G, 'A fragile inheritor': The post-apartheid memorial complex, A.C. Jordan and the re-imagining of cultural heritage in the Eastern Cape,' *KRONOS: Southern African histories*, 34, 2008, 16-40.
- Mitchel et al, R, 'Toward a Theory of Stakeholder Identification and Salience: Defining the Principle of Who and What Really Counts,' *The Academy of Management Review*, 22: 4, 1997, 853-886.
- Mkandawire, B, 'Ethnicity, Language and Cultural Violence,' *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 63:1, 2010, 23-42.
- Moodley, K and Adam, H, 'Race and Nation in Post- Apartheid South Africa,' *Current Sociology*, 48:3, 2000, 51-69.
- Mtenje, A.D and Soko, B, 'Oral traditions among the northern Malawi Ngoni,' *Journal of Humanities*, 12, 1998, 1-18.
- Mufuzi, F, 'The Livingstone Museum and its role in postcolonial Zambia, 1964-2006,' *Historia*, 57:1, 2012, 127-140.
- Muller, S, 'The Cultural and Museum Centre Karonga,' *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 58:1, 2005, 1-5.

- Nagel, J, 'Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture,' *Social Problems*, 41:1, 1994, 152–176.
- Newlands, D, 'Museums of the future and the future of the Museums of Malawi,' *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 37:2, 1984, 39-44.
- Nhlane, M, 'Museums of Malawi Participates in the Malawi Exhibition in the Malawi Exhibition at The David Livingstone Centre in Scotland,' *Ndiwula. The Annual newsletter of the Museums of Malawi*, 3, 1990, 27-29.
- Omer-Cooper, J.D, 'Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19:2, 1993, 273-294.
- Oppenheimer, H, 'UNESCO 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage: Practical Implications for heritage Management approaches in Africa,' *South Africa archeological Bulletin*, 61:184, 2006, 166-171.
- Osei-Hwedie, B, 'The Role of Ethnicity in Multi-Party Politics in Malawi and Zambia,' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 16:2, 1998, 227-247.
- Perkin, C, 'Beyond the rhetoric: negotiating the politics and realising the potential of community-driven heritage engagement,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16:1-2, 2010, 107-122.
- Petrusic, C, 'Violence as Masculinity: David Livingstone's Radical Racial Politics in the Cape Colony and the Transvaal, 1845–1852,' *The International History Review*, 26:1, 2004, 20-55.
- Phiri, D.D, 'Some Notes on the Ngoni Clans of Malawi and Ngoni Celebrations at Mabili of September 2002,' *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 55:2, 2002, 65-71.
- Rassool, C, 'The Rise of heritage and reconstitution of history in South Africa,' *KRONOS, Journal of Cape History*, 26, 2000, 1-21.
- Read, M, 'Tradition and Prestige Among the Ngoni,' *Africa*, 9, 1936, 435-484.
- Smith, L, 'Intangible Heritage: A challenge to the authorized heritage discourse?' *Revista d'Etnologia de Catalunya*, 40, 2015, 133-141.
- Ross, K, 'Malawi's Peaceful Revolution 1992-94: The Role of the Church of Scotland,' *Scottish Church History Society Records*, 27, 1997, 280-304.
- Rootes, C. A, 'The Dominant Ideology Thesis and Its Critics,' *Sociology*, 15:3, 1981, 437-444.
- Rotberg, R, 'The 'Partnership' Hoax: How the British Government Deprived Central Africans of their Rights,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 45:1, 2009, 89-110.

Sembereka, G, 'Ethnography Collections during Second visit to Mvumba in Mangochi,' *Ndiwula. The annual newsletter of the Museums of Malawi*, 3, 1990, 1-32.

Smith, L, 'Editorial,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 18:6, 2012, 533-540.

Thompson, J.C, Gomani- Chindebvu, E, et al, 'Renewed investigations into the Middle Stone Age of northern Malawi,' *Quaternary International*, 270, 2012, 129-139.

Waterton, E and Smith, L, 'The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16:1-2, 2010, 4-15.

Winder, Ian and King, G, et al, 'Complex topography and human evolution. The missing link,' *Antiquity*, 87:5, 2013, 333-349.

