Melissa Chinaka

POST FAST-TRACK LAND REFORM PROGRAM IN ZIMBABWE. SHARING RESPONSIBILITIES IN MANAGING TRELAWNEY HERITAGE SITES.

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

Central European University

Budapest

June 2020

[1] Joseph Pierce, Deborah G Martin, and James T Murphy, "Relational Place-Making: The Networked Politics of Place: Relational Place-Making," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36, no. 1 (January 2011): 54–70, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2010.00411.x.

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by

Melissa Chinaka

(Zimbabwe)

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

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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

Budapest, June 2020

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Signature

Abstract

Valorization and use of less aesthetic, less known, underfunded, and neglected heritage sites lying on the territory of some Trelawney farms in eastern Zimbabwe by contemporary communities (mainly African Initiated Churches-AICs) is not alien to Zimbabwe. Zimbabwean heritage management is western oriented, meaning it places more emphasis on tangible heritage values i.e. conserving and preserving heritage based on UNESCO`s guidelines. That often conflicts with local communities` initiatives with regards to use of archaeological sites and interpretation of heritage values. That is, AICs in Trelawney believe their use of archaeological sites reinforces their connections with their ancestors, who intercede for them in matters of daily life. This thesis presents the conflicting heritage values which are evident between heritage managers and the contemporary uses of heritage sites for spiritual vigils by African Initiated Churches that are often easily viewed as detrimental to the scientific preservation of archaeological sites. To some extent, the deteriorated state of Trelawney heritage sites is an after effect of the Fast Track Land Reform Program on these small and less accessible heritage sites. A lack of heritage awareness programs administered through the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) among the farmers resettled by the Zimbabwean government within various parts of Trelawney area. The Fast Track Land Reform Program planning or implementation process overlooked the inclusion of heritage stakeholders` views and advice. This equally overlooked the effects of socio-economic and political changes. Trelawney farms showcase the discussion about the complex conflicts in world view between various heritage stakeholders, partly impacted by the controversial Fast Track Land Reform Program in 2000. The thesis concludes with the argument that responsibilities in managing Trelawney heritage sites should be shared between the NMMZ and local communities in Trelawney.

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I am extremely grateful to Alice Choyke, my thesis would not have been a success without her nurturing and invaluable insights. I would also like to thank the CEU-CHSP Faculty, Joszef Laszlovszky, Dora Merai, Zsuzsana Reed, Gerhard Jaritz, Volodymyr Kulikov, Timothy McKeown and Agnes Drosztmer for their unwavering support throughout my studies. I also had the great pleasure of working with Eszter Timar and Anne Gagliadi as their helpful guidance in writing skills cannot be overestimated. Special thanks also go to Dr. E. Mtetwa for his instrumental academic advice. I would also like to recognize the assistance of Dr N. Chipangura, Yananiso Maposa, Beaumont Pasipanodya, Dr. T. Mukwende, Dr. H. Marufu, Osward Chanda, Nimrod Ushe, Shelvin and Stanley for extending great assistance to me my classmates have offered much constructive criticism and I very much appreciate them. I also had the pleasure of working with the U.S.A San Antonio National Parks Service team of experts from whom I gained a lot of practical skills. To Fambaoback, Mugabe, Gombera and Stephen and other Sable Valley and Colenso residents, my sincere gratitude for the informative support rendered during this research.

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African Traditional Religion: African Shona indigenous religion/belief systems and rituals practiced in pre-colonial era.[2] In this case, ATR hereafter refers to the Shona religious tradition.

African Initiated Churches: A religious group which is a hybrid of Christianity and African Traditional Religion. In the case of the Trelawney area, the AICs belong strictly to the so-called white-garment churches. In Zimbabwe most of the AICs fall within the movement of Pentecostal churches but the term white garment is often used by Zimbabweans to differentiate between different groups and refers to the white clothing worn during ceremonies.

AFC: Apostolic Faith Church

AFMC: Apostolic Faith Mission Church

Dhaka: Adobe/clay structures or remains

RDC: Rural District Council

MP: Member of Parliament

NMMR: National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia

NMMZ: National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe

[2] Olupona, Jacob. K, 'African Religions: A Very Short Introduction', Oxford University Press, OUP blog, 2014, https://blog.oup.com/2014/05/15-facts-on-african-religions/.

Parastatal:	An organization or industry, especially in some African countries, having some political authority and serving the state indirectly
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organizational
ZANU PF:	Zimbabwe African National Unity Patriotic Front is a ruling political party
ZNA:	Zimbabwe National Army

Introduction

Location of study area:

Trelawney farming area is in Zvimba South District of Mashonaland West province in Zimbabwe. The area to be studied is in the Trelawney area but farms with sites of archaeological interest are called Sable Valley and Colenso farms. These sites include rock art sites and dry-stone wall structures which are, in one rare case, found in association with each other. Site names were given by the researcher who adopted the associated farm names with three of the sites bearing the same names with alphabetical differences. The first site is called the Sable Valley site. It lies 7km in an easterly direction from Trelawney Post Office. The site combines dry stone wall structures and rock paintings; it is located a few meters from a gravel road near the junction to Sable Valley in the direction of Colenso farm. The second site is a rock art site called the Colenso rock art site, located besides a narrow pathway about 800m northeast from Colenso compound 3.

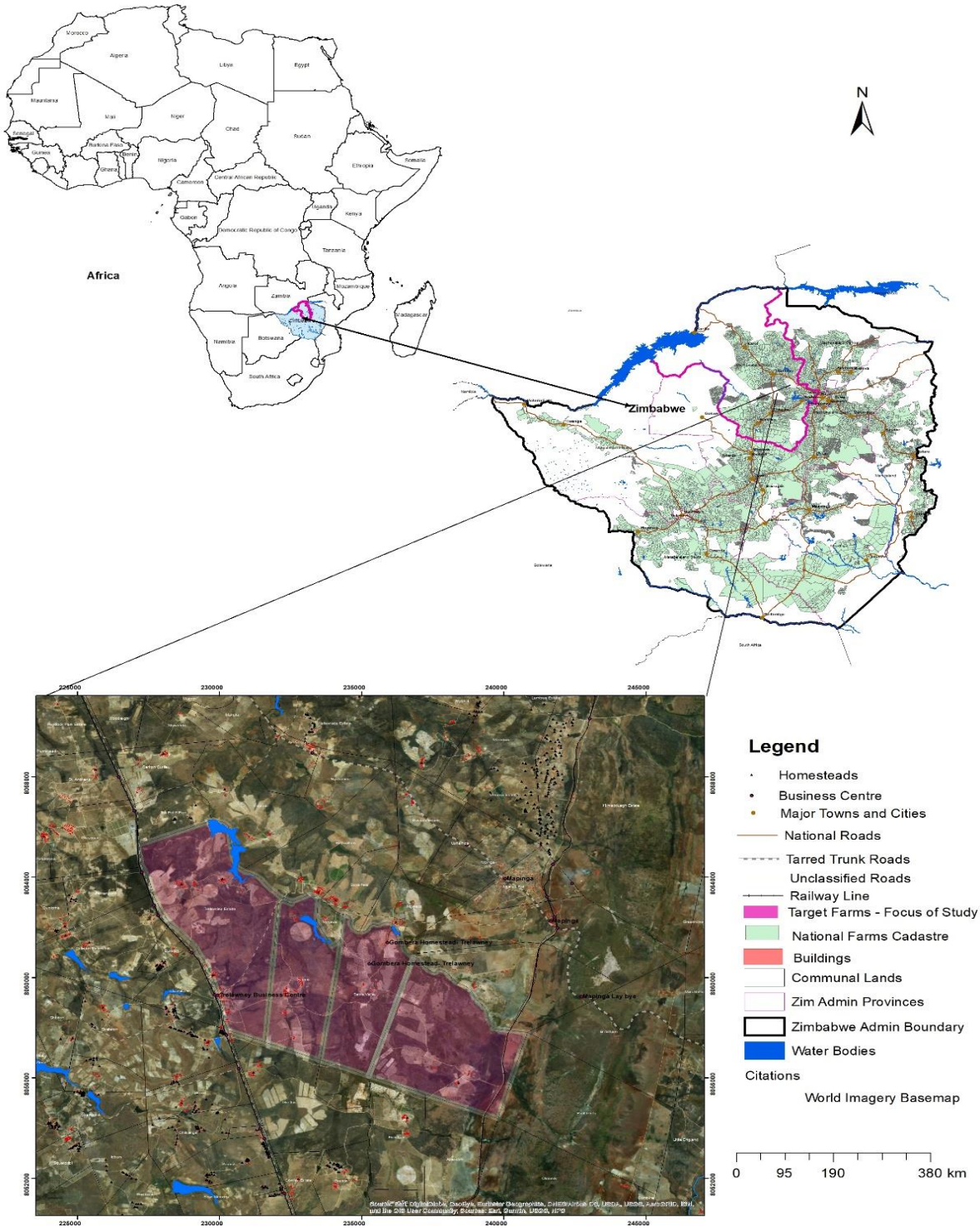


Figure 1 Location of Trelawney Farms. Source: Trymore Muderere

The research I have carried out aims to show how heritage management systems are influenced by the socio-economic and political changes always taking place in different times and places. In Zimbabwe (Trelawney), archaeological heritage sites have been subjected to a series of land ownership changes. The land ownership changes resulted from the British colonial government's disposession of black lands and also from actions by the Zimbabwean government when it redistrubed land back to the black population. The shift in governance from a colonial to the current Zimbabwean system reinforced what was essentially a western heritage management system. Barriers between communities and ancestral land had long been erected while the loophole affected how local and contemporary communities could be included in heritage management . This research will showcase issues arising between heritage and livelihood dynamics as well as the way these issues are influenced by socio-economic and policy processes in Zimbabwe.

Land redistribution in Zimbabwe has opened several monuments once locked up in private and inaccessible land, to risk and damage as new, unfamiliar, and poorly informed[3] communities were created for heritage sites on the redistributed lands. Heritage sites in Trelawney became accessible for use by contemporary communities, mainly members of African Initiated Churches. The land redistribution process did not include room for NMMZ or other heritage professionals to conduct heritage awareness to make the new resettling farmers more conscious about the way they handled heritage sites on their respective lands.[4] Local communities of Trelawney lack heritage awareness that could support their initiatives on heritage sites whereas these communities have the potential

[3] Poorly informed in terms of heritage awareness. No heritage education was given to the re-settler farmers as their inherited workers also were ignorant to heritage management awareness.

[4] From an Interview with a Zimbabwean National Army member who took part in the process of land distribution to black farmers, I was informed of the processes that were carried out. The redistribution process did not involve the National Museums and Monuments at any stage and farmers did not receive any heritage awareness training from the national heritage custodian at any time.

to provide alternative management for least prioritized heritage sites which are deteriorating badly. The threats affecting heritage sites of Trelawney are both natural and unintended. There is, therefore, a need to acknowledge and incorporate value placement of the heritage sites by the communities living on these farms. Current use of heritage sites by AICs for religious gatherings can be viewed as destructive from the standpoint of Zimbabwean heritage management although it could be embraced if viewed as a form of social continuity and simply one more stage in site formation processes.

The research aims to discuss the existing complexities, contradictions and possibilities at the intersection of heritage management and local communities` valorization of the neglected heritage sites of Trelawney, Zimbabwe. I further suggest that the negative impacts of the Fast track Land Reform Program on Trelawney communities could be remedied by allowing local communities (AIC) to connect with their past even they are disconnected from it. My argument for this suggestion is that contemporary communities give new meanings to evolving heritage sites by using them differently, thereby allowing heritage management a chance to revisit the value placements with new perspectives.

The major questions to be articulated in this research include understanding how the Fast Track Land Reform Program of the year 2000 played a role in exposing the archaeological sites in Trelawney farms to human threats and managerial neglect. By attending to this question, the first chapter will be dedicated to presenting the historical background of the Zimbabwe`s controversial land reform program, often known as the Fast Track Land Reform Program.

Local communities of Trelawney Farms have adjusted to the socio-economic changes resulting from the Land Reform Program but there is a need to inquire how they adapted to these altered ceircumstances in terms of new cultural activities and beliefs are concerned. This research question

delves into the ways new social values and cultural perceptions about heritage evolve in response to significant changes that take place in community life in Zimbabwe. A general understanding of how heritage is defined within the Trelawney farms is of paramount importance as this will inform the research how differently heritage is viewed by various local communities versus heritage mangers and polital powers represented by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe.

The outcome of this research will be an Action Plan to foster the initial stages of a process which can help to diversify the way heritage is managed in Zimbabwe. The plan suggests what could be done to save small, less accessible and less aesthetically appealing heritage sites without ignoring their valuable and contemporary use by AICs which has its own intangible heritage value. Surely much can be done to ensure the cooperative heritage management of Trelawney sites if the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe is duly notified about the existence of these sites and the presence of AICs on these places.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with local community groups (stakeholders) from the three farms involved, that is, the Ilsham, Sable Valley and Colenso sites in the Trelawney area. An understanding of the traditional structures of leadership within Zvimba District and the suggestion to approach the Chief for a better informed history of the sacred sites within Zvimba District came from an interview with the Village-Head. The Village-Head`s heritage definition tallied with that of the farmers', reflecting a common heritage perspective amongst these local stakeholder groups. Although the definition of heritage was similar amongst all the groups, including the AIC group members, a contradiction existed in how these sites should be interacted with. For example, farmers and the village-head argued that should be taboo for the AICs to be using the sacred sites as this community they have no connections with ancestral beliefs whilst AICs explained their link with these sites as being connected to communication with ancestors. Interview questions for

the AIC members were slightly different from those given to the general residents of these three farms in that there were extra, specific questions regarding their choice of sites. On the other hand, farmers and the village-head`s questions were again different from the rest of the questions. Another interview with a ZNA member who participated in redistribution of land during the Fast Track Land Reform Program was highly informative in helping me understand whether National Museums and Monuments was consulted or not prior to the Land Reform.

This research was limited by various challenges including lack of sufficient fieldwork time in Zimbabwe and limited funds hence use of archaeological field research tools nearly became impossible. Due to splintered social relations between some of the farmers and the farm workers, most of the interviewees preferred anonymity with only a few consenting to audio recordings and none consenting to photographs. The main reasons behind the desire to remain anonymous may also have been that I am a member of one of the farmers` extended family. It was also unfortunate that by the time I conducted my interviews and discussions, my relative (the farmer) had filed for a police investigation about a stolen consignment of fertilizers. My research was negatively impacted by the death of two high profile government officials i.e. former president of Zimbabwe and a ZNA Army General as such events are automatically declared holidays in Zimbabwe. The former president of Zimbabwe`s rural home was within Zvimba District hence access to many interviewees like the councilor and the Chief became impossible. My personal relationship with the ZNA Army General (foster parenthood) seriously affected my research in as far as time was concerned, I failed to engage with the NMMZ Northern Region team.

CHAPTER 1

Zimbabwean Land Reform Programs in Detail

This chapter introduces the Land Reform Programs in Zimbabwe and seeks to explore how these programs have influenced the social setting of the local people currently negatively interacting (from the point of view of western heritage preservation practices) with the archaeological heritage in Trelawney farming area of Mashonaland West Province-Zimbabwe. In this chapter, I try to offer a brief insight into the nature of the archaeological heritage in question as well as an explanation of the local and centralized political responsibilities and the complex power dynamics in the area.

The story of Zimbabwe`s land reforms starts in 1888, when Lobengula, the Ndebele King, was tricked into signing an agreement granting mining concessions to Cecil Rhodes. This eventually gave Rhodes` white settlers the right to occupy the natives' fertile lands in Mashonaland and to tax black citizens over the agriculturally poorer lands they were pushed into.[5] According to some statistics, about 4000 white farmers[6] in Zimbabwe occupied the arable commercial farmlands in 1980. They produced around 40 percent of exports through the labor of the black workforce.[7] A huge contrast in land ownership existed as it was the effect of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 which saw the black majority only in control of taxed subsistence farmlands located in arid territories. Most of the white-owned commercial farms had been previously occupied by the so-called early farming communities who lived in villages

[5] Neil H. Thomas, 'Land Reform in Zimbabwe', *Third World Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1 August 2003): 691–712.

[6] "Who Will Compensate Zimbabwe's White Farmers?," *BBC News*, May 16, 2019, sec. Africa, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-48264941.

[7] 'Rutherford - 2008 - Conditional Belonging Farm Workers and the Culture. Pdf', accessed 13 January 2020.

characterized by dry-stone wall architecture. As clarified by Pwiti and Ndoro, it was no coincidence that most archaeological sites are found within the former white-commercial farmlands because they naturally lie on the fertile soils favored by these early farmers.[8] The second phase of land reform generally began in the1980s, during Zimbabwe's quest for independence from British colonial rule. The Lancaster House conference held in England played a pivotal role in the land talks although it generally advocated for willing seller-willing buyer land redistribution.[9] During that time, white farmers owned most of what was termed large-scale commercial farms which still occupied about half of the total 33.2 million hectares of Zimbabwe's farm land.[10] A portion of the small-scale farms were occupied by the black population by this time although the greater part of Zimbabweans lived in so-called communal areas. A single large-scale commercial farm comprised an average of 3000 hectares (approximately 31 square kilometers) whereas an average communal area farm was only 20 hectares (approximately 0.2 square kilometers) as highlighted in Thomas's work.[11] The Trelawney farming area is divided into large-scale commercial farms which were/are mainly dominant in the best agro-ecological zones. These agro-ecological zones[12] have been classified as Natural Regions I-V with Region two being the

[8] Gilbert Pwiti, Russell Kapumha, and Webber Ndoro, "The Stone Building Cultures of Southern Africa," in *Zimbabwean Archaeology in the Post-Independence Era*, ed. Munyaradzi Manyanga and Seke Katsamudanga (Harare: Sapes Books, 2013), 175–98.

[9] Alouis Chilunjika and Dominique Emmanuel Uwizeyimana, "Shifts in the Zimbabwean Land Reform Discourse from 1980 to the Present," 2015.

[10] Thomas, 'Land Reform in Zimbabwe' (ibid).

[12] Trelawney area falls within the Agro-ecological category 2A which is described as and intensive farming area in Mashonaland West Province of Zimbabwe. Rainfall ranges from 750mm -1000mm per year and the soils in this area are usually greyish, brown, sandy loams derived from granitic rocks which have moderate to low water holding capacities (Thomas 1961).

most fertile of them all. Trelawney was known for intensive crop production of tobacco, maize, and soybeans as well as fresh flowers in smaller parts of the region.[13]

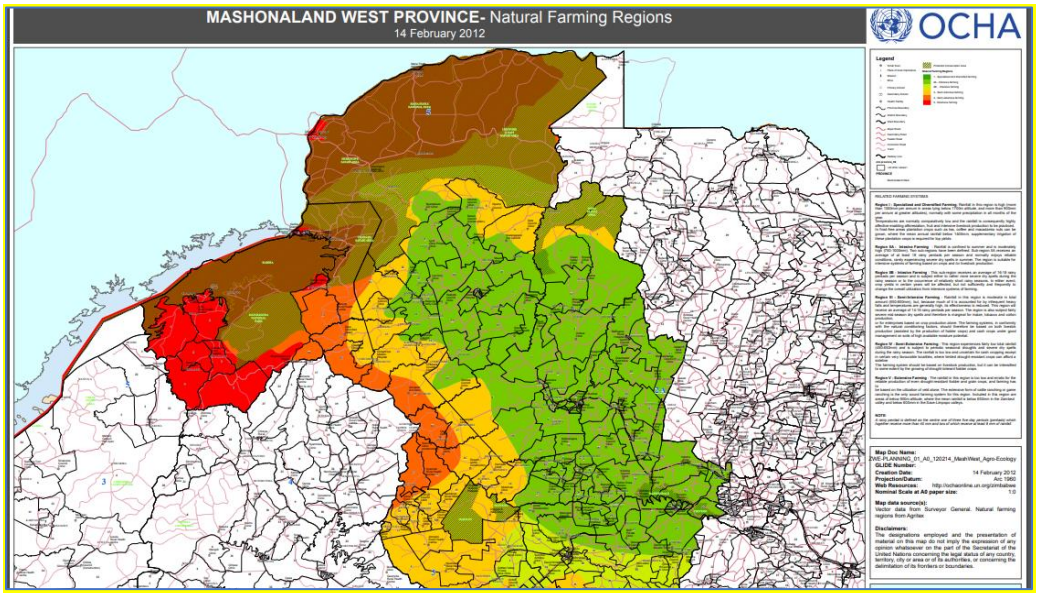


Figure 2 Map showing natural regions in colors (Green is Region 2). Source: FAO report page 1(accessed 15/01/2020) [14]

The third phase of land reform began around the year 2000. This phase has remained controversial due to its objectives and construction which left open a lot of questions for the public who understood it as a third agricultural revolution.[15] The third phase therefore attracted global attention as it was a politically controversial reform earning the title, Fast-Track Land Reform program. The Fast-Track Land Reform program involved the redistribution of farmlands to the black majority through compulsory acquisition without compensation of massive land tracts that were owned by the white minority farmers.[16] Conversely, the land reform program did not all end as planned as it was also followed by violent land invasions by some impatient locals who ended up re-possessing the fast track farms. This proved problematic because the Zimbabwean

[13] FAO, "Mashonaland West Province-Natural Farming Regions," 2012.
[14] FAO.
[15] Prosper B Matondi, "Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform," *Nordic Africa Institute, Zed Books Ltd, London-UK,* 2012, 2.
[16] Matondi, 4.

government had insufficient funds to properly acquire and redistribute land, train the new landowners, and offer them financial assistance. The fast-track land reform program meant that several farms including the Trelawney farming area came into the possessions of several more landowners beyond those who occupied the area during the first and second agricultural revolutions. From such changes, cultural heritage property which was once incorporated in private land, automatically opened to the public.

Formal and traditional governance and the complexities they create on resettled farms

Since the post-independence government of Zimbabwe has three levels of governance based on national, provincial/metropolitan and local councils, it has given the mandate of managing the rural areas of Zimbabwe to the rural district council which is often at loggerheads with the traditional leadership.[17] Zimbabwean governance predominantly represents a modern/formal government system which passively acknowledges the traditional leadership institution through the Constitution of 2013.[18] Such a passive recognition makes it difficult to understand the power dynamics in the rural areas of Zimbabwe as they reveal a relationship something like a horse and a rider. The traditional leadership represents a hereditary system of leadership in which spirit mediums often solemnized the leader according to a given cultural norm.[19] In the traditional leadership of the modern-day Zimbabwe, The Chief has the highest rank followed by the headman and the village head. The traditional leaders are governed by the Traditional Leadership Act Chapter 29:17 that stipulates that chiefs are appointed by the President; the headman is nominated

[17] Jeffrey Kurebwa, "The Institution of Traditional Leadership and Local Governance in Zimbabwe," *International Journal of Civic Engagement and Social Change* 5, no. 1 (2018): 1–22.
[18] Tinashe Carlton Chigwata, "Decentralization in Africa and the Resilience of Traditional Authorities: Evaluating Zimbabwe's Track Record," *Regional & Federal Studies* 25, no. 5 (October 20, 2015): 439–53, https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2015.1121873.
[19] Obediah Dodo, "Traditional Leadership Systems and Gender Recognition: Zimbabwe.," 2013.

by the chief and appointed by the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development. The Act clarifies that the headman nominates the village head who is paid by the rural district council from his communal lands whilst the chief and headman are paid by the government through the ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development.[20]

In practice, the traditional leadership institutions are instruments of the Traditional Leadership Act and Constitution leading to possibilities of corruption since the governmental systems control land-related issues. Chigwata has commented that there is competition for power between traditional leaders and the Rural District Councils which are state structures.[21] These different bodies are often in conflict as both compete for legitimacy and resources. This system, adopted by the government ,has been viewed by some as a method of attaining control by the ruling ZANU PF party because traditional leaders are influential in rural Zimbabwe where about 67 percent of the population resides.[22] Such a relationship becomes problematic mainly because the traditional leaders have an influential responsibility in rural areas where the state has a limited presence.[23] The above power structures have been believed to serve in maintaining remarkable control and legitimacy by the government leaders.[24] Their close alignment with ZANU PF makes the power dynamics a complex and controversial aspect.

The Zimbabwean Constitution of 2013 reveals a three-tier government system that has national, provincial, and local levels.[25] The national level is based on other international systems of government while the provincial level of government is responsible for governing ten provinces

[20] Kurebwa, "The Institution of Traditional Leadership and Local Governance in Zimbabwe."
[21] Chigwata, "Decentralization in Africa and the Resilience of Traditional Authorities."
[22] Sara Rich Dorman, *Understanding Zimbabwe: From Liberation to Authoritarianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[23] Kurebwa, "The Institution of Traditional Leadership and Local Governance in Zimbabwe."
[24] Kurebwa.
[25] Parliament of Zimbabwe, "Zimbabwean Constitution" (Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2013), https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Zimbabwe.

through provincial councils and two metropolitan-provincial councils. The functions of the provincial councils include planning and implementing social and economic development activities, monitoring and evaluation of the use of resources in its area of jurisdiction as well as implementation of measures for the conservation of natural resources.[26] The local levels of governance comprise either urban or rural councils made up of 11 elected councilors and persons appointed by the Minister for Local Governance, Rural and Urban Development to represent special interests.[27] Rural councilors are all part-time showing how complex these governing systems are. The duties of the rural councils are aligned towards rural district development, villages, farms, bridges, and roads' development. The responsibilities of the rural councils are administered through mostly educated people such as engineers, medical officers, and treasurers under the executive officers. Rural District Committees are made up of: a district administrator, chairpersons of other committees (e.g. ward or village committees), the chief executive officer of that district council, other council officers, senior officers from the Zimbabwe Republic Police, a senior officer from the Zimbabwe National Army and any other persons from any other ministry involved with the affairs of a particular district.[28]

[26] "Stringer v Chairperson Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and Others (HC 6350/06) [2007] ZWHHC 41 (12 June 2007); | Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute," accessed January 19, 2020, http://zimlii.org/zw/judgment/harare-high-court/2007/41.
[27] Kurebwa, "The Institution of Traditional Leadership and Local Governance in Zimbabwe."
[28] Government of Zimbabwe, 'Rural District Councils Act [Chapter 29:13] - Resource Data', Resource Governance Index, 2017, https://www.resourcedata.org/dataset/rgi-rural-district-councils-act-chapter-2913-.

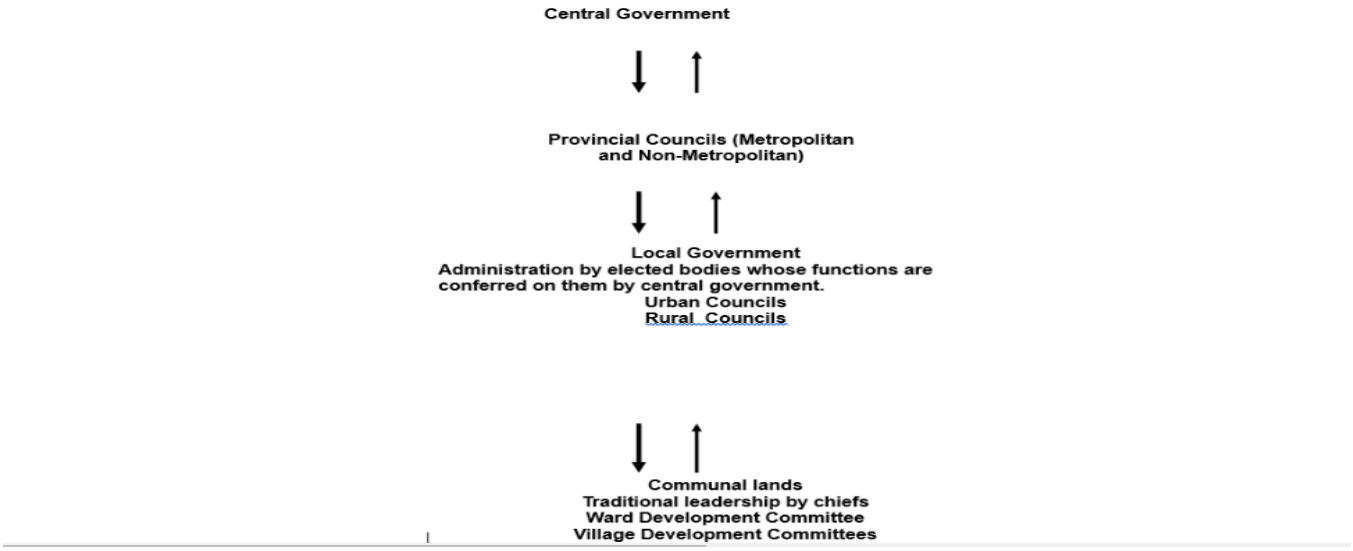


Figure 3 Zimbabwe governing system which constitutes what causes the power complexities. Source: Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute website (last accessed 18-01-2020) [29]

The Constitution further stipulates that a Minister of Local Governance, Rural and Urban Development can declare that any land in a council area is variously: large-scale commercial land, resettlement land, small-scale commercial land, or urban land.[30] The jurisdiction of such lands under the rural council neutralizes the traditional leaders' powers as even the Traditional Leaders Act stipulates that the chief has authority over his given land after consultation with the Rural District Council.[31] On the other hand, there are no villages in commercial lands as they are considered communal lands but, in both cases, a ward exists. A ward is existing for reasons of political administration so that ward councilors are considered equally powerful officers in Zimbabwe making the power dynamics competitive. Complex power dynamics and governance

[29] "Welcome to Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute Website | Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute," accessed April 18, 2020, https://zimlii.org/.
[30] "Zimbabwean Constitution."
[31] "Traditional Leaders Act [Chapter 29:17] | Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute," accessed January 16, 2020, https://zimlii.org/zw/legislation/act/1998/25.

negatively affects the preservation of less spectacular heritage sites in the resettled farms of Zimbabwe because of complex protocols to ethically consider before any initiative is done.

Linked stakeholders in the resettled farms in Trelawney Valley, Zimbabwe

The character of the Trelawney valley population can be categorized into four groups of stakeholders within the context of issues surrounding archaeological heritage resources. The farmer, the politician (councilor), the farm workers and the traditional leaders (chief, headman, village head). By tradition and culture, the chief was responsible for allocating land during the pre-colonial period. This situation, however, changed with colonial interventions which neutralized the powers of the chief and his judicial and political council by merging the traditional administrative structure into European-style salaried government.[32] Some people were given titles and leadership roles by the formal government even when they had no traditional legitimization to rule over their people. The bureaucratization of the traditional political structures marked the beginning of a system that overlooked traditional leadership in Zimbabwe. This complex situation arises because the rural/communal lands are formally managed (by the district administrator of the local council) in a practical sense whilst they are traditionally also the responsibility of the chiefs.[33] Resettled farming areas are categorized into scales of A1 farms which are small-scale commercial farms and A2 farms which are large-scale commercial farms. Faced with such realities, some traditional leaders acknowledge the fact that most of their titles are ceremonial except when it involves traditional rituals (this is specifically the Trelawney farms scenario).