Winter, T, 'Heritage diplomacy,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21:10, 2015, 997-1015.

Witz, L and Rassool, C, 'Making histories,' *KRONOS: Southern African histories*, 34, 2008, 6-15.

Wolf, P, 'Settler Colonialism and the elimination of the native,' *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8:4, 2006, 387-409.

Worden, S and Swinney, G. N, 'Exhibiting Livingstone: A Life and Legacy on Display,' *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 129:3-4, 2013, 258-276.

Zee, W, 'Democratic Constitution and Ethnic Organisations in Malawi; Preserving Good Culture or Promoting Regionalism, Nepotism or Tribalism,' *Historical Research*, 5:3, 2015, 169-187.

(d) Newspaper Articles

'Army will stage a battle scene,' *The Times*, 26 June 1967.

'Banda, it's your show' – Ngwazi, *The Times*, 7 July 1967.

'Bingu Discourages UDF slogans at State Functions,' *The Nation*, 31 August 2004.

'Bingu hits at Muhlakho Critics,' *The Daily Times*, 26 October 2009.

'Bingu is Right on Kamuzu,' *The Nation*, 8 October 2004.

'Bingu Resigns From UDF,' *The Nation*, 9 February 2005.

'Bingu Restates Case on Kamuzu,' *The Nation*, 7 October 2004.

‘Celebration or Mourning Time,’ *The Nation*, Martyrs Day Supplement, 2 March, 2004.

Chirwa, C, ‘NkhataBay Martyrs Given a Double Honour,’ *The Nation*, Martyrs Day Supplement, 2 March 1999.

‘Dr Banda greets people,’ *The Times*, 16 May, 1967.

‘Government officials clash over feast,’ *The Nation*, 8 July 2004.

Jimu, J, ‘Spoils of Chilembwe Uprising’, *The Nation*, Chilembwe day Supplement, 14 January 2005.

Jimu, J, ‘Chilembwe’s folks cry for recognition,’ *The Nation*, Chilembwe Day Supplement, 14 January 2005.

‘Kamuzu’s Day Back,’ *The Nation*, 2 March 2007.

‘Kamuzu Day celebrations are well organized,’ *The Times*, 11 May 1967.

‘Kamuzu Day holiday in May,’ *The Times*, 3 April 1967.

‘Kamuzu Day: JZU, Muluzi both absent,’ *Daily Times*, 15 May 2009.

‘Kamuzu Day to be celebrated by all districts,’ *The Times*, 24 April 1967.

‘Kamuzu deserves the honour,’ *The Daily Times*, 6 October, 2004.

‘Kamuzu family rejects viewing of his body,’ *The Nation*, 13 February 2006.

‘Kamuzu and Kamuzu Day,’ *The Nation*, 30 May 2007.

‘Kamuzu’s Mausoleum not priority now,’ *The Nation*, 6 April 2005.

‘Kamuzu’s Mausoleum now in 2004/5 Budget,’ *The Nation*, 1 September 2004.

‘Kamuzu’s Mausoleum gets world reaction,’ *The Nation*, 16 May 2005.

‘Kamuzu Mausoleum Unveiled,’ *The Daily Times*, 15 May, 2006.

Kayuni, H, ‘Martyrs Do they Matter?’ *The Nation*, Martyrs Day Supplement, 3 March, 2006.

Langa, J, ‘Independent But Corrupt- Lessons From 40 years,’ *The Nation*, 5 July 2005.

‘Lawyers Decide on UDF’S Future,’ *The Nation*, 9 February 2005.