[32] Chigwata, "Decentralization in Africa and the Resilience of Traditional Authorities."
[33] "Rural District Councils Act [Chapter 29."

Below will follow a brief description of each stakeholder category in the resettled farming areas of Trelawney Valley, Zimbabwe:

Farmer:
Any man and woman who legally owns land distributed by the government during or prior to the FTLRP through any means of acquisition. The landowners are mostly war veterans who were given the previously white owned commercial farms as compensation for their dedication to the liberation of Zimbabwe[34]. These farmers also include a few individuals of merit who otherwise had no access to land.

Farm Workers:

Workers are usually adult men and women who have worked on the farms for over a decade. This important group comprises some people who originally worked for the white commercial farmers. Some have parents who were born there and were buried on these farms. Most of the current population, however, were born within the Trelawney farming area in co-existing communities where marriage tends to be endogamous. These individuals were the most informative and forthcoming of the stakeholder groups and they constitute the better part of the population as I observed.

Politician/s:

A councilor is usually elected by the people through elections and they are usually responsible for a ward which is under the local-rural district level of governance. These persons work directly with the people at a grassroots level and report back to the council which is led by a chairperson

[34] Chiweshe M, K and Chabata, T. 2019. The complexity of farmworkers' livelihoods in Zimbabwe after the Fast Track Land Reform. Experiences from a farm in Chinhoyi, Zimbabwe. *Review of African Political Journal*

who reports to the member of parliament and the minister of Local Government, Rural Urban Development.[35]

Traditional Leaders:

These individuals are normally traditionally elected people who preside over social and political issues in the rural areas of Zimbabwe.[36] These titles are not based on merit traditionally but rather by royal descent although these cultural traditions have become distorted in some rural areas in Zimbabwe. In the Trelawney Valley area, the traditional leadership has been affected by governmental regulation for quite some time. The posts of headman and village head in Zvimba rural district seem to be especially problematic as the area was the commercial hub for tobacco and fresh flower farmers during the colonial era and between 1980 and 2000. Today, the village heads still form one of the stakeholder groups in my research as they are acknowledged by farmers and farm workers in issues regarding archaeological and other sacred sites within the farms.

Gender based interactions:

Women seem to constitute greater numbers within the local community population of Sable Valley farms. This tallies with national demographics which show that Zimbabwe has more women than men.[37] On many occasions, women contributed a great deal to the discussions on heritage sites in Trelawney farms although at times when men are present, women take on a passive participatory role. All this is based upon personal observations during discussions with the local communities in Sable Valley and Colenso farms. The observation that women provide

[35] Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute, "A Guide to Administrative and Local Government Law in Zimbabwe: Local Government Law," A Guide to Administrative and Local Government Law in Zimbabwe » Local Government Law, 2010, https://zimlii.org/content/local-government-law.
[36] Dodo, "Traditional Leadership Systems and Gender Recognition."
[37] "Zimbabwe Demographics Profile," 2019, https://www.indexmundi.com/zimbabwe/demographics_profile.html.

insightful information when engaged in discussions has informed my sampling decisions on who to engage in discussions relating to AICs in Zimbabwe and how they are viewed locally.

Nature of existing interactions amongst stakeholders

There has generally been a culturally hegemonic relationship within some resettled farming areas in Zimbabwe, where the farm owners have always been revered as employers. This stakeholder group therefore dominate cultural spaces.[38] In the third phase of the FTLRP, there was a problematic relationship between farm workers and the new farmers because most of the latter entered the scene violently. It was not only the displaced white farmers who suffered violence but also those workers accused of supporting imperial motives and yet were viewed as being unaware of nationalist politics. During interviews, this narrative comes from some of the black farmers who are mainly war veterans[39]. The farm workers are regarded as passive objects of the colonial rulers who never suffered at the hands of their employers during the times of struggle. A system where whites in Zimbabwe long belonged to a privileged class prior to independence, has influenced the nature of farmer-worker relations. Currently the black farmers still are in a privileged category.

An element of 'othering' has been detected in some resettled farms around Zimbabwe where the resettled farmers have clung to a historical narrative which legitimizes their ownership of land and the workers living on the land even when not legitimized by the law.[40] Zimbabwean politics has

[38] Blair Rutherford, "Conditional Belonging: Farm Workers and the Cultural Politics of Recognition in Zimbabwe," *Development and Change* 39, no. 1 (2008): 73–99, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2008.00469.x.
[39] War Veterans are the man and women who participated in the liberation struggle against the Smith Regime in present day Zimbabwe. These veterans mainly contributed to the development of the Fast Track Land Reform Program because they claimed that their fight for the land was not acknowledged and their wishes had still not been delivered even twenty years after independence (Matondi 2012).
[40] Leila Sinclair-Bright, "Ambiguous Bonds: Relationships between Farm Workers and Land Beneficiaries after Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 45, no. 5 (September 3, 2019): 927–44, https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2020.1677034.

caused complex hierarchy of interaction among farmers, workers, traditional leaders and politicians. I am also convinced that the farmers' claim that they had the right of governance over farm workers is the main reason for these complex interactions i.e. they have the upper hand in decision-making as they possess the land entitlements. Compared to workers who are made to feel like tenants, councilors hold powers of their own, positions that are treated with caution by farmers too. The political presence in commercial farming areas has been extensively criticized by various researchers. As propounded by Rutherford, the period of the 1980s was a confusing time for farmers and farm workers because political activists were highly visible in these areas, making promises to the populations living in farming areas. It was further noted that this was the period when village committees were set up on farms.[41] Government life, as claimed by the critics, was mostly dominated by (ZANU PF) party efforts under the auspices of the national government. A complex effect of this initiative to set up village committees is still perceptible in the present-day farming areas in Trelawney Valley which falls under the control of the Zvimba rural district council as I explained before. The roles of these committees were/are to assist the government in administering programs such as the census, feeding schemes for children and to garner and gather support for ZANU PF.[42] Manipulation of unions or committees create hegemony of the committee members and the black resettled farmers.

The political interplay between farm workers and the ZANU PF party created power dynamics that can be described as unfulfilled dreams and betrayed hopes for the farmers. For the farm workers, ceremonial roles never clearly defined the position of the farm owners. What makes it

[41] Rutherford, "Conditional Belonging."
[42] Rutherford.

complicated is that farmers/owners are to a larger extent affiliated with the ruling ZANU PF party as they were the initiators of the Land Reform Program to begin with.

The aftermath of FTLRP on the preservation of the archaeological heritage by the local community

During my interviews with Trelawney stakeholders, I discovered that due to increasing economic hardships in Zimbabwe, priorities continuously shift, and these locals strictly observe. At the national level, budgets have long been revised to prioritize politically critical services at the expense of culturally enriching ones. Citizens have thus shifted their enthusiasm from cultural heritage inquiries and fascinations to seeking basic life requirements i.e. food, clothing, shelter, health, and education. Although concentration on these fundamentals may seem to diminish the value of the heritage sites within the Trelawney farming area, it is quite impressive the way people continue to hold on to the religious narratives developed around such sites. Use of the archaeological heritage sites within the farms in Trelawney by the locals for church gatherings can provide enough reason for local workers to engage in community archaeology projects working towards the preservation of sites which are not particularly aesthetically appealing. The people of Sable Valley Farming area struggle to achieve all the requirements basic for getting their lives back on track. Through interviews with farmers and farm workers, I have learned that the people who form the local community surrounding sites within the Sable Valley are gradually divorcing themselves from the heritage sites that were once their point of reference to their pasts. Although these people have no direct ancestral connection to the farming area they are settled in, they had to some extent established an amicable relationship with the archaeological heritage surrounding them. The use of heritage sites in Sable Valley farms still attests to such connections between the

community and the local past. To argue whether it is their past they were/are reconnecting with is an academic discussion for a different time. The social relations within the resettled farms in Trelawney area do not represent the rest of the resettled farms in Zimbabwe but have similarities connected to the governing systems that have been put in place.

For general inquiries about issues regarding power dynamics in resettled A2 farms, farmers would be the first point of contact. This chapter has been informed by interviews with farmers, workers, and representatives of traditional leadership. Interviews probed the various understandings of the Zimbabwean Constitution of 2013 and the Acts on Land, Rural Councils and Traditional Leadership. I conclude this chapter by acknowledging that political interests play a big role in complicating the nature of interaction amongst Trelawney local. Traditional leadership institutions are by legal design, there to serve the interests of the political elite, in a manner that can be manipulated to serving personal and political interests. At the helm of everything land related are political implications in Zimbabwe and this changing scene affects the management of various resources in resettled farms.

CHAPTER 2

Trelawney's local heritage and its users

The local heritage of Trelawney will be discussed within the perspective of the major threatened archaeological features as well as their uses, users and how the users value the sites from the perspective of their own experiences. How do these values conflict with UNESCO`s use of the universal heritage values in heritage affairs? How two apparently legitimate but conflicting heritage values represented by local use of sites for religious gatherings and heritage managers desire to conserve sites be resolved? This chapter contains an elaboration of the religious cultures of African Initiated churches in Zimbabwe and their interactions with heritage sites contrasted with concerns of heritage managers. There will be a discussion of the effects of AICs use of material culture and the place-making aspects at play in the local identity formation of these contemporary users of the Trelawney sites. The discussion will introduce the argument for the next chapter which reveals how the practices by AICs and their constructed narratives of value and meaning connected to these sites are a manifestation of a kind of cultural continuity and connected to legitimate site formation processes.

Heritage sites in Trelawney and their physical threats

Figure 4 Setting of SV site rock art panels in relation to a collapsed wall. Source: Author

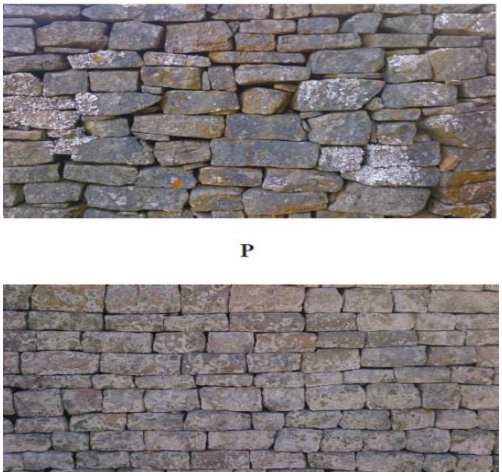
Sable Valley and Colenso sites in Trelawney can be characterized as a cluster of dry stone-walled sites together with some rock paintings. At the Sable valley site, both features appear, an uncommon characteristic since the rock paintings often come from Late Stone Age times[1] whilst dry-stone walls represent settlements occupied by more recent farming communities.[2] The presence of both these distinct archaeological features at one site suggests that this area was at one time a frontier area where hunter gatherers interacted with the farming communities of what is sometimes called the Iron Age[3] of Southern Africa.[4] A manifestation of archaeological features that represent early stages of culture contact between fits well as a probable answer to the now destroyed sites surveyed in Darwendale during colonial times.[5] In 1974, an archaeological survey

[1] The classification of Stone Age is different within Southern Africa and Zimbabwe`s classification of Stone Age has generally 6 industries with dates ranging from 30 000 BP-2000 and younger (for more, see Foreman, Bandama in Zimbabwean Archaeology in the post-independence era, p.20)
[2] *Zimbabwean Archaeology in the Post-Independence Era*, 79.
[3] The Iron Age in Zimbabwe is traditionally associated with farming communities although this has been referred to as untenable by some Southern African archaeologists (see Innocent Pikirayi and Peter Mitchell. 2004- The Archaeology of Southern Africa vol 59). Because of the complexity of prehistoric Southern African communities in the phases between Late Stone Age and Early Farming Communities where there is an iron industry, the actual dates still vary from place to place. For more information see: Peter Mitchell. *The Archaeology of Southern Africa* (2002).
[4] Manyanga and Katsamudanga, *Zimbabwean Archaeology in the Post-Independence Era*, 75.
[5] M. D. Prendergast, "Iron Age Settlement and Economy in Part of the Southern Zambezian Highveld," *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 34, no. 130 (December 1979): 111, https://doi.org/10.2307/3887870.

of the Darwendale dam area established that there were many Iron Age settlements surrounding Darwendale and it was assumed that there had been a trade in minerals that were transported to distant settlements.[6] Prendergast`s description of the Iron Age sites` distribution mentions other sites occupied by cattle-herding communities although he clearly had doubts concerning the existence of such sites on the other side of the Great Dyke hills[7]. The Trelawney sites lie approximately 25 kilometers north from Darwendale whilst the Sable Valley and Colenso sites lie 6-9 kilometers east of the Trelawney post office, placing them closer to the Great Dyke hills which were mentioned by Prendergast.[8] The exact dates of the Trelawney sites remain unknown, but a relative date could be adopted from the Darwendale sites i.e. from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries AD.[9] It is, however, suitable to adopt the term farming communities when describing the SV and Colenso dry-stone wall sites. These sites are clustered in a way that suggests they represent territorial markings for these socially un-stratified village communities.[10] The sites comprise both intact and collapsed walls that were all once retaining walls. Granite boulders were occasionally used for single walls such as the retaining wall that rests on such large boulders.[11] The visible retaining walls at the Sable Valley site are rough and of poor quality. Only one wall stands out as the most preserved at this site. It was constructed between two large boulders at an elevated angle. The building technique of the outstandingly preserved wall is of poor-quality. It is 3.2m in length and 2.5m in height. The dry-stone walling techniques of the Dzimbabwe type sites were categorized by Whitty in 1950s into **R**-rough, **P**-poor, **PQ**-poor quality and **Q**-quality wall styles,

[6] 'Prendergast - 1979 - Iron Age Settlement and Economy in Part of the Southern Zambezian Highveld, 114.
[7] Great Dyke of Zimbabwe is a mineral belt with one of the world`s largest chromite composition. It stretches across the country in a North to South direction with a width of not more than ten kilometres.
[8] Prendergast, "Iron Age Settlement and Economy in Part of the Southern Zambezian Highveld," 114.
[9] Prendergast, 116.
[10] Gilbert Pwiti, *Continuity and Change: An Archaeological Study of Farming Communities in Northern Zimbabwe AD 500 - 1700*, Studies in African Archaeology 13 (Uppsala: Dep. of Archaeology, Uppsala Univ, 1996).
[11] 'An Investigation of Structural Stability and Cause of Deterioration in Rough Dry-Stone Monuments at Ziwa, NE Zimbabwe', accessed 2 February 2020, http://ghn.globalheritagefund.com/uploads/documents/document_1953.

a division applicable to other similar settlements such as the Sable Valley sites.[12] A **R**ough wall is defined as one that has randomly placed stones that form an irregular course on the wall face. **P**oor quality walling is slightly better than the **R**ough quality. The **P**oor walling styles are architecturally considered to be the oldest according to early researchers.[13] The **Q**uality walls have regular coursing and the courses can easily be counted from either the top or bottom. The **PQ** style is intermediate between a poor and a quality walling technique. It has been generally assumed that the **R**ough walls and **P**oor-**Q**uality walls are characteristic of temporary settlements and represent early territorial markings by farming communities.[14] The figures below have been adopted from a 2012 thesis written by Sinamai, providing a clear understanding of how the architectural styles are categorized for Zimbabwe type sites.