- Lusaka, M, 'The 1964 'Cabinet Crisis': A Note to Honourable Ministers', *The Nation*, Independence Day Supplement, 6 July, 2017.
- 'Malawians welcome Kamuzu Mausoleum,' *The DailyTimes*, 14 May 14 2006.
- 'Many Prisoners to be released 'but no tricks.' President warns, *The Times*, 8 May 1967.
- 'Martyrs's Day Church Service in Dedza,' *Daily Times*, 5 March 1974.
- 'Martyrs, Chilembwe Day Sparkle Debate,' *The Nation*, Martyrs Day Supplement, 2 March, 2005.
- Masingati, I, 'The Same Yet Different,' *The Nation*, Martyrs Day Supplement, 2 March 2000.
- 'Moslems Pray for Malawi Martyrs,' *Daily Times*, 4 March, 1974.
- Mpaka, C, 'David Livingstone, the Livingstone,' in *Sunday Times*, Supplement celebrating the Life and Work of David Livingstone, 7 April 2009.
- 'Ngwazi Leads Nation in Prayers for Martyrs,' *TheDaily Times*, 4 March, 1974.
- Nhlane, S, 'Unsung Martyrs,' *The Nation*, Martyrs Day Supplement, 2 March 2000.
- Nkolokosa, M, 'Kamuzu Lives on,' *The Nation*, 9 May 2007.
- Nkhoma, B, 'Gains, Illusions of Independence'- 41 Republic day', *The Nation*, Independence Day Supplement, 6 July 2005.
- 'Of Mulhako, tribalism and nationalism,' *The Daily Times*, October 29 2009.
- 'One President at a time- Bingu', *The Nation*, 19 October 2004.
- Phiri, D.D, (Interview with Bryson Nkhoma, Historian at Mzuzu University) 'Gains illusions of our freedom,' *The Nation*, Freedom Day Supplement, 14June, 2007.
- Phiri, D.D, 'In search of Freedom,' *The Nation*, Freedom Day Supplement, 14 June 2007.
- 'P.M deposes chief Nsomba,' *The Times*, 5 March, 1965.
- 'President –Designate to Open Museum,' *Malawi News*, Tuesday, June 14 1966.
- 'President leads nation in homage to the Martyrs,' *The Daily Times*, March 1970.
- 'Their blood was not shed in vain,' *Daily Times*, 4th March, 1974.
- 'UDF wanted to Erase Kamuzu's Name- Bingu' *The Nation* 2006 15 May.

'14 June Freedom Day,' *The Nation*, 11 June 2004.

2. UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

(a) Unpublished Papers

Abungu, G, 'Heritage, Community and the State in the 90s: Experiences from Africa', Paper Presented at 'The Future of the Past' Conference. UWC, 10-12 July 1996.

Berman, B, 'Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa,' in *Ethnic Diversity and Economic Instability in Africa: Policies for Harmonious Development*, Jica –RI Working Paper.22, 2010.

Kumwenda, M. 'Illicit Traffic of Cultural Property in Malawi: Problems and Prospects,' Paper presented at the seminar on illicit traffic of cultural property: Arusha, Tanzania, 28-29 September 1993.

Rassool, C, Seminar paper on 'the politics of non-racialism in South Africa'. Center for Humanities Research, University of the Western Cape, 2018.

Stipriaan, A, 'Social discourse: Interaction between museum and society in D. Dartel, ed., 'Tropenmuseum for a Change! Present between past and future. A symposium report', *Tropenmuseum*, Bulletin 391, 2009.

Witz, L, 'Making Museums as heritage in post-apartheid South Africa', paper presented at the Inaugural Conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies: Re/theorising heritage, University of Gothenburg, 5-8 June 2012.

(b) Dissertations and Theses

Akuupa, M, 'The formation of "National Culture" in Post- Apartheid Namibia; A focus on State sponsored Festivals in Akavango region,' PhD Dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2015.

Chirambo, R, 'Culture, Hegemony, and Dictatorship: Song, Dance, and Politics in Malawi, 1964–1994,' PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2005.

Chiumya, C.C, 'Historical amnesia: A study into the causes of the disconnection between communities and their rock art sites at Chongoni rock art World Heritage Site,' MA Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012.

Dondolo, L, 'The Construction of Public History and Tourist Destinations in Cape Town's Townships: A study of Routes, Sites and Heritage,' Masters Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2002.

Livingstone, J, 'Livingstone's Lives: A Metabiography of Victorian Icon,' PhD Dissertaion, University of Edinburgh, 2011.

Magadzike, B, 'An investigation of Zimbabwe's Contemporary Heritage Practices of Memorialising War: A Case Study of the Heroes' Acres in Matebeleland South Province,' Masters Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2011.

Malijani, O, Bruku, S. and Sofianopoulos, G, 'Management Plan for Slave Trade Heritage and Dr David Livingstone Trail in Malawi,' Dissertation Assignment in MA Heritage Management, Athens University of Economics and Business, 2014.

Mthotha, C, 'The Cox Collection, Museums of Malawi and Politics of Repatriation,' MA Thesis, University of Western Cape, 2016.

Mufuzi, F, 'The Livingstone Museum and Contribution to Zambian History, 1934-2006', PhD Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2010.

Mweso, C, 'Legacy of One Party Dictatorship: Collective Memory and Contestation in Malawi, 1964-2004,' Masters Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2014.

Sambumbu, S, 'Making heritage in post-apartheid South Africa: Agencies, museums and sites,' PhD Dissertation, University of Western Cape, 2017.

Simakole, B. M, 'Political Auto/biography, Nationalist History and National Heritage: The case of Kenneth Kaunda and Zambia,' Master's Thesis, University of Western Cape, 2012.

Tangri, R, 'The Development of Modern African Politics and the Emergence of Nationalists African Movements in Colonial Malawi, 1891-1958,' PhD Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1970.

3. INSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Antiquities of Malawi, Arts and Crafts Act 1990.

Antiquities of Malawi, Clark, J.D. 'Antiquities Malawi UNESCO Programme,' (UNESCO, 1968).

Antiquities of Malawi, Kayuni, S, 'Prosperity, Unrest and Frustration: A historical study of Karonga and the Khonde People (Political, Economic, Cultural and Social Aspects) Cultural and Museum Center Karonga (Malawi),' Research Publication, 2001.

Antiquities of Malawi, 'Karonga Museum Meeting at Safari Lodge Friday 6th August 1999' in 'Cultural and Museum Centre Karonga: Local Requests and Commitment documents,' 1999. Antiquities Library, Lilongwe.

Antiquities of Malawi, List of Gazzeted and UnGazzeted National Monuments of Malawi.

Antiquities of Malawi, Ministry of Sports and Culture. 'Management of Selected Cultural Sites Through Public Private Partnership,' 2015.

Antiquities of Malawi, Monuments and Relics Act 1991.

Blantyre Mission, 'The Life work and impact of Dr David Livingstone: A celebration of 150 years of three Cs: Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation,' (Blantyre: Blantyre Mission, 2009).

Cultural and Museum Center Karonga, 'Memorandum of Understanding Between Government of Malawi and Uraha Foundation (Malawi) Concerning Cooperation in the Implementation Phase of Karonga Cultural and Museum Centre,' 2004.

Cultural and Museum Center Karonga, Simfukwe, H. 'Together Dinosaurs March their Way To Extinction', *The Eye*, December 2013- 2014.

Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, 'Inventorying Intangible Heritage' *Information Magazine* No.2 (2007).

Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, 'Project Document on Promotion, Transmission and Protection of Gule Wamkulu (The Great Dance of Chewa People).'

Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Malawi- Scotland Partnership, 'Report of the Conference 'Malawi After Gleneagles: A Commission for Africa Case-Study.'

Malawi-Scotland Partnership, The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 4-5 November 2005.

Museums of Malawi, Documentation and Data base for Cultural history objects at Top Mandala, Museums of Malawi Headquarters, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Documentation and Data base for Natural history objects at Top Mandala, Museums of Malawi Headquarters, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Ethnography. 'Artefacts for Display.Mzuzu Museum.'

Museums of Malawi, 'Ethnography Artefacts for Mzuzu Museum.'

Museums of Malawi, 'Exhibition at The David Livingstone Memorial Centre, Blantyre, Scotland,' 29th August 1989.

Museums of Malawi. 'Exhibition at The David Livingstone Memorial Centre, Blantyre, Scotland: Request for Extension,' 8th August 1990.

Museums of Malawi, Exhibition- 'Report on the Vimbuza Exhibition at Mzuzu Museum/Museums of Malawi/ Intangible heritage/170/44.'