P

Figure 5: Top-Poor walling. Bottom-Quality walling. Source: Sinamai (2015 p. 111)

R

Figure 6 Example of rough walling. Source: Sinamai (2015 p. 111)

Pottery remains associated with Sable Valley sites lying on a series of fragmented pole impressed dhaka structures could also not be easily dated. The Colenso site (b), according to previous

[12] Ashton Sinamai, 'An Un-Inherited Past: Preserving the Khami World Heritage Site, Zimbabwe' (Deakin University, 2014), http://dro.deakin.edu.au/view/DU:30067432.
[13] Pwiti, Kapumha, and Ndoro, "The Stone Building Cultures of Southern Africa," 180.
[14] Pwiti, Kapumha, and Ndoro, "The Stone Building Cultures of Southern Africa."

recording work I carried out at the sites in 2015 for my Bachelor's thesis research, had describable pot sherds scattered over them although the attributes I could record had no dating value. Since no archaeological excavations were carried out or recorded for these sites, it is a challenge to ascertain even their relative chronology. These sites are not in the register of NMMZ because of the economic challenges that the country faces and the fact that these sites lay and were protected within the former private properties of white farmers who were displaced during the fast track land reform program.

Zimbabwe type sites often suffer from structural deformations that include bulging, splitting, settling, toppling and collapse. Bulging, though not a threat in the SV and Colenso sites, appears as the outward protrusion of a wall section forming a convex, vertical profile to the wall.[15] Most of the structural instabilities are a result of the natural ways rocks react to the climatic and weather changes e.g. heating and cooling effects. Periodic weather changes trigger expansion and contraction of the walls lead to bulging and splitting damage. Fortunately, these are not the challenges the Sable Valley walls face today but rather the common collapses resulting from the overgrowth of vegetation.

Sable Valley's sites are facing challenges imposed by overgrown vegetation, consisting mainly of the *Lantana camara* plant species. *Lantana camara* is a shrub native to the South American continent.[16] This shrub is an invasive species that is also drought resistant and a common challenge to the management of Great Zimbabwe. Vegetation overgrowth often destabilizes the wall structures through root action which leads forcibly to collapses or wall settling. Vegetation

[15] Paul Mupira, "An Investigation of Structural Stability and Causes of Deterioration in Rough Dry-Stone Monuments at Ziwa, NE Zimbabwe," Global Heritage Preservation Fellowship Program. (Global Heritage Fund, February 2011), http://ghn.globalheritagefund.com/uploads/documents/document_1953.
[16] Peter Chatanga et al., "Effect of Lantana Camara (L) Invasion on the Native Vegetation in Gonarezhou National Park, Zimbabwe.," *ResearchGate* 3 (2008): 32–43.

clearance on dry-stone walls requires various technical skills to minimize the damage. *Lantana camara* clearance is challenging, even for skilled stone masons and has been a cause for concern at the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site. At SV sites, *Lantana camara* overgrowth is responsible for wall collapse and settlement damage.[17] Although local communities have further contributed to the sorry state of sites within Trelawney farms, vegetation overgrowth represents the major impact on wall structures. The quality of a wall does not, however, determine how well a wall is preserved as the threats are different in each context.[18] An example, the challenges at Sable Valley site are different from those at Great Zimbabwe because each site has its unique features and factors that make a difference when dry-stone walls are in question.

Current uses and users of the sites

Currently, the heritage sites in question are used for religious purposes by local religious groups who assemble at some of these sites and light fires during their night vigils. The locals who use these sites are farm workers who reside within the farm compound areas. During interviews with most farm workers who use the heritage sites for religious purposes, I came to understand that these religious groups are attracted to heritage sites because they believe that the ancestral spirits of the lands still live there. The interviewees often used the Shona word *"kuera"* which means sacred when I asked if there is a specific reason for choosing this place of worship. The answers reflected the fact that their choices were not random but based on the local places generally considered to be sacred. Due to those religious beliefs, most of the sites have been turned into religious shrines where some of the names given to the sites are also sacred in nature e.g. "*Gomo retsitsi*" which means the Hill of Mercy is the name given to the Colenso site (b). Stones from the

[17] Nyararai Ellen Mundopa, "Researching, Preserving and Presenting Variability: Towards an Augmented Management of Drystone-Built-Capitals of the Zimbabwe Culture" (MA Thesis, Budapest, 2019).
[18] Pwiti, Kapumha, and Ndoro, "The Stone Building Cultures of Southern Africa."

walls have been removed to construct the affiliate religious symbols of these churches. From a heritage management perspective, such actions by locals constitute vandalism. On the other hand, the locals believe that stones from these walls can be appropriated reused. For example, they used the stones in the construction of star-shaped walls representing the church's name "*Masowe enyeredzi mbiri*" meaning Apostolic Church of the Two Stars. The reuse is a symbolic expression by these locals to distinguish their religious affiliation from other AICs. The transformation and reuse of the built walls appears to be a preservation challenge for the dry-stone walls in this area. No midnight political rallies have been mentioned by the locals of Trelawney, thus, affirming that the use of sites is only restricted to their religious use.

Contradictory heritage

There often arise contradictions in ways heritage is viewed in certain societies since the concept of heritage is a contextual agreement of what events should be remembered and which places need to be preserved depending on a given society's values in a particular era.[19] It is clear that in Trelawney there is heritage that is relatable from two different perspectives i.e. as archaeological heritage by professionals and sacred places of worship by some in the local communities. The use of sites with walls by Trelawney locals, is an expression of forging connections between the living and ancestral spirits of the area, according to this response given in more than one interview. A compromised heritage site in the eyes of an archaeologist and/or heritage manager is simply an active place of worship where some religious groups in the local community go in search of answers to daily problems from their ancestors. None of the local users claim to be direct descendants of any of the Chiefs who might have owned the land before colonization. This lack of

[19] Laura jane Smith, 'Discourses of Heritage: Implications for Archaeological Community Practice.', *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux Mondes Mondes Nouveaux - Novo Mundo Mundos Novos - New World New Worlds*, 5 October 2012, https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.64148.

ownership claim can be attributed to the fact that everyone currently living within the farms in Trelawney is a resettled family. Therefore, no continuity in local indigenous tradition could be followed in their communication with ancestors and thus to find AICs operating at such sites is generally not offensive to other local communities.

The introduction of new social issues can impact communication channels, adaptation and, eventually new kinds of cooperation which, in this case, generally describes the situation of the locals in Trelawney and, ultimately the product of my research.[20] Since almost everyone was resettled and or immigrated to Trelawney for various purposes, the introduction of social change in the area has been ongoing from colonial through post-colonial times. Changes in society also means that values attributed to archaeological sites, land and various social activities also transitioned in Trelawney leading to the re-use of prehistoric sites for spiritual purposes by present day communities. In contrast, the uncertainties about original cultural groups directly responsible for building the structures on these sites before colonization helps clarify the damage to rock paintings and dry stone-walls that may occur during current uses.

Monuments preservation concerns arise with respect to site use e.g. vegetation clearance carried out by local people to procure safe access to sites are undoubtably destructive to surface collections and walls. It is a contradiction the way one act of responsibility for places of gathering like clearing off *Lantana camara* by the AICs could be vandalism at the same time from the heritage managers' viewpoint. Another issue that is often a bone of contention between the locals and heritage management's assessment of site value are the issues of integrity and authenticity i.e. meaning walls should remain unaltered. Trelawney locals have reconstructed new types of structures

[20] Paul Thibault, 'Review of Norman Fairclough *Discourse and Social Change* 1992', *Social Semiotics* 3, no. 2 (January 1993): 293–310, https://doi.org/10.1080/10350339309384422.

(church symbols) using stones from collapsed walls, there is a need to depart from authorized heritage discourse and accept that not all sites can be saved, though they must be recorded while some heritage sites can be legitimately transformed.[21] Sable Valley and Colenso site users have created their own social system that involves use of and attribution of sacred values to sites.

These new uses attest a local cultural dynamism that is also worth preserving, presenting and acknowledging.[22] Much as the International Conventions have defined and revised the definition of cultural heritage over time, the criticism concerning who has the right to determine and define heritage remains. UNESCO's deliberations surrounding the power of nations and states empowerment to choose what they consider heritage remains problematic in Zimbabwe because its heritage management is based on a western system applied to a non-western culture.[23] Value is assessed by archaeologists, historians, architects and heritage managers to the detriment of the communities that have taken custody of some of these heritage sites.[24] The worst-case scenarios occur in places like Trelawney where there is no evidence for traditional linkage between these new communities and the sites themselves. The occurrence of such contradictory conditions operating on archaeological heritage sites on Trelawney farms triggered my interest in creating a middle management ground between preservation and transformation of sites. The possibility

[21] Laura Jane Smith, *Archaeological Theory, and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (Routledge, 2004).
[22] Rosemary J. Coombe and Joseph F. Turcotte, "Indigenous Cultural Heritage in Development and Trade: Perspectives from the Dynamics of Intangible Cultural Heritage Law and Policy," in *International Trade in Indigenous Cultural Heritage*, ed. Christoph Graber, Karolina Kuprecht, and Jessica Lai (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2012), 211–36.
[23] Máiréad Nic Craith, Ullrich Kockel, and Katherine Lloyd, 'The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage', in *Safeguarding Intangible Heritage*, ed. Natsuko Akagawa and Laura Jane Smith, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2018), 118–32, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429507137-8.
[24] Máiréad Nic Craith, Ullrich Kockel, and Katherine Lloyd, "The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," in *Safeguarding Intangible Heritage*, ed. Natsuko Akagawa and Laurajane Smith, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2018), 118–32, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429507137-8.

exists of supporting these self-directed locals to use their own heritage narrative concerning these sites to preserve them for their own benefit.

African Initiated Churches: Emergence, nature, and differences. Appropriated religion, syncretic religion?

There is a strong presence of African Initiated Churches in southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa which can be traced back to the 1870s.[25] It can be argued that South Africa was the first country where these AICs arose after an African, Nehemiah Tile, established a religious group that broke off from a Wesleyan Methodist church.[26] Later, these African led-churches began to combine pan-African politics and religious beliefs into their belief systems.[27] Tile is credited with establishing the AIC movements which later spread across Southern Africa as black consciousness and nationalism spread in the region.[28] Some of the AICs from the late 1800s are known to have advocated for tribal chiefs to be the head of their churches. The incorporation of chiefdoms in the AICs also meant that the chiefs became repositories of ancestral reverence. Only black church ministers could participate in the indigenous liturgical services.[29] The AICs are a common phenomenon in Zimbabwe. In them, Christian beliefs are also combined with worship of ancestor as divine intercessors. This belief system is common across traditional sub-Saharan African worldviews (with reference to Southern Africa) except for other religions such as Islam.[30]

[25] G. C. Oosthuizen, 'The African Independent Churches in South Africa: A History of Persecution Proselytism in Religion-Specific Perspective', *Emory International Law Review* 14, no. 2 (2000): 1089–1120.
[26] Hennie Pretorius, 'Nehemiah Tile: a 19th Century Pioneer of the Development of African Christian Theology', *Journal for The Study of Religion* 3, No. 1 (1990): 3–15.
[27] G.C Oosthuizen, "The African Independent Churches in South Africa: A History of Persecution Proselytism in Religion-Specific Perspective," *Emory International Law Review* 14, no. 2 (2000): 1089–1120.
[28] Hennie Pretorius, "NEHEMIAH TILE: A 19TH CENTURY PIONEER OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY," *Journal for the Study of Religion* 3, no. 1 (1990): 3–15.
[29] Oosthuizen, 'The African Independent Churches in South Africa'.
[30] Ezra Chitando et al., *Multiplying in the Spirit: African Initiated Churches in Zimbabwe* (University of Bamberg Press, 2014), https://fis.uni-bamberg.de/handle/uniba/6445:p7

Though different in detail, these religious groups share common traits such as believing in divine healing, abstaining from alcohol and tobacco, being established and led by Africans as well as the biblical justification allowing the inclusion of cultural norms into their theology.[31] The AICs, therefore, emerged as movements against colonialists and white dominance in religion and politics.[32] Most of these AICs were and remain highly influential. With the passage of time, some of the AICs became politically passive, including the Apostolic Faith Mission Church of 1908 which seceded from an American church called the Apostolic Faith Church.[33] The AICs still have huge followings in South Africa and Zimbabwe today because they include traditional cultural norms in their church services. Pentecostalism is a unifying factor in most Southern Africa AICs although elsewhere in the world they have variants, some emphasizing baptism by the Holy Spirit more.[34] In Zimbabwe, some distinguish their origins by crediting founders called and baptized by the Holy Spirit in certain places, placing a special value on physical spaces. An interesting phenomenon has become a distinguishing factor amongst these churches, white garments/robes worn as uniforms, representing some of the AICs.

AICs and appropriation of religious practices

Out of interest, I selected a women's Facebook group and asked a few questions about AICs in a bid to understand how some Zimbabweans viewed these churches. My reasons for choosing to ask women was based on the observation that there are more women than men living on Sable Valley farms regardless of the role women may be playing in the site use. This sample group was engaged

[31] 'African Independent Church Origins, African Independent Church History, African Independent Church Beliefs', accessed 17 March 2020, https://www.patheos.com/library/african-independent-churches.
[32] Pretorius, "NEHEMIAH TILE."
[33] Oosthuizen, "The African Independent Churches in South Africa," 1094.
[34] Bob E. Patterson, review of *Review of The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches*, by Walter J. Hollenweger, *Journal of Church and State* 18, no. 2 (1976): 339–41.

in discussions about the AICs to get the public perspective (etic and emic views) towards these institutions and to understand the variations within these institutions. The Facebook discussion showed that most Zimbabwean women demonize the AICs and are quite skeptical about them. The reasons for the mistrust/skepticism surrounding the AIC is that their religious activities are not independent from either Christianity or African traditions i.e. some AICs do not use the bible although they refer to biblical stories, verses and name prophets within their religious canon.[35] Due to the fact that Zimbabwean AICs predominantly fall within the Pentecostal movement, it is generally difficult to understand what differentiates one of these churches from the other, hence the emergence of the term white garment churches in the Zimbabwean context.

A question often arises as to whether AICs can be considered syncretic or simply represent an appropriation of two religions. With the conflicts that often arise regarding AICs' use of traditional religious sites in different parts of Zimbabwe, it has been argued by some that AICs represent a form of religious appropriation and therefore the heritage they represent is somehow less valuable.[36] I argue that it is unjust to view AICs practices as appropriated religion because most Christian churches in Zimbabwe fall within the AICs to some extent. It is not the focus of this thesis to debate whether the AICs are cultural appropriators or not but there is need to acknowledge that the use of traditional religious sites and beliefs suggests otherwise to the public. Some of these AICs often converge on open spaces, sacred caves and mountains or places with ancient features like rock art sites, especially in rural Zimbabwe thereby creating contradictory religious values. AIC members from Sable Valley and Colenso farms believe that they are more affiliated with

[35] 'African Independent Church Origins, African Independent Church History, African Independent Church Beliefs'.
[36] Phillip Musoni, 'Contestation of "the Holy Places in the Zimbabwean Religious Landscape": A Study of the Johane Masowe Chishanu YeNyenyedzi Church's Sacred Places', *HTS Theologies Studies / Theological Studies* 72, no. 1 (4 February 2016): 8 pages, https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i1.3269.

African religious traditions and have expressed during interviews that their belief system is more traditional compared to the norms of Christian doctrine.

To investigate what Zimbabwean women, think about AICs as a hybrid religion, I started a poll discussion on a Facebook group. Whilst many find religious discussions a sensitive matter, the poll results showed that most Zimbabwean women view the AICs as a mixed religion that leans more towards traditional beliefs. Within the Sable Valley and Colenso farms, a few people shared the concern that AICs were problematic but chose not to comment regarding these churches. The two different sets of interviewed audience showed me that the AICs already represent a legitimate aspect of a living intangible heritage that is viewed differently by those who practice it and those who are outsiders.