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. Implementing The UNESCO 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention at National Level: Training and Capacity- Building materials for five day Workshop. Workshop Manual.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Letter of Confirmation,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Malawi National Commission for UNESCO: A Project Proposal Submitted to UNESCO Harare Cluster office under the regular programme for 2006-2007 Biennium,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Project on Community Based Inventory on Intangible Cultural Heritage in Malawi,' 15th March 2010, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Project Proposal; Development of National Inventory on Intangible cultural heritage of Malawi,' 12th March, 2007, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Receipt of Nomination File on Tchopa Dance Submitted to UNESCO for Possible Inscription on UNESCO' Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity,' 27 June 2013, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Remarks by Dr T.P Ndlovu, Acting Secretary General for the Zimbabwe National Commission for UNESCO to Welcome Participants of the Cluster Training Workshop on Preparing Nominations for The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: 11 June 2012, Crown Plaza Hotel,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Report on the Safeguarding of Vimbuza Healing Dance Project,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Report on UNESCO SUB-Regional meeting held in Dares Salaam,' 6th December 2006, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Results of An Interview Granted by Dr Muteweti (MUWIRA) of Nkhorongo in the city of Mzuzu During Research on Safeguarding of Vimbuza Healing Dance,' 2007, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Results of An Interview Granted by Dr Sekulu Muwera (Gwaza Mbeya) of Nkhorongo in the city of Mzuzu During Research on Safeguarding of Vimbuza Healing Dance,' 2007, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Report on the Vimbuza Exhibition at Mzuzu Museum,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Representative List ICH-02 Form,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Vimbuza Healing Dance Festival, 26 May 2008, Rumphu Community Ground,' 8 May 2008, Blantyre. Museums of Malawi, Intangible Heritage. 'Workplan for Implementing UNESCO Funded Mulhako Wa Alhomwe Project,' 23 August 2010, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, 'Invitation to positive live exhibition.' 15th - 20th March 2003.

Museums of Malawi, Mazibuko, L.C.J, Magomelo, C.J, Mfuno, G.M, Thole. A.W, 'Inventory of Malawi's Intangible Cultural Heritage. Report submitted to the Malawi National Commission for UNESCO,' Lilongwe, Malawi, 2007.

Museums of Malawi, Mckew, R and Lusaka, M, 'A Tale of Two Collections in Blantyre Malawi', paper presented at The Conference on Archives of Post- Independence Africa and Its Diaspora, Goree Island, Senegal, 20-22 June, 2012, 2012.

Museums of Malawi, Ministry of Information. 'Report on the to David Livingstone Memorial Centre in Blantyre, Scotland,' 7th December, 1989.

Museums of Malawi, 'Minutes of the 1st Preparatory Meeting on the Exhibition at The David Livingstone Memorial Centre, Blantyre, Scotland, Held on the 31st August, 1989 at 2.00 pm in the Conference Room of the Office of the President and Cabinet,' 11th September 1989.

Museums of Malawi, Museums Act 1989.

Museums of Malawi, Museums and Monuments Act, 1986.

Museums of Malawi, National Museums of Scotland and Malawi Museums Documentary on David Livingstone, DVD.

Museums of Malawi, Nomination File No. 00999 for Inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2014.

Museums of Malawi, 'Report on Fifth Umthetho Traditional Festival Held on Saturday, 8 August 2015, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,' Department of Culture, 2015.

Museums of Malawi, 'Report on the 2015 Kulamba Traditional Ceremony,' Department of Culture, 2015.

Museums of Malawi, 'Report on 2009 Mlakhwa Wa Alomwe Cultural Festival Held at Chonde in Mulanje on 26 October 2009,' Museums of Malawi, 2009.

Museums of Malawi, 'Report on 2015 Mlakhwa Wa Alhomwe Cultural Festival Held at Chonde in Mulanje on 17 November,' 2015.

Museums of Malawi, 'Report on Research and Documentation of Lhomwe Culture, 21-23 July, 2012,' 2012.

Museums of Malawi, 'Report on 'Research into Malawi's Traditional Architectural Technologies with Funding From the Royal Norwegian Embassy 2013,' 2013.

Museums of Malawi, 'Report on Second Umthetho Cultural Festival Held on Saturday, 10 August 2009, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba', Department of Culture, 2009.

Museums of Malawi, Report on Third Umthetho Cultural Festival Held on Saturday, 09 August 2010, At Hora Mountain, Mzimba,' Department of Culture, 2010.

Museums of Malawi, 'Request to Extend Time of Exhibition. David Livingstone Centre,' 14th January 1991.