Regarding heritage sites in Trelawney, the AICs members from both SV and Colenso farms seemed to define them differently compared to the non-AIC members I interviewed. Most AIC members regarded these sites as physical spaces they consider to be inherited sacred places whilst other community members referred to them as physical places people often gathered to worship.

This difference in attitude led me to infer that the heritage sites in Sable Valley and Colenso are also places of value for the local users (AICs). The AIC members defined these archaeological sites/spaces as social spaces set aside for religious gatherings for the AICs of Sable Valley and Colenso farms. It is from the two observations that I have decided on the term ‘sacred’ to understand how AIC members from the two farms describe and value these sites. Since this research’s focusses primarily on the local heritage and communities of Sable Valley and Colenso, sacred sites refer here to the physical spaces of the archaeological sites.

As the AICs congregants gather for their vigils, they intentionally but ignorantly pose threats to the archaeological resources i.e. related archaeological material on the rock art sites and the dry-stone walled sites. In utmost good faith, they converge on such sites, clear land, and burn rubbish heaps or dump sites to keep their area of worship clean, safe from snakes and to keep warm during all-night vigils. Besides the human induced threats, the dry-stone walls are also affected by vegetation overgrowth including the common challenge of *Lantana camara*, discussed in an earlier chapter. As mentioned, this plant is the small perennial, invasive shrub which can grow to around 2 m in height and forms dense thickets in a variety of environments including these sacred/heritage spaces. Climate change has also played a role in the loss of rock paintings at Sable Valley sites as the motifs are largely no-longer visible or have become impossible to decipher. Extreme heat waves and rains have all contributed to the natural processes that threaten rock art/paintings and dry-walled sites. In this sense, it is lucky that these heritage sites have been re-used by locals who attached new sacred values to the sites, bringing renewed life to such dormant resources although this use also comes with certain greater risks.

AIC's practices utilizing pottery and the effects on some heritage sites:

There is a notable risk that comes with the presence of the various religious gatherings regularly taking place at heritage sites such as the Sable Valley sites connected, on the one hand, to the mixing of contemporary material culture, including pottery, and prehistoric objects, including pottery. Since not much is known archaeologically about the Sable Valley and Colenso sites due to lack of detailed archaeological investigation, the simple presence of contemporary pottery sherds could be misleading for the dating and interpretation of these sites.

There are various religious and cultural practices in the African tradition of the Shona people that involve the use of traditional pottery. Culture changes the way technological systems are embraced

in many places and in Zimbabwe, traditional pottery making, styles and uses have inevitably evolved.[37] Use of traditional household pottery has shifted to its use in ceremonies with less frequency except when used by AICs. The changes in the way pottery is used as well as the loss in popularity of certain types of pottery is a common result of cultural change.[38] Pottery has grown less popular in contemporary Zimbabwe although it has not disappeared entirely. It is still commonly found among AICs and traditional leaders, healers and some few citizens who still find it irreplaceable.[39] Although the contemporary pottery remains on sites might not be viewed as cultural remains by archaeologists, it is highly possible they will be soon since this new pottery level represents the new cultural use of these Iron Age sites which will also be part of heritage for future generations.[40] The mixture of new and old pottery fragments can easily create a biased impression of the ways sites were utilized and when. The sites were originally settlements and now they are used for religious purposes by the local AICs.

Figure 9: Collection of pots used by a medicine man and rainmaker in Zimbabwe. Source: Lindhal & Pikirayi, 2013

[37] Robert Tendai Nyamushosho, "Ceramic Ethnoarchaeology in Zimbabwe," *International Journal of Arts and Social Science* 3, no. 2 (2013): 17–25, https://doi.org/http:/dx.doi.org/10.14303/irjass.2013.069.
[38] Thomas N. Huffman, 'Ceramics, Classification and Iron Age Entities', *African Studies* 39, no. 2 (January 1980): 123–74, https://doi.org/10.1080/00020188008707556.
[39] Anders Lindahl and Innocent Pikirayi, "Ceramics and Change: An Overview of Pottery Production Techniques in Northern South Africa and Eastern Zimbabwe during the First and Second Millennium AD," *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 2 (September 1, 2010): 133–49, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-010-0031-2.
[40] Nyamushosho, "Ceramic Ethnoarchaeology in Zimbabwe."

The Shona religious practices incorporate/d various objects in different ritual activities. Pots in various shapes and sizes, with or without decoration, was used in traditional practice and rituals for storing beer for ancestral appeasement or for storing food eaten as part of rituals.[41] The various uses of pottery were/are used even in family-based rituals and therefore have been adopted by these hybrid religions for a variety of purposes. The African Traditional Religion had pottery that was named according to their different functions e.g. a serving bowl is called *"mbiya"* while *"pfuko"* refers to a beer serving/storage pot. In today's hybrid religions in Zimbabwe, the "*mbiya"* has been adopted along with its name but serves a different purpose. Pots are used in one of these AIC rituals for carrying water that they pray for /with to give to those individuals who are being prayed for to drink.[42] Since there are many versions of the AICs today, the uses of pottery may vary but pottery remains a constant object of use for all of them. Another interesting common denominator for hybrid religions in Zimbabwe is that they do not use built structures except for dry-stone wall sites, as is the case in Trelawney.

A dilemma often arises when heritage managers need to provide management recommendations for these heritage sites as the use of sites by local communities seems positive and yet, at the same time, results in accumulation and mixing of complex and very different material cultures. Another contradiction that arises from the re-use of sites in Sable Valley and Colenso concerns the transformation and re-use of heritage walls for the construction of star-sign symbols by these local AICs. These intentional transformations and re-use of stone from the walls is regarded as

[41] Mapanzure, "African, Zimbabwean and General Knowledge Systems," Blog, *Mapanzure* (blog), September 6, 2018, https://mapanzure.wordpress.com/2018/09/06/purpose-designed-pottery-of-the-shona/.
[42] Taona Madzibaba, "Johane Masowe Way of Worshipping and Life: The Truth vs Myths and Lies," Blog Post, Nehanda Radio, February 19, 2015, https://nehandaradio.com/2015/02/19/johane-masowe-way-of-worshipping-and-life-the-truth-vs-myths-and-lies/.

vandalism by heritage managers. In the eyes of the religious AIC user-members the transformation represents an act of utmost good faith connected to these sites, something which has not been fully discussed or confronted in scholarship. To this end, I believe that the solution to understanding the logic behind deliberate dismantling of walls for sacred reuse can be found only through engaging in ethnographic research, enabling a deeper understanding of the sacred narratives currently hidden behind the religious activities of AIC reconstructions.

Figure 10 AIC effects of find accumulation at Great Zimbabwe. Source: Mundopa

Figure 11 Wall symbol designed from collapsed dry-stone wall by AICs. Source: Author

Trelawney Sites and the AIC place-making scenario

AICs in Southern Africa have evolved as a form of local activism against apartheid and colonialism. However, they eventually grew into organizations based on their own set of values and common interests. In the discourse of place-making[43], there is general understanding of the way common interests among a group of people can create a community that could later be connected to specific physical spaces.[44] Local Trelawney AICs are attached physical places based on their collective sacral efforts and common experiences as well as the institutionalized land use.[45] In Sable Valley, some of these heritage sites used in AIC ceremonies have become equivalent to the place itself based on collective religious beliefs. Social processes such as all night vigils by the AICs of Trelawney have been related to an actual place by these local communities to the extent that attach

[43] Pierce, Martin, and Murphy, "Relational Place-Making."
[44] Deborah G. Martin, "'Place-Framing' as Place-Making: Constituting a Neighborhood for Organizing and Activism," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, no. 3 (September 2003): 731, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8306.9303011.
[45] Martin, 732.

relational values to archaeological sites with the conviction that they connect with the ancestors during their rituals.[46]

AICs of Trelawney possess all these mentioned aspects within their community hence their spiritual value-attachment to archaeological sites in Sable Valley and Colenso can be viewed as part of an evolving social process that is grounded in these (for them) sacred places which provide important life experiences for them. An interesting way to understand how the AICs` in Trelawney give meaning to the places they attach values to is to approach places as experiences According to the explanations by the AIC members, they gather for all-night vigils at places that they believe are sacred, even those without archaeological features. I argue for the idea that such actions represent place-making processes and operations which are based on various sensory understandings of their physical environment as further noted by Tuan that places are not only known by seeing the features of a physical space but can be centers of constructed meaning which derives from a deep understanding through feelings.[47]

Places may be known through different levels of experience e.g. a place within a home can be known for how it makes us feel whilst places like the Trelawney sites can be known by the emotions of the religious experience. Otherwise, neglected sites are given new value because of the way contemporary communities engage with them.

In this chapter I have explained the various physical threats to archaeological sites in Trelawney, the contradictions in the way the same heritage site is valued and interpreted and shown how these sites will be exposed to further damage if no action is initiated on the part of both heritage managers

[46] Martin, "'Place-Framing' as Place-Making."
[47] Yi-Fu Tuan, "Place: An Experiential Perspective," *Geographical Review* 65, no. 2 (1975): 151–65, https://doi.org/10.2307/213970.

and local AICs. There is a need to understand both value systems, that is, the heritage perspective of NMMZ representing western ways of managing heritage and the current users` perspective and alternative valorization in their sacred interaction with heritage sites. The next chapter will deal with Trelawney heritage based on the archaeological site formation processes and cultural continuity as well as the contemporary communities` sacred value placement.

CHAPTER 3

Conflicting Heritages: Western cultural heritage value attribution versus Trelawney's contemporary communities' perceptions of heritage

The heritage management systems to be discussed in this chapter concern an understanding of the way contemporary communities in Zimbabwe, and particularly in Trelawney, attribute different values to the archaeological heritage sites in their surroundings. The conflicting perspectives that are at play in the Trelawney heritage comprise the western cultural heritage value which the NMMZ relies on and the different kinds of values placed on these sites by local AIC communities. The views of the African Initiated Churches (AICs) will be emphasized more than the views of other stakeholders because there are np other communities using these sites. I wish to conclude the chapter by suggesting an action plan that occupies a middle ground between the Western view of archaeological heritage and the conflicting valuations of the same heritage by the groups holding their religious gathers at these sites.

In the operational guidelines on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention there are noted evaluation demands which may cause policy challenges. These include the evaluation of historic towns and centers which may or may not still be inhabited.[1] Although the chosen example of the challenges of evaluating historic towns for world heritage inscription is not directly linked to the Trelawney case, there is an element of similarity except that in the latter case ,issues of heritage value are linked to archaeological property. The implication is that values derive from tangible heritage from the past and that such sites possess intrinsic values which can shed light on

[1] 'Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. accessed 30 April 2020, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf.p84

a people's history through research on them. I believe such guidelines clearly show the way elements of world heritage management system have the potential to conflict with the local communities right to create and recreate heritage meanings.[2] The authorized heritage discourse works well in the management of some World Heritage sites especially as employed by NMMZ in attending to its prioritized heritage sites, but it creates inconsistencies in the overall heritage management of Zimbabwe.[3] These internationally authorized methods, ultimately hinder community practices on archaeological sites in countries such as Zimbabwe because they have been generalized.[4] It is, however, possible to borrow management ideas from other cases which showcase local vs world heritage system conflicts. An example of conflict between World Heritage Management practices, national heritage protocols and the traditional practices of local communities presents possible measures for managing Trelawney heritage.

The site management of Kasubi Tombs in Uganda`s was successfully guaranteed under the Baganda traditional system. Each clan among the Ganda people is responsible for the management of the royal tombs.[5] The conflicts of different value attachment could have caused problems if not for capacity building exercises initiated for both the heritage professionals and the Ganda clans through policy-making, funding and teaching technical skills connected to preservation practice.[6] The Kabaka (Kings) were involved in the policy making whilst the Nalinga clan shared their site

[2] Laurajane Smith, 'Discourses of Heritage: Implications for Archaeological Community Practice.', *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux Mondes Mondes Nouveaux - Novo Mundo Mundos Novos - New World New Worlds*, 5 October 2012, https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.64148.
[3] Mundopa, "Researching, Preserving and Presenting Variability: Towards an Augmented Management of Drystone-Built-Capitals of the Zimbabwe Culture," 34.
[4] Eléonore de Merode, Rieks Smeets, and Carol Westrik, eds., "World Heritage Papers 13," in *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*, 2003, 51.
[5] Dawson Munjeri. Anchoring African Cultural and Natural Heritage: The Significance of Local Community Awareness in the context of Capacity-Building, World Heritage Papers 13`, in UNESCO World Heritage Centre. 2003, 78.
[6] "Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi.Pdf," 21, accessed May 28, 2020, https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1022.pdf.

management skills with conservationists from the national team while artisans in general played pivotal roles in preservation and management. As a result, the world heritage management system was incorporated into the Baganda traditional system of managing the world heritage site, although it is undeniable that the process was complicated.[7]

The discourse of best practice in heritage management, which often comprises monitoring and assessing outputs by heritage professionals in order to produce satisfactory results (as measured by UNESCO) at a given site, remains westernized but has less impact on smaller, less aesthetic sites in Zimbabwe.[8] Local communities should be given a platform to express, define and manage heritage places they consider their own. I believe there needs to be compromise on both sides of this issue on a site by site basis to avoid neglect of small sites. Whilst the western (UNESCO-informed) heritage management systems have proven to be efficient for some state parties, they can be less efficient in countries like Zimbabwe where centralized management structures operate amid all sorts of chaos[9]. The Khami Tombs and the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Sites serve as examples of the notion that western realities of heritage sometimes "violate local communities' definitions of and interactions with heritage.[10] The local custodians of Khami and Great Zimbabwe included spirit mediums who lived there although their conservation values were overridden by UNESCO delisting rule.[11] In fact, the sacred values of some heritage sites in Zimbabwe restrict any alteration of the sites` fabric e.g. at Great Zimbabwe where a German explorer called Carl

[7] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Safeguarding Living Cultural Traditions at the World Heritage Site of Muzibu-Azaala-Mpanga," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed May 28, 2020, https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1132/.
[8] G Wijesuriya, J Thompson, and Chi Young, *Managing Cultural World Heritage* (Paris: UNESCO world heritage Centre, 2013), http://whc.unesco.org/document/125839.
[9] Turmoil in this chapter refers to the economic meltdown, political challenges and the social injustices that define contemporary Zimbabwean life.
[10] Shadreck Chirikure, Tawanda Mukwende, and Pascall Taruvinga, "Post-Colonial Heritage Conservation in Africa: Perspectives from Drystone Wall Restorations at Khami World Heritage Site, Zimbabwe," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22, no. 2 (February 7, 2016): 165–78, https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2015.1103300. Page 174
[11] Chirikure, Mukwende, and Taruvinga.

Mauch mistook the vegetation overgrowth for abandonment.[12] The local communities (traditional leadership) for Great Zimbabwe claim they were not properly consulted only informed, implying that NMMZ system decided to ignore their plight in the face of world heritage management principals.[13]

In many cases, the western heritage management system sets in motion frameworks for maintaining sites whilst rejecting modern site transformations by local communities, based on western cultural heritage management principals.[14] The maintenance of such principals has always defined cultural heritage management in Zimbabwe although complicating implementation of local stakeholder influence in issues to do with the use of heritage sites.[15] The Trelawney heritage reveals a complex local perspective on heritage value because the stakeholders (farmers, AICs/farm workers and heritage professionals) have conflicting value attributions. The western system practically creates conflicting heritages as traditional archaeological valorization clashes with the idea that heritage may also be connected to recent social practices which are constantly recreated and transformed by the people participating in them.[16] Farmers in the Trelawney area and heritage managers seem to agree that heritage is tangible and requires professional maintenance with standard parameters. In contrast, farm workers/AIC members transform and reconstruct the heritage sites based on their experiential place making and intangible sacred

[12] Godfrey Mahachi and Ephraim Kamuhangire, "Administrative Arrangements for Heritage Resources Management in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa*, ed. Webber Ndoro, Albert Mumma, and George Abungu, ICCROM Conservation Studies 8 (Rome: ICCROM, 2008), 44.
[13] Webber Ndoro, Shadreck Chirikure, and Janette Deacon, eds., *Managing Heritage in Africa: Who Cares?*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2017), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315472973. 81
[14] Smith, "Discourses of Heritage."
[15] Joost Fontein, *Silence, Destruction and Closure at Great Zimbabwe: Local Narratives of Desecration and Alienation* (Routledge, 2006), https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070600995723.
[16] Smith, "Discourses of Heritage." 2

values.[17] The farm workers/AICs believe that sites are connected to the ancestors who dwelt on these sites, a belief that I had anticipated also hearing from the landowners, the farmers.

Whilst reflecting on the feedback from the farmers, I understood that this group of stakeholders is oriented towards western ways of handling everything. I had expected the farmers to also attach intangible values to the heritage sites in Trelawney connected with an ancestral presence in the land since the nationalistic narratives had always combined the two.[18] I grew up with the commonly broadcast narratives of Zimbabwean history being all about the struggles of liberation from colonial powers with all credit given to the liberation war heroes some of whom are now today`s farm owners in Trelawney. These liberation war heroes were portrayed as victorious owing to ancestral guidance (through spirit mediums) who would often be consulted, celebrated during rallies at heritage sites such as the Great Zimbabwe.[19] Thus, I anticipated hearing such views from black empowered farmers who benefitted from the FTLRP but met with a plot twist. The lengthy and informative interview with some of the farmers involved sentiments of disappointment on the part of the beneficiaries of the land reform program. An emphasis on 'heritage as land' dominated the discussion whilst the greater parts of the interview rather concerned economic/financial concerns. I learnt that whilst societies transform because of political, socio-economic dynamics, cultural heritage values also change along with the stories, depending on who is telling them.[20]

This lesson suggests that it would be most useful to search for a middle ground where contemporary local communities living close to the heritage sites around Trelawney could be used

[17] Pierce, Martin, and Murphy, "Relational Place-Making."
[18] Terence Ranger, "Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30, no. 2 (June 2004): 215–34, https://doi.org/10.1080/0305707042000215338.
[19] Manyanga and Katsamudanga, *Zimbabwean Archaeology in the Post-Independence Era*, 3.
[20] Iwona Szmelter, "New Values of Cultural Heritage and the Need for a New Paradigm Regarding Its Care," *CeROArt*, no. HS (September 11, 2013), https://doi.org/10.4000/ceroart.3647. last accessed (29 May 2020)

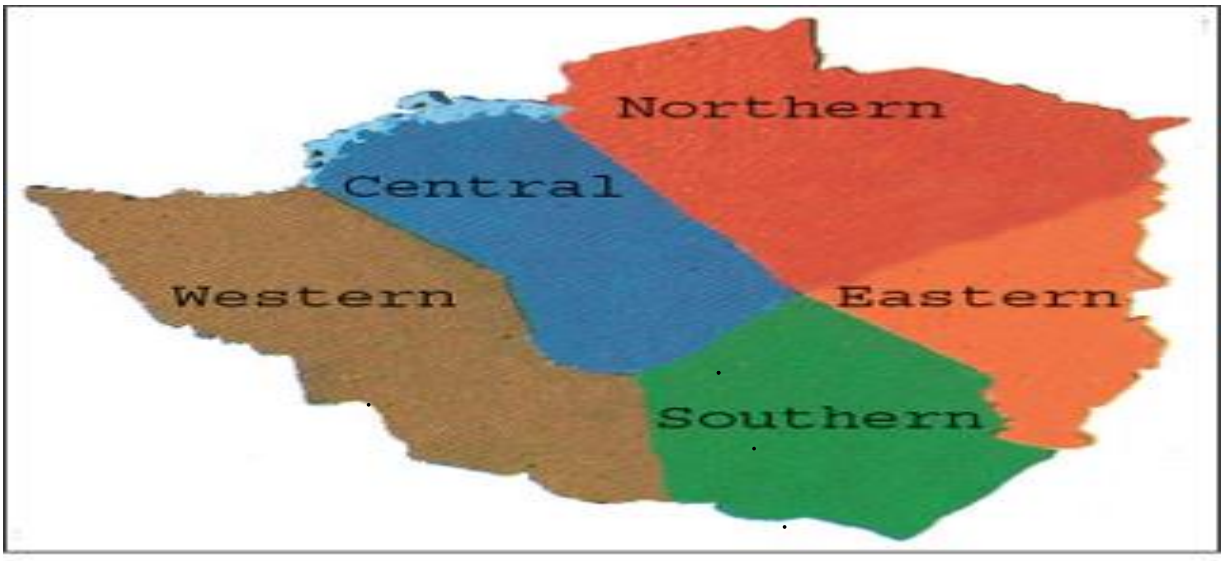
as an example of the ways heritage values can be redefined based on the realities of ever-changing social values in Zimbabwe which should influence the way heritage sites are interpreted, presented, and preserved.[21] One example are the farm workers/AICs who have already created their own ideas of heritage value, transforming old sites into contemporary ones serving religious purposes connected to aspects of ancestor worship.[22]

NMMZ: A centralized and autonomous parastatal organization

The nature of the Zimbabwe's heritage custodian (NMMZ) is worth looking into to understand why interaction/engagement with local communities appears to be an expense the organization cannot afford. National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia (NMMR) was established during the colonial period (1972) but was renamed the NMMZ when independence was attained in 1980.[23] The transition from colonial to post-colonial has not ushered in as many changes as the website of the institution suggests. My desktop research has informed my understanding of NMMZ as a centralized autonomous organization due to the fact that it possesses subtle elements of being a centralized institution as well as an autonomous one despite being clearly conventional.[24] The term centralized autonomous parastatal comes from the way it is structurally managed as an individual organization yet it adheres to government`s policy directives through its Board of Trustees, appointed by any officer[25] holding the ministerial position.[26] Most of the management frameworks are designed within the organization but the power to make final decisions lies with the central

[21] Laurajane Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (Routledge, 2004).
[22] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, illustrated (Routledge, 2006).p52
[23] 'Northern Region, Harare | National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe', accessed 1 May 2020, http://www.nmmz.co.zw/regional-museums/nothern-regionharare.
[24] Thilo Alexander Hüllmann, "Are Decentralized Autonomous Organizations the Future of Corporate Governance?" (Bsc, Unpublished, 2018), http://rgdoi.net/10.13140/RG.2.2.34344.88327.
[25] An officer or Minister in this case is any responsible minister to which the NMMZ organization reports. There have been changes to the ministry in which NMMZ fell in the last five years.
[26] Mahachi and Kamuhangire, "Administrative Arrangements for Heritage Resources Management in Sub-Saharan Africa," 46.

government, hence the inference on NMMZ`s website that it has a decentralized policy making system. My interpretation of the NMMZ website regarding decentralized policy making is that the organization`s executive team and Board of Trustees are responsible for making heritage specific policies. A complicated system like this may well be the root cause for the financial challenges which hinder effective heritage management plans, for example, ineffective local community-based management. The centralized aspect of NMMZ as an organization negatively impacts some initiatives by local communities or other heritage professionals within and outside the NMMZ. No region is independent, especially as far as finances and policy making are concerned, contradicting claims on the website and rather exposing its inherited colonial system.[27] The map below shows five museological regions/administrative offices for NMMZ where the Northern Region hosts the headquarters of the organization.



Source: NMMZ (2012)

Figure 12 A map showing museological regions of NMMZ with Northern Region in Red. Online Source: emerald.com

[27] "Annual Report of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia," Institutional Report (Salisbury: National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, 79 1978).

A couple of pictures attached below demonstrate lack of changes in the heritage protection structures since Zimbabwe became independent[28]. By comparing the two organizational structures (colonial and today's), there are no notable differences with regards to decision-making in heritage practice. Beyond the introduction of the Board of Trustees, there have been no changes in decentralizing the organization`s structures[29], for example, the regional administration like other regions could be autonomous instead. According to NMMZ`s website, each of the regional headquarters is responsible for the administrative management of monuments and museums within the area of that region`s jurisdiction. The five directors, therefore, oversee the administrative work but the policy decisions lie with the executive directors in consultation with the board of trustees. Similar structures are demonstrate the centralized nature of decision making for all regions with Executive and Deputy Executive directors still at the helm of the organization.[30] The executive director may be appointed or employed by the Board of Trustees just like any other staff member. Although all the regional office names changed, none of the descriptions of their activities and responsibilities were altered and the financial and policy-making procedures are still centralized by NMMZ and the government.

[28] In my view, the only notable changes that NMMZ made were names of the Regional Administrative Museum (Offices) for example Umtali Museum is now the National Museum of Transport. The specializations of each region have not changed from the inception of the whole organization.
[29] Informal discussions with former NMMZ employees have informed this assertion.
[30] "National Museums and Monuments Act - Chapter 25:11; Act No. 22" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2001).

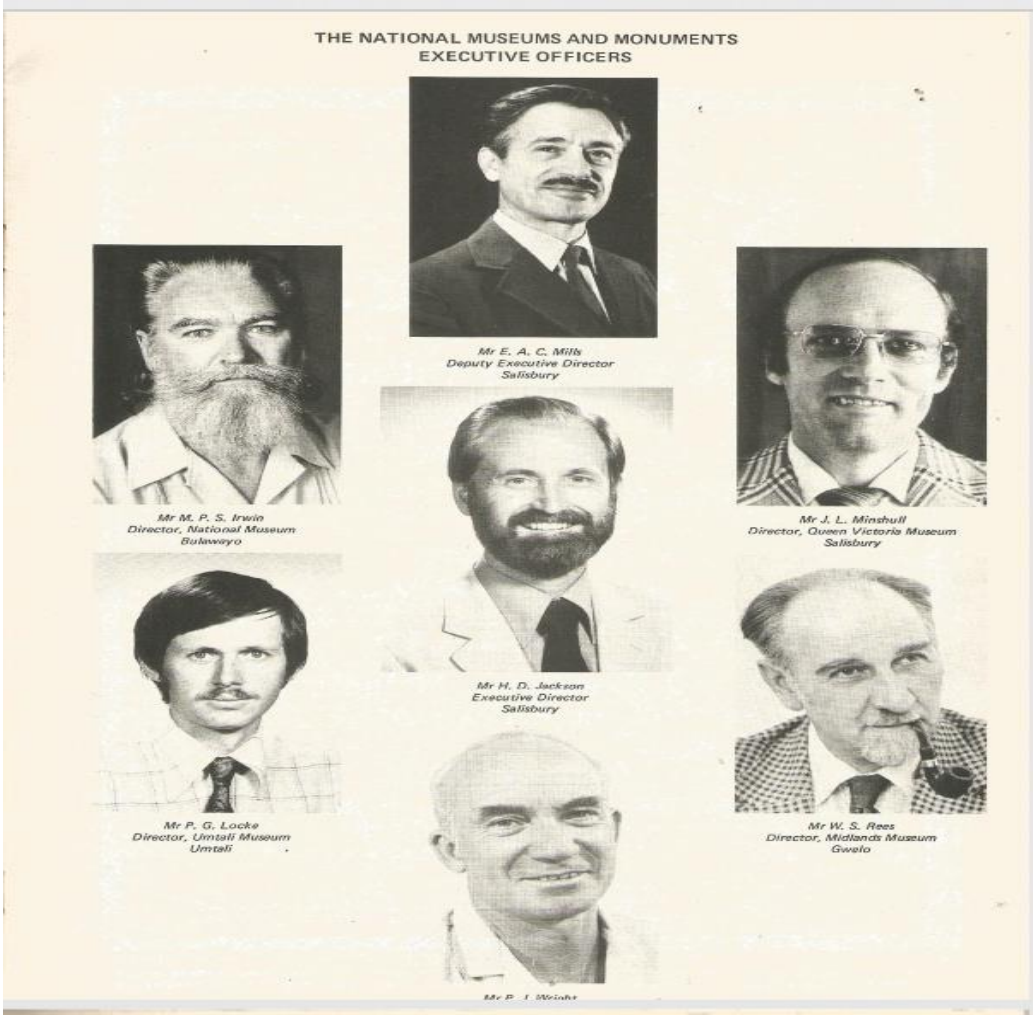


Figure 13 Executive Leaders showing the Centralized Organizational Structure of NMMR. Source: Annual Report 1979.

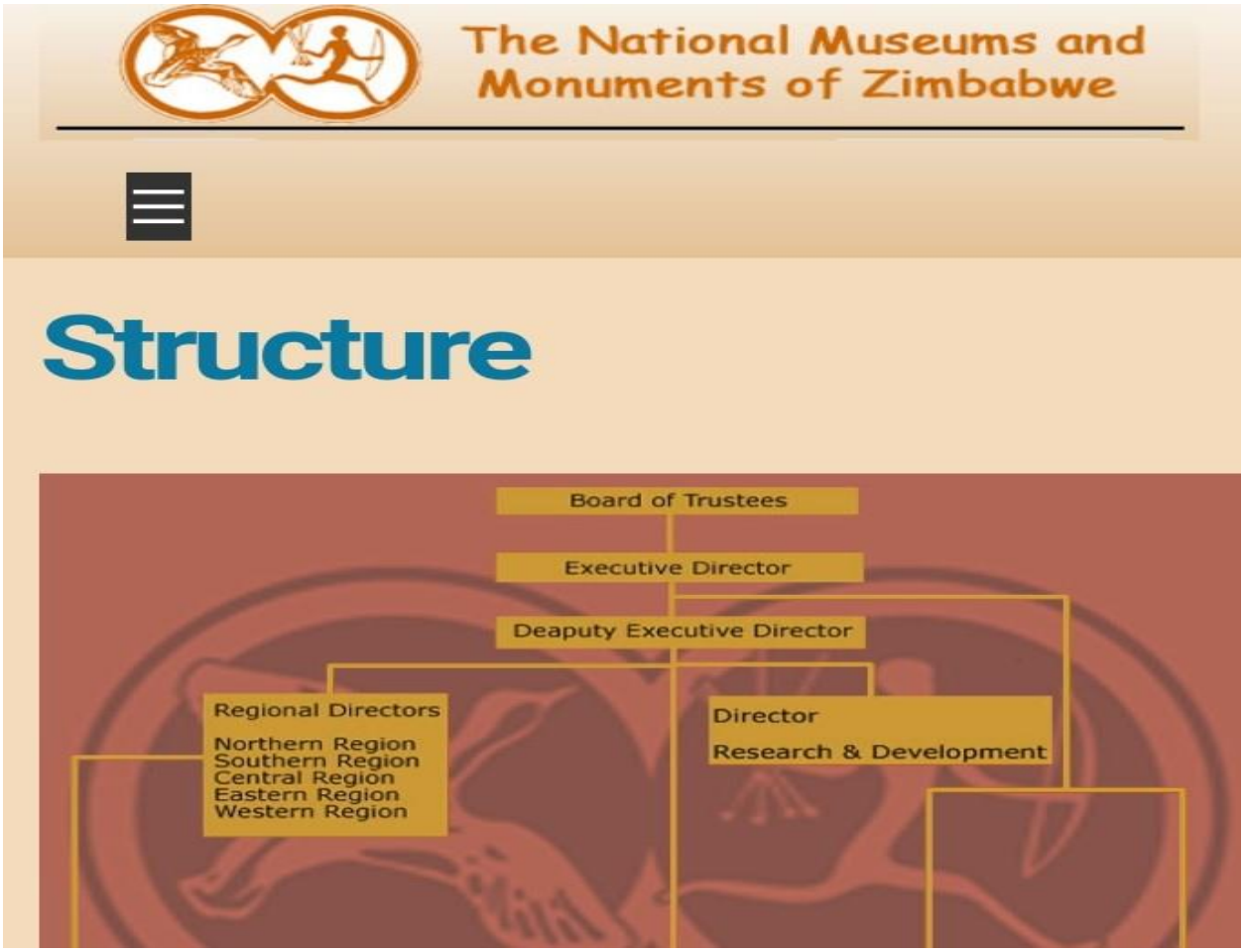


Figure 14 Current NMMZ Organogram. Source: NMMZ website, Accessed 11/05/2020

Since 1980, when NMMZ was renamed, it has operated under a government act from 1972 which served its purpose at that time but is less relevant for handling today's contemporary heritage issues in Zimbabwe. For example, the act does not address issues connected with sustainability in heritage or contract archaeology because neither was considered by the writers of the old act. Present day heritage debates in Zimbabwe have since included Liberation Heritage which was never anticipated in the 1972 Act but clearly remains relevant to the current heritage discourse in Zimbabwe.[31] Some changes that have taken place in the NMMZ responsibilities, including

[31] Joost Fontein, "The Politics of the Dead: Living Heritage, Bones and Commemoration in Zimbabwe," *Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth*, 2018, https://www.theasa.org/publications/asaonline/articles/asaonline_0102.html. last accessed 12/05/2020

attaining custodianship of the National Heroes Acre,[32] evidently reflect the broken link that the NMMZ Act currently has with heritage in today's Zimbabwe.

A clear example of the fact that the NMMZ Act 25:11 has grown obsolete is its guideline on what to do when a monument is discovered.[33] The act stipulates that the discoverer or landowner should notify the Board of any new ancient monument without delay. Such a stipulation applied during the times before the Land Reform Program when land lay in the hands of only a few people but in recent times has become problematic.

Heritage Ideas: Contradictory perspectives - NMMZ, the farmers and the AICs

Much remains to be done by the NMMZ regarding management of the less accessible, and less conventionally attractive heritage sites in the country. The MA thesis by Mundopa clearly demonstrated that NMMZ categorizes its monuments based on a system that segregates the smaller, less attractive, less known and inaccessible sites.[34] It is not in the focus of this thesis to further discuss the negligent and bad management practices surrounding less well known heritage sites by NMMZ. Here, I shall only highlight the fact that Trelawney sites fall within the category of sites that are neglected because they have no custodians, no visitor facilities and are perhaps too fragile to be made accessible, as noted by Mundopa.

Sites in the Trelawney farms remain unclassified because of the reasons stated above and it would surely make little sense for NMMZ to invest much in them because the local communities, as relative newcomers to the area, have no historical connection with them. The farmers and the farm workers have not lived more than two generations on these farms because of the various land

[32] The National Heroes Acre is a designated shrine where national liberation war heroes are buried.
[33] "National Museums and Monuments Act - Chapter 25:11; Act No. 22."
[34] Mundopa, "Researching, Preserving and Presenting Variability: Towards an Augmented Management of Drystone-Built-Capitals of the Zimbabwe Culture."

redistribution programs discussed in earlier chapters. In practice, this physical disassociation of the local population from the archaeology of the region means that the responsible authority of NMMZ does not pay much attention to the physical maintenance of the structures in question, even though the value attributes recognized officially comprise tangible aspects of what would be considered in Europe and the West sites with heritage value.[35] Presenting Trelawney sites in heritage discussions requires a strategy that revitalizes the heritage through accepting the way the AICs from local farm worker communities incorporate these sites in their spiritual practices and, at the same time, technically advise the AICs on good ways to maintain the physical fabric of these sites for future research purposes.[36] By that I mean that it is high time the NMMZ revisits its practice of core managing heritage. The NMMZ needs to share ownership of these sites with contemporary heritage users such as AICs who have redefined the heritage value and meaning for sites that are in the process of being destroyed through natural processes as well as certain harmful religious practices. AICs in Trelawney sometimes modify these sites. Rather than trying to stop them completely, the central authority needs to recognize that some of these transformations, such as using masonry to create star shapes on the ground or leaving pottery behind, could be regarded from another point of view as simply another occupation phase at these sites, not connected to habitation but rather to spiritual practice. At the same time, steps need to be taken to ensure that the sites are not modified so much that they lose all potential research value. [37]

[35] Simon Makuvaza and Violah Makuvaza, "The Challenges of Managing an Archaeological Heritage Site in a Declining Economy: The Case of Khami World Heritage Site Insiegel Zimbabwe," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 15, no. 3–4 (November 2013): 281–97, https://doi.org/10.1179/1350503314Z.00000000061.
[36] David McDermott Hughes, "Comment on 'Community Involvement in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Management: An Assessment from Case Studies in Southern Africa and Elsewhere' by Shadreck Chirikure and Gilbert Pwiti," 2008, 478, https://doi.org/10.7282/T30863JJ.
[37] Peter E. Siegel and Peter G. Roe, "Shipibo Archaeo-ethnography: Site Formation Processes and Archaeological Interpretation," *World Archaeology* 18, no. 1 (June 1986): 96–115, https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.1986.9979991.

Based on the interviews with Trelawney locals, I also realized how the rapidly complex FTLRP (Fast Track Land Reform Program) negatively impacted the heritage management system of NMMZ. The FTLRP produced new sets of conflicts in implementing heritage management measures because of the central government's shrunken financial resources hence NMMZ was inevitably affected by the economic and political effects resulting from the program. Besides, the Central Government`s Acts which contradict the aspects of the contemporary situation on smaller heritage sites, there is a rising conflict in the way heritage values are expressed by NMMZ and the local communities.[38] Communities living and working in Trelawney farms have been there (farm workers) for a couple of generations now as was expressed during interviews with the three oldest community members. On the other hand, the fact that organizational policies and systems have not been properly revisited, and policies restructured, is solely a shortcoming of the NMMZ itself. This situation in my opinion, can be viewed as coming from a lack of creativity and flexibility to adapt to recent social change, something which has eventually come to haunt the official heritage management system of Zimbabwe. In practice, much can be done to ensure responsible stewardship of Zimbabwean heritage resources by tapping into the powerful emotional connections of communities. New heritage values come from their attachment of new functions and meanings to these smaller sites. In the following chapter, an action plan will be presented to clarify the immediate procedures to be carried out to bridge the gap between the local communities and heritage managers in management of Trelawney heritage. The plan will allow for capacity building on both sides (i.e. local communities and heritage professionals) through reporting schemes, discussion, and documentation of these sites.

[38] "Traditional Leaders Act [Chapter 29:17] | Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute."

According to the 'new' farmers, their definition of heritage is the land and the resources it contains, including built structures from prehistoric times, but mostly the land itself. This heritage focus represents an interesting manifestation of the values that Shona and Ndebele people always attached to land over many generations and emphasized through spirit mediums.[39] As explained by Kaoma, spirit mediums held a political, social and religious roles which influenced the masses when they led rebellions against the colonial settlers.[40] The spirit mediums lead social transformations through intellectually mobilizing the masses against colonial land grabs, something that helps explain why the current farm-owners define heritage as land. The emotional value attached to land has always been in the focus of traditional-social systems in pre-colonial societies in Zimbabwe and is one of the main issues that triggered the liberation struggle and the controversial FTLRP in the post-independence era.[41] The definition of heritage or heritage values varies within Trelawney communities depending on which social group one speaks to. Farmers have their own points of view and sets of beliefs which largely conform to the conventional views represented by the central authority. The AICs share a different traditional perspective because of their belief that old sites have connections to ancestors. I believe that the farmers definition of heritage as land is the result of the achieved dreams shared and experienced during the liberation struggle, dreams coupled with political ideologies. Although, their heritage definitions are also meaningful they are attached to a broad definition of land that leaves room for qualifying anything as heritage.

[39] Kapya John Kaoma, "African Religion and Colonial Rebellion:: The Contestation of Power in Colonial Zimbabwe's Chimurenga of 1896-1897," *Journal for the Study of Religion* 29, no. 1 (2016): 59.
[40] Kaoma, "African Religion and Colonial Rebellion."
[41] Ezra Chitando et al., *Multiplying in the Spirit: African Initiated Churches in Zimbabwe* (University of Bamberg Press, 2014), https://fis.uni-bamberg.de/handle/uniba/6445.

The new landowners that I conversed with clearly explained that the FTLRP (Fast Track Land Reform Program) was indeed Fast-Track and has been rightfully described as a program where everything was carried out with fewer consultations with other land stakeholders e.g. NMMZ. When I asked whether they knew about the NMMZ requirement to notify its Board if they discovered a new ancient monument on their land, none of the new farmers had ever heard about it. According to the farmers explanations, they expected to have been enrolled in various workshops, training and outreach programs with different land stakeholders e.g. NMMZ and the Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe. They further explained that they also expected to have been equipped with knowledge about land use that would continuously ensure economic development in Zimbabwe because the land beneficiaries were former liberation fighters without any farming skills. Another important factor I noted in this explanation by the farmers I interviewed was that they felt let down by the Zimbabwean government after the FTLRP because they were promised support that never materialized. There was a lack of transparency and access to information (right to be informed) for these Zimbabwean citizens.

Whilst the new farmers define heritage as land, the farm workers, and the traditional leaders (village heads) within these farms shared their own sentiments and definitions of heritage. Farm workers however, expressed many concerns with regards to the responsibilities everyone had in maintaining the archaeological heritage lying on these lands. An important example comes from an interview with one of the AIC group heads who defined heritage as “land but with the archaeology and history places we have here”. After being asked for opinions on preserving the sites lying within the boundaries of Sable Valley farm, he went on at length to suggest that the first and crucial thing is accepting the responsibilities that came with ownership of land i.e. environmental stewardship. Further probing on what this meant led to an informative discussion

in which he expressed the idea that local groups were responsible for deforestation and hunting, thus, depleting the natural resources were once sustainable.

Tobacco harvesting in Zimbabwe relies on timber for the drying process when the leaf is made into the golden leaf, a process resulting in deforestation.[42] However, the AIC leader had a number of ideas that could be used to ensure use and preservation of the environmental and cultural resources that he referred to as heritage. The suggestions included having an agreement within the community to plant gum-tree plantations that could restore the environmental balance and reduce deforestation. Other suggestions included fencing around the dry-stone walls and rock paintings with wood and other available resources that do not require outside financial expenses.

Archaeological Site Formation - AICs of Trelawney creating a new occupational phase in the life of a site

Different stakeholder views on the values of Trelawney sites open discussions which suggest that these archaeological sites are still undergoing continuous site formation processes. AICs and non-religious locals both believe these sites are sacred, but opinions differ on whether these sites can be actively used or not.

Archaeological site formation can be understood as processes which impact phases at the site before, during or after occupation of any site. Goldberg`s articulation of the anthropogenic deposition and modification of sites and other post depositional effects which take place in different sites suits Trelawney heritage sites well.[43] The author explains that archaeological deposits can have complex histories e.g. markers of different human activities which suggest

[42] "Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board. Grower Booklet.," 2–8, accessed May 4, 2020, https://www.timb.co.zw/storage/app/media/downloads/Tobacco%20Grower%20Booklet.pdf.
[43] Paul Goldberg and Richard I. Macphail, "SITES | Formation Processes," in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, 2008, 2013–17, https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-012373962-9.00285-5.

different dates for a single site. Such variation in anthropogenic activities is evident at Sable Valley site in Trelawney where rock paintings and dry-stone walls appear together although the rock paintings generally belong to the Late Stone Age and the stone walls from Iron Age farming communities.[44] In normal cases, these two archaeological features do not appear in one site, but Sable Valley site in Trelawney has both. Although no dating of the sites has been done yet, it can be argued that these sites in Trelawney are also in an after-stage of occupation which is characterized by contemporary deposits from AICs who use pottery at these sites in their rituals. In some sense, these sites could indeed lie in frontier zones, where small farming communities marked territories with their settlements.

During my interview with the village head of Sable Valley, a clear reference to local cultural continuity with the builders of the archaeological sites was given when he mentioned that he has no royal link whatsoever with the traditional leadership of Zvimba district but that there are sites with sacred meaning for him in the Maringove hills. A disclaimer was, however, given that he had not attended any of the traditional/sacred rituals i.e. beer festival to appease the ancestors in Chief Zvimba`s area but was certain that it was a common practice though not at the Trelawney sites. The mention of Maringove as a cult center is interesting and suggestive although this cultural connection has been attributed to local oral tradition at the time the survey was carried out in 1974. Considering that Trelawney and Darwendale areas are less than twenty-five kilometers apart, separated by the Great Dyke[45] belt of hills, and that this oral tradition recorded the movement of ore from Maringove in the northwestern part of the country where chrome working was known

[44] Manyanga and Katsamudanga, *Zimbabwean Archaeology in the Post-Independence Era*, 175.
[45] Great Dyke is a stretching belt of minerals that runs from northeast to southwest across Zimbabwe. The belt has a high percentage of chromite mineral.A. H. Wilson, "The Great Dyke of Zimbabwe," in *Developments in Petrology*, ed. Richard Grant Cawthorn, vol. 15, Layered Intrusions (Elsevier, 1996), 365–402, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0167-2894(96)80013-3.

could add pieces to the puzzle.[46] The oral traditions of Maringove still exist as acknowledged even by the resettled communities in Trelawney area and the general Zvimba district. If these sites are connected as I presume, it can therefore, be argued that site formation processes in the region are evidently continuous from the earliest dates of the Maringove archaeological sites (fourteenth and centuries AD).[47] As noted by Manyanga and Katsamudanga, Zimbabwean archaeology should self-liberate and refrain from imposing restrictive theoretical management frameworks on archaeological sites because this complicates conceptualization of the overlap between the contemporary appearance of various site formation stages.[48] I am convinced, along with these authors, that there is a need to revisit heritage research, interpretation and management by Zimbabwean professionals. The statement also clarifies how western approaches to certain heritage research presentations can contradict the local (Zimbabwean) understanding of site formation processes including the contemporary communities' role in site formation. In the context of Trelawney, I believe that the only way to create meaning for these small heritage sites is through embracing ethnographic analogies to interpret the present use of sites. At the same time, however, these sites still require archaeological research to provide a scientific background/history for academic audiences.

Trelawney women and their passive-active roles in AICs

During two different research periods during my undergraduate studies and this master's program, I observed that women in Trelawney (Sable Valley, Colenso and Ilsham farms) play a vital, albeit somewhat passive participatory role. Most gatherings for interviews and discussions in general

[46] Prendergast, "Iron Age Settlement and Economy in Part of the Southern Zambezian Highveld."
[47] Prendergast, 116.
[48] Munyaradzi Manyanga and Seke Katsamudanga, "Prodding the Ancestors in Post-Independence Zimbabwe: Conclusions and Future Prospects," in *Zimbabwean Archaeology in the Post-Independence Era*, ed. Munyaradzi Manyanga and Seke Katsamudanga (Harare: Sapes Books, 2013), 252.

were successful because the women attend in larger numbers than men do. As noted in the 2012 population statistics of Zimbabwe, there are high percentages of widowed and divorced women which puts these women at risk of poverty and social misfortunes.[49] I have noted that during my home visits for interviews, women would only passively participate when men were around. In most of my interviews with AIC members, the case was always that women would gather for the interview but would always let the men answer all the questions. Despite being more numerous, women and children would be quiet but often nodded their heads in affirmation. This showed me that this community had distinctive features that were traditionally paternalistic in practices cemented by Christian beliefs in which women submit to the men in family or in communal gatherings.[50] I draw my inspiration for the creation of a women-led preservation group from their unwavering support through attendance to my discussions. In circumstances where I managed to interview women alone, they proved to be highly informative e.g. mentioning the other sites they go to for their midnight vigils. They explained that some of the places they converge on for prayers/rituals do not have any archaeological features but are nevertheless considered sacred. Women have therefore proven to be the best participants in the local communities as they always gave their precious time to attend to my curiosities and research. I, therefore, argue that Trelawney heritage`s management should ultimately be the responsibility of women because they actively participate by attending discussion meetings, showing their support. Their passive participation also shows their keen interest in the discussions and preparedness to give their opinions when solicited, this is a cultural trait within the traditional family set up.[51]

[49] Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, "Zimbabwe Population Census 2012" (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2012).
[50] Dominique Meekers, "The Noble Custom of Roora: The Marriage Practices of the Shona of Zimbabwe," *Ethnology* 32, no. 1 (1993): 35, https://doi.org/10.2307/3773544.
[51] Meekers, 37.

The chapter has aimed to demonstrate the conflicts that exist in Zimbabwean heritage management. Archaeological heritage sites are transformed naturally and culturally as social values and characteristics change. These transformations are inevitable as they are influenced by various factors e.g. politics or climate change, but the responsibility lies in the hands of both contemporary local communities and professional heritage managers. In the next chapter I will present an action plan to foster dialogue between NMMZ and the local communities of Trelawney. The goal is to foresee capacity building in terms of informing policy making decisions through embracing local community initiatives (in this case valorization), consultation and workshops by NMMZ for local communities, teaching technical heritage management for dry stone wall structures.

CHAPTER 4

An action plan for Trelawney heritage management

Community engagement in Zimbabwean heritage circles:

Engaging communities through participation or decision making is a commonly discussed concept within heritage management circles in Zimbabwe. In 2014, a symposium was held at Mutare Museum where the theme was concerned with ways to engage local communities, who comprise the community, what the responsibilities these communities have and the legal basis for engaging the communities under discussion.[1] Emphasis is often placed on the idea that communities can only be engaged, empowered or allowed to participate based on the cultural policy of Zimbabwe.[2] I believe NMMZ, can still shift direction slightly by allowing traditional leaders such as paramount chiefs, local chiefs in villages and religious leaders to monitor local communities that interact with tangible heritage without totally controlling them. Unlike the Batonga community museum where local/traditional leaders feel that they do not have a stake in the affairs of a heritage that is presented on behalf of the Tonga people, new, more inclusive, ways could be forged.[3] AICs and their presence on various heritage sites in Zimbabwe has also drawn considerable attention from heritage authorities although that attention more closely resembles criticism that views the phenomenon as destructive rather than a sign of the changing fabric of society.

[1] Henry Chiwaura and Thomas Panganayi Thondhlana, "The Legal Basis for Community Engagement and Empowerment in Zimbabwean Museums: A Case Study of the Mutare Museum" 1, no. 2 (2016): 1.
[2] "Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2007).
[3] Mawere Munyaradzi, *Heritage Practices for Sustainability: Ethnographic Insights from the BaTonga Community Museum in Zimbabwe* (Langaa RPCIG, 2016), 48.

It is the main agenda of this action plan to recommend that AIC uses of heritage sites be embraced although with technical guidelines developed by heritage professionals. The idea will likely be unacceptable to the current management system i.e. NMMZ because it goes against its western style of viewing and attending to heritage compared to local (Zimbabwean) traditions. Accepting that the social fabric of Zimbabwe differs in various parts of the country and that local values transform and continuously evolve in a dynamic manner just as heritage itself, permits introduction of more creative ways to use and manage neglected heritage sites, especially those which are not currently being properly attended to by NMMZ. Empowering communities in heritage management also entails respecting the new uses sites are put to by various local communities, especially for those sites that are being treated as unclassified/of lower priority. Considering my ongoing argument, Trelawney sites evidence a certain cultural continuity with contemporary local communities/AICs who attach new, special meanings to this evolving heritage. Resulting changes to tangible heritage sites from the past should be seen, in part, as cultural site formation processes on an individual basis.

Instead of letting Trelawney heritage sites be destroyed due to natural threats e.g. climate change, vegetation overgrowth and animal action, AICs could be officially allowed to use the sites for religious purposes. Granting them responsibilities in managing whilst using these sites for religious rituals represents a kind of practical "empowerment" and may be the best way to slow down the process of heritage resource destruction. Assigning management responsibilities also strengthens and respects new strands of intangible religious heritage represented by the practices of AICs on these prehistoric sites that they consider dwellings of ancestors.

Towards shared responsibilities – From formal to traditional management

Since both formal and traditional management structures can be found in some instances on World Heritage Sites in Zimbabwe, it is also advisable to foster community development through allowing local communities in Trelawney to utilize heritage sites in ways that satisfy the social and religious needs and practices that constitute what they also consider heritage.

Trelawney area has a complex leadership or legal authority structure e.g. traditional leaders work within their own social hierarchy whilst political representatives are more dominant despite the fact that there is also a rural administration authority in charge. This action plan is designed to guide the locals of Trelawney in ways to approach other authorities and NMMZ with management alternatives for sites that are currently barely or not at all maintained. It also serves as a plan for sharing responsibilities in managing small sites between stakeholders. Government authorities may legally own property rights to heritage sites whilst local religious groups should also be allowed to manage such sites. NB: This argument shall not be construed to mean purposeful destruction of heritage sites should be permitted but rather represents a method of embracing certain kinds of damage and slowing it through remedial alternatives.

Aims:

This action plan aims create a middle ground with regards to small site management in Trelawney. It seeks to advise the locals on the possible measures that must be implemented when they interact with the sites in Trelawney during religious ceremonies i.e. sites on the Sable Valley and Colenso farms, without having to rely on NMMZ active implementation.

Mission statement:

The mission of this plan is to present a juxtaposed heritage view of Zimbabwean heritage sites through the eyes of AICs as opposed to imposing strictly western/NMMZ views on cultural heritage.

Vision:
To lead a movement to give Zimbabwean Heritage Management and Presentation a contemporary look and voice appropriate for Zimbabwe in 2020.

Goal 1: Seeking local consensus and notifying the NMMZ

1. The first step in the plan is to seek professional advice from NMMZ after sharing my thesis with the Northern Region i.e. the Harare office, responsible for these sites. The reporting or confirmation of the existence of these sites should be initiated by the responsible NMMZ office. With consent from the landowners or farmers, I will visit the NMMZ regional office to re-affirm the existence of these sites since I have already consulted with the NMMZ Northern Region's Archaeological Survey Unit.
2. This visit will require a written letter of consent from farmers notifying the NMMZ of the sites lying on their land as well describing the physical features of the sites. The letter conforms with the requirements set out in the NMMZ Act that anyone can report on a new monument in written form upon its discovery.[4] The letter should also contain information about the ways the sites are currently used by AICs who have found and attached new religious relevance to these sites. The justification is that this is what the Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe stipulates when it states that every citizen of Zimbabwe has a right to participate in cultural practices.
3. The submission of the report or the letter must also seek advice on the ways the sites could be monitored by the current users and gather recommendations for the legal procedures that must be followed regarding these sites.

[4] The NMMZ Act stipulates in Part IV 25(1) that no person shall alter or damage sites without consent from the Executive Director. These sites have already been altered and damaged by local communities, but I argue that had there been Heritage Awareness Programs before and during the Fast Track Land Reform Programs, none of this damage would have happened. A need, therefore, arises to notify, and invite NMMZ to partake in such an outreach program without penalizing communities for perceived damage to heritage resources which are in its custody.

4. I will request that the NMMZ consider a visit to these sites to be part of an outreach program where I would facilitate dialogue between local stakeholders from Trelawney and heritage professionals to discuss the possibility of shared farmers/AIC management of the sites.

Goal 2: Attending to ethical and legal procedures within the Zvimba Rural District

Ethical issues of dealing with Zimbabwean communities from the rural districts require that I seek permission for my plan from the traditional leadership of the Trelawney farms. During my research break I managed to consult the village head of the three different farms in question i.e. Sable Valley, Colenso and Ilsham. The second goal is to start seeking permission and administrative support from the Zvimba Rural District Council whenever the local communities require it. Within the RDC it is most likely that the chief (district level) could be contacted for inquiries, interpretation of these sites, and any other more detailed information about the history and archaeology of Trelawney (Zvimba). The traditional leader's interpretation of local communities cultural connections to these sites could assist in creating or affirming the oral traditions that were mentioned by Prendergast to establish any historical links of the Trelawney sites with already dated sites.[5] No archaeological dates exist for the Trelawney sites and the western ways of acknowledging sites often depend on chronological research. Collecting ethnographic analogies of traditional leaders and AICs connected to similar sites whilst awaiting archaeological excavations is a crucial step that simplifies understanding cultural changes, especially focusing on contemporary manifestations of change.[6] AICs' current sacred interpretations of these dry-stone walled sites therefore, represent another contemporary understanding of these heritage sites.

[5] Prendergast, "Iron Age Settlement and Economy in Part of the Southern Zambezian Highveld."
[6] Manyanga and Katsamudanga, *Zimbabwean Archaeology in the Post-Independence Era*, 252.

Another procedure which will likely be necessary will be consultation with local political representatives e.g. the ward councilor for Trelawney since I initially communicated with him during my field research.

It is at this stage that the strategy for acquiring support, particularly for a women-led heritage preservation project, will be initiated. It is my ultimate desire that the preservation of most of the sites in Trelawney should become mostly the responsibility of women, especially because there are more women than men in the area. The AICs leadership structures are male dominated, and their gatherings have been described as gendered spaces where clearly men have control and authority over women.[7] I believe that this action plan will also serve to a certain extent female emancipation within the Trelawney local communities through local heritage management .

Goal 3: Local committee or custodianship of the sites

Normally, the NMMZ confirms whether sites have been previously recorded in their registers. The interviews with Zimbabwean heritage experts who have experience working with NMMZ has also confirmed that this is the procedure. If the sites do not exist in the NMMZ sites register, regional experts are sent to assess and record unregistered sites for classification purposes. In chapter three, I noted that the NMMZ barely attends to small sites like those found in Trelawny. I therefore propose that local people be permitted to make decisions about the sites within their own local committees. Depending on the actions taken by NMMZ, the Chief (Zvimba District) may be consulted before or after the creation of a local committee. The committee must consist of all stakeholders in Trelawney i.e. farmers, AICs, general farm workers (those who are not AIC members), the ward councilor, village heads and the Zvimba RDC staff.

[7] Tapiwa Praise Mapuranga, "AICs as a Gendered Space in Harare, Zimbabwe: Revisiting the Role and Place of Women," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 39, no. 2 (February 2013): 303–17.

Meeting with all stakeholders at a date agreeable to most members but ideally during the NMMZ visit would be ideal. The NMMZ will most likely assess these sites as not important for anything else beyond formal documentation of the sites to be carried out during the NMMZ visits. Based on this platform, all stakeholders will agree to hand over the management of these sites to the local people. This intensive committee meeting should be a place where professional heritage managers share their views and suggest, if not actually teach, people in the local Trelawney community about technical methods and measures needed to properly preserve the sites. The emphasis on local interpretation and use of heritage in Trelawney should be reinforced so that the intangible heritage surrounding local religious practice is also respected.

Goal 4: Long-term initiative between the local community and women's groups

If the third goal of the project is successfully initiated, the local committee should meet to discuss and record the management plan based on community needs. I will present my plan for a women's group that would be responsible for interpreting and presenting the sites within Trelawney. The mission of the women's group is aimed at empowering the local communities, with respect to control of heritage sites that are neglected by NMMZ, to create, present, and interpret new narratives and management of Zimbabwean heritage in cooperation with heritage experts, starting with Trelawney. Due to Zimbabwean economic hardships and social mayhem, the farm working classes are hit the hardest and, within that group, women suffer the most. Through heritage activities, there could be many opportunities to promote the livelihoods of these impoverished groups in Zimbabwe. These possibilities include promoting a narrative developed by the local communities and introducing it to the academic industry (universities) by facilitating site visits to Trelawney where presentation of contemporary beliefs surrounding heritage values can be

discussed from both academic and local perspectives. Various presentations will be needed to help sell the idea of this new heritage management perspective to some of the Zimbabwean Universities that offer anthropology, archaeology, heritage and museum studies.

Timeline and target:

Since most stakeholder farmers live away from their farms, this stage in my plan will require a maximum time of six weeks. The process should commence with:

1. Confirmation of the contact details of all farmers involved. Requesting a meeting with them as a group or as per their suggestions. (My direct contact person, named McDonald Chikurunhe, will be responsible for this part of the organization) 1 week in early December 2021

2.Drafting the letter and report to be delivered to the NMMZ Harare/Northern Region. Getting the letter approved by all the farmers involved through signatures. 1-week in late December 2021 (Melissa Chinaka)

3. Booking an appointment with NMMZ Northern Region and delivering the documents. Arranging a meeting with the heritage managers or other responsible experts. 2 weeks in January 2022 (Farmer Chikurunhe/Hativagoni)

4. Consultation with the village head on the requirements for booking an appointment with the Chief of the Zvimba Rural District. 1 day in January 2022 after NMMZ feedback (AIC member named Fambaoback and Melissa Chinaka)

5. Visiting Zvimba RDC to book appointments as well as with the councilor. This will require three days total. 3rd week January 2022 (Melissa Chinaka)

6.Meeting with the RDC and requesting their presence during the NMMZ visit to Trelawney. February 2022 (Melissa Chinaka and whatever local member is available)

7. NMMZ visit for documentation and outreach day, April 2022

Finances

Plans exist to solicit funding from the American Embassy, SIDA[8], and the Swedish Embassy as well as the Culture Fund Zimbabwe involving grant applications by the researcher. Most of the goals are achievable without spending much money and, thus, I could also use personal funds e.g. booking appointments using only public transport to travel to such places.

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[8] SIDA- Swedish International Development Cooperation

Conclusion

This research reflected the conflicts and contradictions which arise as heritage evolves and as values are placed on different heritage sites by different stakeholders. A case study from Zimbabwe`s Mashonaland West Province area where the controversial Fast Track Land Reform Program impacted the current state of heritage sites from the point of westernized heritage valorization as well as from the contemporary communities` perspective. The research arguably feeds into the need for heritage professionals to revisit the way in which local communities` roles in heritage management is viewed. Consideration that heritage is not and will never be static, can help improve appreciation of contemporary use of neglected and less aesthetic heritage sites in Zimbabwe by African Initiated Church groups. These management practices can only be efficient when the national custodian of Zimbabwe`s heritage shares its responsibilities and engages in dialogue with the local, contemporary users of heritage sites without imposing its value systems to communities.

Most heritage professionals in Zimbabwe do not perceive community engagement and participation as platforms to teach communities how to interact with heritage as well as an opportunity to support local community heritage initiatives. This research has helped to clarify how AICs adaptive re-use of the heritage sites in Trelawney is a legitimate stage in a site formation process. AIC alterations to sites could easily be vandalism to heritage sites if no time is taken to understand the local communities' initiative. A kind of cultural continuity between the present inhabitants of Trelawney and sites found in the region can only be understood through acknowledging that contemporary communities have an equal stake in preserving these heritage sites and their voice matters. Continuity was interrupted by colonial resettlements and post-colonial resettlements in the Trelawney farms heritage management systems but through changes

and modifications in cultural beliefs manifesting as AICs connections of local people to the land has be reactivated.

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