Museums of Malawi, 'Stone Sculpture Exhibition, 1, 23rd February, 1970.'

Museums of Malawi, UNESCO. 'Implementation partnership agreement between The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organization and Department of Culture,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, UNESCO. 'Memorandum to the Honourable Minister: Project on Community Based Inventorying on Grassroots Level in Malawi,' 15th December 2009, Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, UNESCO. 'Project on community-based inventorying on a grassroots level in six selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, UNESCO. 'Report on the capacity building workshop for national coordinators on community-based inventory of intangible cultural heritage project- Maseru Lesotho /16th March 2010,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, UNESCO. 'Report on the safeguarding of the intangible heritage convention meeting on Gule Wamkulu safeguarding project held at UNESCO Library, Lilongwe on the 18th July ,2006,' Blantyre.

Museums of Malawi, Visitors' Comments Book 2010.

4. OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT SPEECHES, STATEMENTS AND DOCUMENTS

Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, Speech by President Arthur Peter Mutharika, Umhlangano Festival 2014.

Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, Speech by President Banda on the eve of Independence in 1964.

Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, Speech by President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Mlahkho Wa Alohmwe Festival 2008.

Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, Speech by President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Mlahkho Wa Alohmwe Festival 2009.

Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, Speech by President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Umthetho Festival 2009.

Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, Speech by President Bingu Wa Mutharika, at 'Dr David Livingstone 1859-2009 Commemoration,' 11 April 2009, Blantyre. DVD- 'Livingstone 150 years.'

Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, 'President Bingu Wa Mutharika, Umthetho Festival 2010.

Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, Speech by President Bingu Wa Mutharika, on 6 July 46th Independence Celebration, Civil Stadium, Lilongwe, 2009.

Malawi National Archives, File number MP-No 449/32, 'Chinyanja as A subject and as Medium of Instruction in Schools for Africans in the Protectorate; Inclusion as a Subject in School Curriculum'

Malawi National Archives, Hansard- Republic of Malawi, National Assembly, Third Meeting: 39th Session, OLDER PAPER, Thursday 22nd February, 2007/NA/TD/01/Malawi National Archives/ Zomba/

Malawi National Archives, Hansard- Report of the Debates of the thirteenth Session: second meeting of parliament/ 28, July 1976/ Mrs Chitalo-Blanture City East //Malawi National Archives/ Zomba/

Malawi National Archives, Hansard- Official Report of the Debates of the Thirteenth Session: First meeting of Parliament 1st day 27th July, 1976 /State of National Address, His Excellency the Life President (Ngwazi DR. H. Kamuzu Banda) /Malawi National Archives/Zomba/

Scottish-Parliament (Scotland-Malawi Partnership), Speech of Alex Salmond on President Joyce Banda - Address to the Scottish Parliament 13 March 2013.

Scottish-Parliament (Scotland-Malawi Partnership), Speech of Jack McConnell in Report of the Conference 'Malawi After Gleneagles: A Commission for Africa Case-Study'. The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 4-5 November 2005.

Scottish-Parliament (Scotland-Malawi Partnership), Speech of Nicola Sturgeon on President Mutharika - Speech to the Scottish Parliament 24 April 2018.

Scottish –Parliament (Scotland- Malawi Partnership), ‘Warm hearts in Africa: 1859-2009. The David Livingstone 150th Anniversary Lecture. Right Hon. Jack McConnell, MSP, 17th September 2009,’ *European and External Affairs Committee*, EUR,3-04-11(2011), Paper 7.

5. INTERVIEWS (ALL CONDUCTED BY THE AUTHOR)

Aaron Maluwa, Chichiri Museum, Blantyre,5 February 2018.

Aaron Khombe, Department of Museums and Monuments, 12 April 2018.

Alex Maulana, Blantyre Mission, 28June 2018.

Bahat Muhango, Cultural Museum Center Karonga, 23 June 2018.

Bahia Banda, Blantyre Mission, 17 July 2018,

Braveson Nkhoma, Lake Malawi Museum, 4th March 2018.

Chasokera Chimwemwe, Lake Malawi Museum, 2 March, 2018.

Chimseu Sayidi, Blantyre, 12 July 2018.

Chifundo Gumbula, Maseko Ngoni Heritage Association, 26 April,2008.

Chikondi Dzodzi Chamare Museum, 21 May2018.

DesmondDuwa Phiri, Blantyre, 8 February 2018.

Dickson Makhumba, Mlakhwa Wa Alhomwe Heritage Association, 28 October, 2017.

Dora Wilmbushire, Society of Malawi, 8 April 2010.

Dyson Gonthi,MBC, June 27 2018.

Elizabeth Gomani Chindebv, Department of Culture, 28 April2018.

Enock December, Department of Culture, 12 July 2018.

James Mwenefumbo, Karonga, 21 June 2018.

John Chilachila, Department of Antiquities, 30 April 2018.

Julio Magomero, Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, May 28 2018.

Father Claude Boucher, KuNgoni Center of Culture and Art and Chamare Museum, 21 May 2018.

Harrison Simfukwe, Cultural Museum Center Karonga, 20 June 2018.

Kayira Godfrey, Cultural Museum Center Karonga ,21 June 2018.

Kenneth Ross, Scotland Malawi Partnership Chair, 12 February 2019.

Lovemore Mazibuko, Department of Museums and Monuments, 28 May 2018.

Malani Chinura, Cultural Museum Center Karonga, Karonga, 21 June 2018.

MbaliAmidu Memorial Pillar/Umodzi Park, 30 April 2018.

Mike Gondwe, Chichiri Museum ,15 June 2010.

Moses Mkumpha, Department of Museums and Monuments, 30 April 2018.

Mwagomba, Uraha Foundation Secretary and Administrator and Cultural Museum Center Karonga, 20 June 2018.

Nyson Banda, Chewa Heritage Foundation, 25 April, 2018.

Nyson Kalimira, Lake Malawi Museum, 15 March 2018.

Sara Samba Department of Museums and Monuments, 30 April 2018.

Robert Kambwembwe, Chichiri Museum, 28 February 2018.

Ruth Banda, Malawi-Scotland Partnership, 15 May 2018, Blantyre.

Upson Ndabazake Thole, Mzimba Heritage Association, 26 June, 2018.

Interview with Steve Nhlane, Editor at National Publications Limited, 5 January 2019, Blantyre

Yohannes Nyirenda, Department of Museums and Monuments,5 February 2018.

6 INTERNET SOURCES

Community based intangible heritage inventorying, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/a-series-of-pilot-projects-in-community-based-intangible-heritage-inventorying-on-a-grassroots-level-in-six-selected-countries-in-sub-saharan-africa-00314>, accessed 12.8.2018.

Conventions-Malawi, <https://en.unesco.org/countries/Malawi/conventions>, accessed, 15.8.2018.

Vimbuza Healing Dance, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/action-plan-for-the-safeguarding-of-the-vimbuza-healing-dance-00043>, accessed 15.8.2018.

Gonapamuhanya Festival, <http://mwnation.com/zambian-delegate-dies-amid-rumphi-fracas/>, accessed 21.8.2018.

Gule Wamkulu, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/safeguarding-of-the-gulu-wamkulu-the-great-dance-of-the-chewa-people-00027>, accessed 15.8.2018.

MuhlakhoWa Alhomwe, <https://www.nyasatimes.com/police-coy-to-arrest-muhlako-wa-alhomwe-operatives-performing-rituals-at-kaliatis-house/>, accessed 12.8.2018.

Scotland-Malawi Partnership, <https://www.scotland-malawipartnership.org/> accessed on 15.3.2018.

Tribal Associations, <https://www.nyasatimes.com/tribal-associations-politics-malawi/>, accessed 15.8.2018.

W.E.B Dubois Speech, 'To the Nations of the World' at Pan-African Conference, Westminster Town Hall, London, 25 July, 1900, <https://face2faceafrica.com/article/read-w-e-b-du-bois-famous-to-the-nations-of-the-world-speech-at-the-1st-firstpan-african-conference-in-1900>. accessed 19.9.2018.

Quota System, <https://www.nyasatimes.com/synod-hits-at-quota-system-malawi-university-selection/>, accessed 13.8.2018.

Quota system, <https://www.nyasatimes.com/education-activist-says-quota-system-discriminatory-to-cdss-students/>, accessed 13.8.2018.



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE