Yananiso Chinovava Maposa

ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE AT THE CROSSROADS: NAVIGATING COLONIAL LEGACIES, GEOPOLITICS AND CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF GREAT ZIMBABWE WORLD HERITAGE SITE.

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

Central European University

Budapest

February 2020

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By

Yananiso Chinovava Maposa

(Zimbabwe)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfilment 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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External Reader

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February 2020

I, the undersigned, **Yananiso Chinovava Maposa**, 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, February 2020

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Signature

Abstract

Great Zimbabwe is one of Zimbabwe's five World Heritage Sites inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List since 1986. It is a premier heritage site in Zimbabwe, and remains the only archaeological site in the world to give its name to a country when Zimbabwe became independent from a century of British colonial rule. This thesis is the first to explore the sustainable management of the site focusing on the challenges and opportunities arising at the intersection of the country's colonial history. It discusses the effects of the country's socio-economic and environmental challenges, as well as ramifications of geopolitics on the management of Great Zimbabwe. Based on a framework of archival studies, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires and my having an embodied knowledge of what it is like to be an African heritage professional, the purpose of this study is to construct an alternative approach to the future of managing African World Heritage Sites and Great Zimbabwe in particular. The thesis aims to contribute towards the deconstruction of the contemporary heritage discourse, which privileges notions of heritage born and matured in Europe. It enfolds the notion of heritage performance to champion the inclusion of local social beliefs and empowerment of local communities as a way of rethinking agency and collective action in the sustainable management and use of heritage. To illustrate this, the thesis proposes the hosting of an annual cultural festival at Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site, which has potential to make heritage experts, local communities, visitors and heritage performers, as well as generate income for the site and the locals who are increasingly enduring poor harvests.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors Dr Ashton Sinamai and Professor Alice Mathea Choyke for their patience and guidance during this long and difficult journey towards my MA degree. Without their incisive input and support, especially during my moment of grief towards the end of my studies, none of this would have happened. I also want to particularly thank Professor József Laszlovszky, the faculty and staff of the department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University, for their motivation and tireless efforts in ensuring a productive stay in Hungary.

I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to my brother and mentor, Dr Ezekia Mtetwa, for his invaluable time reading this thesis, constructive criticism and endless discussions in the formulation of this project. His was a difficult job as he had to endure incessant questions, sometimes at very odd times even as he was dealing with the demands of his PhD studies. I thank you.

In my language we have a saying *"simbi inorodzwa neimwe simbi",* which loosely translates to "a metal is sharpened by another metal". With this ancient idiom, I would like to acknowledge my classmates for their invaluable input, support and memorable times during our stay in Hungary. I hope you guys have as much success in your future endeavours.

It would be a remiss if I do not acknowledge the Executive Director of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, Dr Godfrey Mahachi, for his assistance in securing interviews and for granting my research permit. I would also like to thank the regional director, southern region, Mr Lovemore Mandima and his staff for welcoming me with open arms and facilitating my research. A special thank you goes to Pharaoh Mushambi, Munyaradzi Mashamaire and Melissa Chinaka for coordinating my research whilst I was away in Hungary. They were kind

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Dedication

To the memory of my father, George Maposa, who passed on just before I finished writing this thesis and complete my MA Degree at the CEU in Budapest, Hungary.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

NMMZ	National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe
WHS	World Heritage Site
GZCRC	Great Zimbabwe Conservation and Research Centre
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
ENSO	El Niño–Southern Oscillation
GZLMC	Great Zimbabwe Local Management Committee
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WHC	World Heritage Committee
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SAREC	Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation
NUFU	Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
FINNIDA	Finland International Development Agency
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
GZWHS	Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site

ODA	Official Development Assistance
RPGZ	Restoration Programme for Great Zimbabwe

INTRODUCTION

> ***Criterion (i):*** *A unique artistic achievement, this great city has struck the imagination of African and European travellers since the Middle Ages, as evidenced by the persistent legends, which attribute a Biblical origin to it.*
>
> ***Criterion (iii):*** *The ruins of Great Zimbabwe uniquely testify to the lost civilisation of the Shona between the 11th and 15th centuries.*
>
> ***Criterion (vi):*** *The entire Zimbabwe nation has identified with this historically symbolic ensemble and has adopted the steatite bird, a possible royal totem as its emblem (UNESCO World Heritage Centre).*

Objectives of the study

The three UNESCO World Heritage Convention criteria above earned Great Zimbabwe a place on the coveted World Heritage List (WHS) in 1986. The inscription made Great Zimbabwe and Khami, listed in the same year, Zimbabwe's first archaeological sites to receive World Heritage status. Earlier in 1984, the Mana Pools National Park, Sapi and Chewore Safari Areas had become the country's first site on the WHS, under the natural heritage category (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2019a). Besides these three sites, Zimbabwe has added one more cultural heritage site to the World Heritage List, (WHL) to date, Matobo Hills, inscribed in 2003, and yet another natural heritage site, Mosi-oa-Tunya/Victoria Falls inscribed in 1989. The country has two more cultural heritage sites on UNESCO's tentative list: Ziwa National Monument, since 1997 and Naletale Cluster of Dzimbahwes, listed in 2018 (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2019b). Yet, and despite its diverse and varied heritage, as well as close to four decades of experience with the idea of World Heritage, Zimbabwe, alongside many other non-Western states, is still less represented on the WHL. In addition, its management of the

few listed sites is often viewed as 'failed' (Willems and Comer, 2011; Makuvaza and Chiwaura, 2014a).

One of the immediate questions this international discontent raises regards what the experiences of Zimbabwe's World Heritage since inscription have really been in a specific sense. Has the inscription process been for better or worse? Again, to what extent are notions of World Heritage conceived of and matured in Europe (Willems and Comer, 2011),and Zimbabwe's considerable post-independence challenges, some influenced by shifts in international relations, affecting sustainable heritage management? Noting that the first criterion used upon Great Zimbabwe's listing was based on the views of European travellers. It raises the question, why the views of European travellers were considered to be the standard for recognition for sites as Great Zimbabwe? As part of the way forward, how far can the notion of Laurajane Smith's heritage performance as an alternative and more socially embedded practice of sustainable management of the country's World Heritage (Smith, 2006). The answers to these questions add impetus to ongoing efforts to rethink agency and empowerment of local communities in Zimbabwe's postcolonial heritage management initiatives. These initiatives are equally crucial for deconstructing the contemporary discourse on heritage management in which conceptual apparatuses, statistical tools and indices based on European experiences of heritage often associate African heritage practices with inefficiency and failure.

This dissertation, therefore, focuses on the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site (GZWHS), with an aim to learn more about experiences there as Zimbabwe's premier WHS, taking into consideration the country's historical and current social, economic, political and environmental challenges. The second aim explores how attitudes to the management and use of the GZWHS can be used to involve local communities and cultures. The thesis will explore alternative

management, interpretations and use embedded in African cultural frameworks which are based on collective memory, performance as well as the perception of the cultural landscape. Most of these aspects lost meaning when the colonial government recognised the uniqueness of Great Zimbabwe and designated it as a national monument as far back as 1936, cutting off the locals from accessing the site. Half a century later, the site joined the WHL, where new ideas to the social landscape of Great Zimbabwe were introduced and are still dominant.

As the most important historical and cultural symbol of African identity in southern Africa as a whole and Zimbabwe specifically, Great Zimbabwe has been allowed to adorn the logos of both public and private institutions, including the currency and national flag of the country (Matenga, 2011). Its associated features in terms of its unique[1] drystone monumental architecture and dramatic historical landscape have attracted performance of both traditional and modern ceremonies at the site, the most notable and controversial one being the celebration of former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Gabriel Mugabe's 90th birthday in 2016 (Sinamai, 2017a). Unfortunately, Great Zimbabwe's multi-faceted significance has always thrown the site into the centre of management (Ndoro, 2001; Fontein, 2009). This is mainly because of fundamental differences of heritage between the universal heritage experiences and the perceptions of heritage typically held in sub-Saharan Africa. As rightly pointed out by (Smith, 2006), the traditional Western definitions of heritage focus on material forms of 'old' or tangibility, which clash with Africa's conception of heritage based on memory, performance, identity, intangibility and place.

In this thesis I propose that the introduction of the new idea of World Heritage in Africa placed the continent's heritage at the crossroads of two discourses. As an old African proverb states: "Where two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers most." At Great Zimbabwe, the fight

[1] Great Zimbabwe is unique within the African context where it is the second largest dry stone walling structure after the Egyptian pyramids.

manifests largely in such key issues of heritage as ownership, access, use, management and value, all of which remain poorly resolved. On the grounds of these conflicting heritage management discourses, this thesis proposes that we enfold the performance perspective of heritage, as a conscious way of rethinking agency, empowerment and collaboration in Zimbabwe's post-colonial meanings and practices of heritage. Specifically, the objectives of the study are to answer the following questions:

- How have the attitudes of the local and international communities changed toward the idea of Great Zimbabwe as a national monument and World Heritage Site?
- What have been the opportunities and challenges of managing Great Zimbabwe since its designation as a national monument and World Heritage Site?
- Within the context of Zimbabwe's political, economic, social and environmental challenges, how can the idea of using heritage bring about a more inclusive and sustainable future for Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site?

Regrettably, most of our archaeological heritage sites in Africa are increasingly endangered (Chirikure, 2013). Around Great Zimbabwe, as in many other parts of Africa, there is an escalation in threats to archaeological heritage from multiple factors including rapid unmonitored urban expansion, agricultural intensification projects, mineral extraction, and a proposed university, which represents a large-scale infrastructural development. In this study, I place emphasis on the inextricable connection between heritage management at Great Zimbabwe and the larger-scale economic, social, political and environmental systems and processes at national and international levels. As stressed by (Niklasson, 2016), archaeology and heritage professionals (institutions too) exist and operate within the political realm, and that sources of funding tend to promote specific aims or motives. In Europe, for example, funding from the European Commission Culture aims to promote European integration and bring a common cultural heritage to the fore, revealing the agency of international funding and

institutions in shaping archaeological heritage (Niklasson, 2016). By extension, a shift in national and international values or attitudes to heritage becomes consistent with changes in the conservation experiences. Zimbabwe's pariah status affected the conservation of Great Zimbabwe, as Western agencies withdrew their support in line with their governments' resolutions against the country.

Area of study

Great Zimbabwe is located on the southern fringes of Zimbabwe's central watershed in the south-central section of the country. At the zenith of its fluorescent period, spanning the eleventh and sixteenth centuries AD, the territory of Great of Zimbabwe's social networks would have included the region demarcated by the Mozambican coastal lowlands on the east, the Kalahari Desert to the west, the Soutpansberg range of mountains to the south and the southern fringes of Central Africa to the north (Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016; Mtetwa, 2017). The site boasts some of the most spectacular and monumental drystone walls in the world, which incorporate natural granite boulders to form "… a symbiotic relationship between natural and cultural creations"(Ndoro, 2001). When political independence was attained from British colonial rule in 1980, the site gave its name to the country, Zimbabwe, a term that means large houses of stones in Shona. The site's material culture and structures, for example steatite birds, the Conical Tower and chevron decoration are significant emblems of national pride, featuring on the national flag and logos of government departments and the country's business world (Matenga, 2011).

Figure 1.The Hill Complex section of Great Zimbabwe showing monumental structures built to imitate the natural distinctive granite boulders on the landscape (Credit: Courtesy of Ezekia Mtetwa and Daniel Löwenborg, 2016).

Great Zimbabwe is renowned for being the largest of more than 300 drystone walled settlements scattered across southern Africa (Ndoro 2001; Pikirayi 2001). It was the most important political, religious and interior trade centre at the height of the Indian Ocean trade network in the first half of the second millennium AD (Mtetwa, 2017). The site continues to inspire global archaeological studies on the development and collapse of past civilisations, particularly from the perspective of the interplay of broader social, economic, political and environmental systems and processes (Trigger, 2003; Sinclair, 2010; Pikirayi *et al.*, 2016). It also remains the most important shrine to varied traditional and Christian religious sects in southern Africa (Ndoro, 2001; Sinamai, 2017b). Both the African Tradition Religion and Christian priests believe that intercessory prayers made to ancestors and God from the site are vital for healing Zimbabwe's current socio-economic and political woes, as well as meeting the vicissitudes of climate change. Clearly, the site means different things to different groups of people within and outside Zimbabwe.

The area of Great Zimbabwe designated as UNESCO's WHS covers 720 hectares. It is a piece of land situated almost at the intersection of four Shona chieftaincies namely Nemanwa, Mugabe, Murinye and Charumbira, the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe's Morgenster Mission station to the southwest and the Lake Mutirikwi Recreational Park to the north. This constellation of government, church and traditional power around the Great Zimbabwe site adds another layer of complexity to its management owing to the claims of different chieftaincies and counter-claims of special attachment to and ownership of the site. In 1987, the 720 ha were encircled by a 14-strand barbed wire fence funded by the UNDP, which further physically appropriated the site and distanced it from the local population (Fontein, 2006a).

Today, the WHS stands clearly as an island of extraordinary biodiversity in the midst of surroundings teeming with a fast growing population of people and livestock, as well as varied scales of infrastructural developments, notably the proposed construction of Great Zimbabwe State University in Mzero Farm, barely four kilometres from the World Heritage Site (see Figure 2). Also in the vicinity of the monument is Nemanwa Growth Point which is posing a huge threat to the conservation of the monument due to its rapid expansion and population increase.

The Lake Mutirikwi Recreational Park in particular, presents an intriguing section of the Great Zimbabwe cultural landscape. The lake was constructed in the 1960s without a pre-development archaeological survey (Fontein, 2011). No archaeological impact assessment was conducted prior to its construction. Thus, it has great potential for adding yet another aspect of the settlement that remains unknown to us.

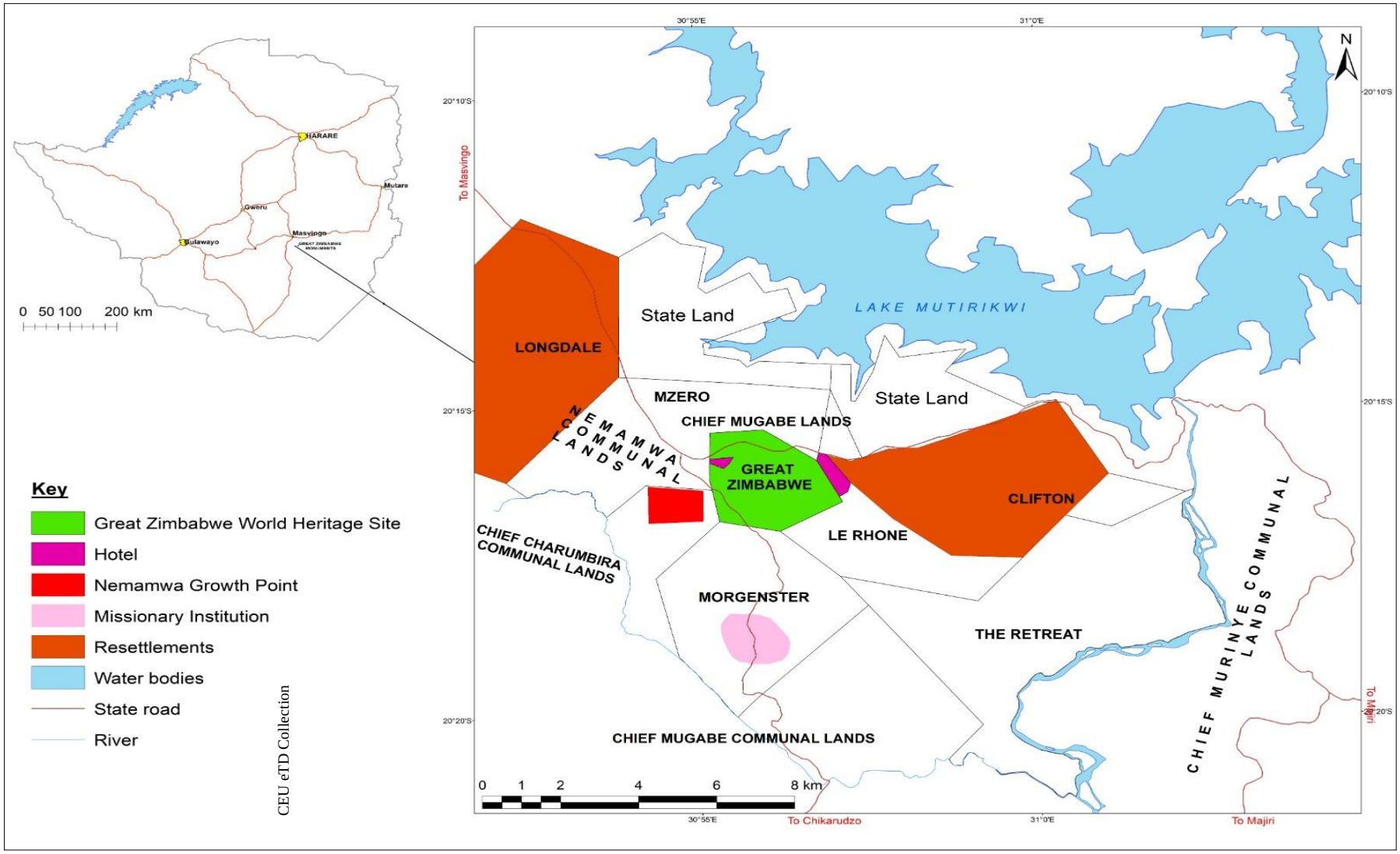

Figure 2. Map showing the location of the Great Zimbabwe and land use patterns surrounding the monument (courtesy of Justin Magadzike)

The theoretical stance

This thesis develops directly from my almost one decade of work experience at the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site as one of the emerging group of young cultural heritage professionals. My interactions with the local communities not only confirmed people's enduring memory of the site's utilitarian and ceremonial value, as well as their reverence for the site in their everyday life. These encounters enlightened me on how exactly the alienation of local communities from heritage practice persists today, decades after the end of colonial rule. As an indigenous African researcher, my theoretical orientation is influenced by interests in contributing towards the restoration and reconstruction of the mutually beneficial social engagement between my people and their heritage, lost over more than a century of colonial and post-independence alienation. To that end, my stance relates very well with (Smith, 2006) socially conservative version of use of heritage which promotes the recognition of the agency of local communities and the values they place on heritage sites. I also incorporate the post-colonial theory to address the way local, formerly colonised communities strive to negotiate their place and space, lost or altered through colonial actions and experiences, a situation that continues today despite attainment of political independence.

Laurajane Smith challenges what she calls the authorised heritage discourse (AHD), which in her own words "... focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and reserve so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education' and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past" (Smith, 2006). She also argues, correctly, that in order to deconstruct the contemporary AHD, there is a need for a new idea of heritage, one with relevance to social and cultural values, as well as meanings in the present. This is a critical point because the ADH often disengages the present social agents or actors from active use of their own heritage,

privileging heritage experts who are seen as caretakers of the past. As such, this thesis uses Smith's idea of performance within African heritage practice as a framework to recognise, construct, reconstruct and negotiate in practice, a range of identities and social values, as well as present day meanings at GZWHS. As emphasized by Smith, heritage is a multi-layered performance, including the performance of visiting, managing and interpretation or conservation. Rather than privileging expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations, the notion of heritage performance embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration while negotiating and constructing a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present. In the case of Great Zimbabwe, the idea of performance has the potential to lift forward the world of African social beliefs, cultural values and practices, which have hitherto been considered irrelevant to the management, interpretation, conservation and sustainability of this WHS.

At the same time, I am inspired by previous research at Great Zimbabwe and elsewhere, which aimed at deconstructing the western-based contemporary discourse of heritage management (Karlström, 2009; Matenga, 2011). In the same spirit, the current study adopts a postcolonial theoretical stance, which provides the tools necessary to critically analyse, deconstruct and argue for alternative heritage practices, particularly in now independent Zimbabwe. In the words of (Sawant, 2012:120) , the notion of post-colonialism emphasizes "the end of colonialism by giving the indigenous peoples the necessary authority, political and cultural freedom to take their place and gain independence by overcoming political and cultural imperialism." The concept also helps to explain how colonialism has influenced different cultures and societies, and at the same time making it critical to find ways of addressing the imbalances that were created in colonial circumstances (Harrison and Hughes, 2010).

It is important to remember that the earliest researchers claimed that Great Zimbabwe was built by a more civilized and foreign population, owing to its spectacular drystone architecture and associated material culture (Bent, 1895; Hall, 1905, 1909). Colonial thinking at the time upheld the view that local African communities, whom the earliest European visitors saw conducting religious ceremonies at Great Zimbabwe (Posselt, 1924), were descendants of technologically naive ancestors, incapable of producing a place of such advanced cultural merit as Great Zimbabwe (Hall, 1909),for instance, asserted that such local material culture such as pottery found at Great Zimbabwe were of recent kaffir origin and reflected decadence.

In addition, the onset of colonialism in Africa was accompanied by new heritage management regimes based on western philosophies (Ndoro, 2001). During the colonial era, African communities were denied access to sites and excluded from their interpretation. These were replaced by western scientists who used artefacts and western knowledge to reveal their history (Pwiti, 1996; Chirikure, Manyanga, Ndoro, Pwiti, *et al.*, 2010; Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). This western research paradigm, however, not only served to alienate communities from their own heritage, but also produced an interpretation and engagement of sites through the lens of a different knowledge system. Beyond any doubt, there were African knowledge systems that were in place connected to the management and use of cultural heritage before the country was colonised (Maradze, 2003; Ndoro and Wijesuriya, 2015a), indigenous knowledge which the colonial regime disregarded. According to (Ndoro, 2001), the fact that outsiders found still existing heritage sites actually attests to the efficacy of those past traditional heritage management systems.

It is important to note that much was expected from the attainment of political independence in Zimbabwe in 1980 with regards the restoration of heritage management. For local archaeologists, this restoration involved the protection of the site and the development of

tourism; local communities expected, among other things, the restitution of cultural properties removed from Great Zimbabwe (Matenga, 2011). As shall be detailed in later chapters, local communities are shocked that they are still witnessing further alienation from and incessant conflicts with agents of the central government over Great Zimbabwe in post-independence Zimbabwe, including violent evictions and arrests of spirit mediums conducting ritual performances at the site.

Ultimately, the inscription of Great Zimbabwe on the World Heritage List in 1986 began yet another chapter in the globalised values used to managed the site. These values emphasized authenticity and integrity in heritage, as enshrined in UNESCO's 1972 Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Cleere, 1989). In many ways, this is fundamentally different from the traditional system that reverenced the tangible aspects of the site largely because of its connection with the intangible but living world of dead ancestors (Pikirayi, 2013). Admittedly, there have been efforts to bridge this epistemological divide between western and non-western knowledge systems within the idea of World Heritage, through the creation of UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage adopted in 2003 (Blake, 2008). Although what lies at the centre of these two conventions is an effort to globalise local heritage as universal cultural resources, the point is that UNESCO's two conventions remain poorly negotiated in as far capturing social beliefs and cultural values in different parts of the Third World is concerned. The fact that these are two separate conventions shows the lack of understanding of concepts of heritage outside Europe.

Organisation of the dissertation

This thesis is organized into five chapters. The first part, Introduction, introduces the study covering the aims, research questions and theoretical framework. It also shows the location of Great Zimbabwe in southern Africa, giving a detailed description of the physical and cultural landscape where the World Heritage site stands. Chapter One deals with the cultural heritage policies, legislation and institutional framework informing or governing the management of heritage in Zimbabwe. The chapter delves into the historical background of modern-day heritage management philosophies back to the colonial period, tracing changes that have taken place along the way, and what has remained unchanged even after the demise of colonisation in 1980.

Chapter Two examines the role and impact of geopolitics in the management of World Heritage using available research[2]. The focus in this chapter is on UNESCO's concept of universal heritage, looking at the opportunities generated from collective responsibility for the world's heritage in the form of technical support, expertise and funding. Importantly for this study, the chapter also explores the ramifications of the World Heritage notion, particularly the tendency for international relations to shift and create unsustainable and uncertain situations for collaborations and technical support.

Chapter Three describes the stepwise methodology adopted for the study, explaining the methods and strategies taken to collect, present and interpret data. The data is synthesised in Chapter Four where a discussion of the findings from the research takes place in light of key research questions. In particular, the chapter demonstrates how the notion of heritage performance has potential to yield alternative and more socially embedded heritage practices,

[2] These are published works by scholars in the fields of international relations and heritage management.

critical for the sustainable future of Great Zimbabwe. Finally, in Chapter Five, I propose a project demonstrating how the notion of heritage performance can be performed, and with what results.

CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL HERITAGE POLICIES, LEGISLATION AND THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK IN ZIMBABWE

1.1 Background

Modern heritage management, in its current form, was introduced to Zimbabwe through colonial channels (Ndoro, 2001; Ndoro and Wijesuriya, 2015a; Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). Prior to European contact, heritage sites in Zimbabwe were managed through a battery of indigenous knowledge systems (Ndoro, 2001; Maradze, 2003; Fontein, 2006a). Site custodians and spirit mediums were tasked with enforcing myths and taboos, which formed part of the guiding measures for protecting and using heritage sites, invariably revered as sacred (Maradze, 2003; Sinamai, 2003). Places such as Great Zimbabwe, Njelele and Khami were regarded as important spiritual shrines, which could not be tampered with (Ndoro, 2001). As a result, these sites survived for centuries of years before they were 'discovered' by early European explorers such as Karl Mauch who publicised them to the western world. That survival in itself testifies to the effectiveness of traditional knowledge systems in the protection of heritage in Zimbabwe.

The veneration of what are now considered heritage sites formed part of the worldview of the extant communities in Zimbabwe, who believed that these sites were the spiritual abodes of their ancestors. Important ceremonies were performed at shrines such as Great Zimbabwe,

Njelele and Domboshava (Makuvaza, 2008a; Matenga, 2011). As important places of worship, these places could be allowed to become overgrown with trees as a sign of respect to the ancestors, to whom the environment belonged, a practice that also enhanced greater biodiversity. Ethnographic examples of cleaning and preservation of sacred sites show that the task was performed mostly by elders of the society, reinforcing the sacredness of the place. By keeping cultural sites covered with overgrown vegetation, communities their maintained the values and showed respect for animal life, especially endangered, small and powerless creatures such as pythons and pangolins, revered as royal animals (Taringa, 2006). However, when early Europeans witnessed over-grown vegetation at Khami and Great Zimbabwe, they mistook it as a sign of neglect (Ndoro, 2001). This misinterpretation of traditional knowledge systems influenced decisions which led to the introduction of western scientific heritage management in Zimbabwe.

Thus, heritage management in Zimbabwe is inextricably tied to the colonial history and experiences of the country. Sites like Great Zimbabwe were used to justify the colonisation of the country as early European explorers believed that the site was not produced by indigenous communities (Chanaiwa, 1973; Ndoro, 2001; Fontein, 2006a; Matenga, 2011). The underlying assumption was that African communities were too primitive to make or define their own heritage. Here is what David Hume thought and wrote, which also contributed towards setting the colonial mood of the day regarding black Africans:

> *I am apt to suspect the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the Whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of that complexion, nor even any individual, eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences. ... [In] our colonies, there are Negro slaves dispersed all over Europe, of whom none ever discovered the symptoms of ingenuity; though low people, without*

> *education, will start up amongst us, and distinguish themselves in every profession. In Jamaica, indeed, they talk of one Negro as a man of parts and learning; but it is likely he is admired for slender accomplishments, like a parrot who speaks a few words plainly.* (Hume, 1758)

Hume's words were parroted much later by Georg Hegel, who dismissed the very possibility of African history thus (Hegel, 1840): 'They have no arts, no sciences—as we see them now, so have they always been ... ' When early European explorers eventually encountered Great Zimbabwe, they sought to attribute its origins to foreign races such as the Phoenicians, Arabs and Queen Sheba (Hall, R, 1907; Matenga, 2011; Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). Karl Mauch, one of the Early European explorers, is believed to have said the following in one of his writings:

> *"I do not think that I am far wrong if I suppose that the ruin on the hill is a copy of Solomon's Temple on Mount Moriah," Mauch declared, "and the building in the plain a copy of the palace where the Queen of Sheba lived during her visit to Solomon." He further stated that only a "civilised nation must once have lived there"* (Ampim, 2004).

Karl Mauch's sentiments depicted a primitive Africa, subject to a foreign and civilised race. Theories of a superior Caucasian civilization constructing the Great Zimbabwe excited Cecil John Rhodes, who conveniently found justification for his plans to subjugate Zimbabwe[3] and its communities (Ndoro, 2001; Matenga, 2011). Soon after colonizing the country, he instituted archaeological research, meant to discredit African authorship of the site by destroying

[3] There is evidence that Zimbabwe was once referred to as Symbaoe in early Portuguese texts. See Pikirayi (1993). The Archaeological Identity of the Mutapa State: towards an historical archaeology of northern Zimbabwe

evidence of the Karanga civilization at the site (Garlake, 1982; Ndoro, 1997). Later research carried out at the Great Zimbabwe authenticated the African origin of the site, but not without hinting at the primitiveness of Africans (Caton-Thompson, 1931). Hence, all efforts to preserve heritage in Zimbabwe, were based on the assumption that indigenous communities were ignorant and were harmful to heritage: African communities were not seen as knowledge producers.

Consequently, the colonial period saw the time when local communities were prevented from accessing the Great Zimbabwe site. This period was characterised by the introduction of legislation giving, greater control and access to European colonists than communities (Ndoro, 1997), and (Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). At other sites such as Khami, local Kalanga people were evicted from their ancestral lands, which either became European farms governed by private property laws (Taruvinga and Ndoro, 2003) or became protected areas such as National Parks (Makuvaza and Makuvaza, 2013). Physical and cultural delineation of the monument took varied forms including the construction of a boundary fence, the systematic and unsystematic restorations of collapsed walls of the site and construction of buildings meant to aid in the conservation and presentation of the site. Major restorations of collapsed stone walls were carried out on different parts of the site, all of them unsystematic and approached from the misinformed interpretation of the site as a product of exotic populations rather than of the indigenous people (Pwiti.G, 1997; Stone and Hui, 2014). In all the reconstructions, the opinions of local communities were not seen as relevant.

Importantly, the colonial period marks a period where greater importance was given to the physical wellbeing of the site over its values to the local communities who were now required to pay entrance fees to get into the monument (Fontein, 2006b). In the dispensation ushered in by colonialism, heritage was protected only for scientific, aesthetic, research, social and

economic reasons (Ndoro, 1997). Greater importance was given to satisfying the mainly European visitors who came to the site. Sadly, postcolonial heritage managers have yet to fully answer the age-old question: Who are they preserving the heritage for (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008). Western science was seen as being "open, systematic and objective, dependent very much on being a detached centre of rationality and intelligence", whereas indigenous knowledge is seen as being "closed, parochial, unintellectual, primitive and emotional" (Herbert, 2000; M. Rezaul Islam, 2012).

Modern day conservation of Great Zimbabwe requires that it follows international principles of authenticity and integrity. According to the 'western', and contrary to local understanding, authenticity and integrity are measured through tangible lenses where a building or monument has to be restored so that it is true to the original form in every aspect (Jokiletho, 1985; Ndoro, 2001). These concepts are supported by such funding organizations such as the World Heritage Committee and international advisory bodies such as ICCROM and ICOMOS (Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). These bodies have provided the bulk of funding for the restoration and conservation practices at the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site. The conservation of Great Zimbabwe and Khami as World Heritage sites has tended to follow more the principles of the Venice Charter in order to protect the sites from, reactive monitoring or delisting from the prestigious World Heritage list by UNESCO (Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). Obviously, delisting of these sites would create a bad image for the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, since it would also mean a significant loss in revenue coming from cultural tourism. Hence, communities continue to be excluded from the site.

1.2 The heritage regimes of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's cultural and natural heritage is now protected by an Act of Parliament, the National Museums and Monuments Act Chapter 25:11, created in 1972 (Murambiwa, 1991).

The National Museums and Monuments Act, replaced the 1936 Monuments and Relics Act (Ndoro, 2001). The NMMZ Act establishes the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, a quasi-independent body, to provide for the preservation of ancient, historical and natural monuments, relics and other objects of historical or scientific value or interest (NMMZ Act). Pursuant to the objectives of this Act, a National Monuments list was first created in 1936 and has been running since. According to the NMMZ website, "the register is a prime list of places that embody the history of Zimbabwe embracing key aspects of heritage such as religion, language, culture, buildings, human conflicts and human actions on the environment" (NMMZ, 2015). As of 2015, according to the website, the register had 137 sites. As rightly noted by (Ndoro, 2001), the classification of sites on the National Monuments list in Zimbabwe, is directly influenced by ideas of world heritage which tended to classify sites in order of their importance and appearance.

Both the Monuments and Relics Act and the National Museums and Monuments Act were formulated during the colonial era. This is of particular interest because, as has been established by scholars such as (Ndoro, 2001), heritage management developed as a preserve for the few and as a result it was seen as a highly academic subject and never meant for popular consumption. In the words of (Smith, 2006), there is a hegemonic 'authorized heritage discourse', which is reliant on the power/ knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenity societies. Therefore, most of what guides the management of heritage in Zimbabwe today is still very much elitist and exclusionary. Local communities, on the other hand, are still fighting for the inclusion of their traditional knowledge systems in the conservation of heritage sites, a fight which at times includes vandalism (Taruvinga and Ndoro, 2003; Fontein, 2006a; Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). Local communities are still not seen as valuable sources of information or as producers of knowledge. The NMMZ Act does not even specify the roles of local

communities in the management of heritage, despite the call by scholars to do so (Ndoro, 2005; Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008; Chirikure, Manyanga, Ndoro, Pwiti, *et al.*, 2010)

Several other colonial practices still hamstring the management of heritage in Zimbabwe. The NMMZ Act, for example, is still inferior to the Mines and Minerals Act because of the priority the government shows for developmental projects (Chirikure, 2013; Makuvaza and Chiwaura, 2014b). This is not a situation unique to Zimbabwe. Across the African continent, the archaeological and built heritage is facing escalating threats from multiple factors including rapid unmonitored urban expansion; large-scale agricultural intensification and irrigation projects; oil, gas and mineral extraction; dam construction and other large-scale infrastructure projects including port facilities and railways; climate change; inter-community violence and international terrorism; looting; and steady demographic growth. A classic example related to Great Zimbabwe is the destruction of burials in Sviba Hill barely five kilometres outside the GZWHS. A Chinese construction company was granted permit to develop a mobile network base station without prior pre-development surveys, leading to the desecration of burials of chiefs belonging to the Murinye clan. These burials had been long protected by myths and taboos (Mtetwa *et al.*, 2012). In Africa, the general assumption is that little attention is given to archaeological heritage sites since it is generally assumed most African governments consider that heritage can contribute very little to (Ndoro and Wijesuriya, 2015b; Chirikure, Ndoro and Deacon, 2018).

There are other pieces of legislation aimed at supporting the management of the country's natural and cultural heritage. These legislations are important in that they address and overlap with some fundamental aspects associated with the field of heritage management. However, there seems to be little or no inter and intra departmental communication and coordination, resulting in the destruction of heritage as was the case with the desecration of Sviba Hills near

the Great Zimbabwe (Mtetwa *et al.*, 2012). In the latter case, NMMZ was left out of the protocols and communications between Masvingo Rural District Council, responsible for allocating land for development and the developer, Econet Wireless. Consequently, the developer obtained permission to construct the network booster without conducting an Archaeological Impact Assessment. However, in many other cases, the combination of one or more pieces of legislation have improved the protection of heritage in Zimbabwe. The following Acts have a direct or indirect bearing on heritage management in Zimbabwe:

- Environmental Management Act (Chapter 20:27)
- Tourism Act (Chapter 14:20)
- Forestry Act (Chapter 19:05)
- Regional Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29:12)
- Rural District Council (RDCS) Act (Chapter 29:13)
- Traditional Leaders Act (Chapter 29:17)
- Parks and Wildlife Act (Chapter 29:14)

1.3 National heritage management principles

According to (Ndoro, 2001), protective legislation of the archaeological and cultural heritage throughout the world is usually governed by three basic principles:

- To protect resource existence for the present and future generations
- To develop the dimension of understanding and experiencing cultural heritage, as a precondition for human life.
- To protect and extract scientific information inherent in the cultural environment as a precondition for describing and interpreting history.

Zimbabwe does not have a document that clearly enunciates its national heritage principles as is the case with countries such as Australia (Cleere, 2005; Smith, 2006). Instead, international principles largely guide or inform the country's heritage management systems and processes. International treaties and protocols have been influential in enhancing the development and implementation of heritage management principles in Zimbabwe. Through organisations such as ICOMOS, a raft of Charters has been developed which deal with different aspects of heritage management such as tourism, restorations and community involvement. ICOMOS has the inheritor of conventions and protocols dating back to the *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments of 1931* (Charter, 1931).

The most notable international charter in use in Zimbabwe is The Venice International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites of 1964, dealing with technical matters during restorations of historic buildings (Silva, 1983). Importantly, the principles enunciated by this Charter are at the forefront of clashes between communities and authorities in Zimbabwe as they are in contradiction with local values and belief systems especially during restorations of dry stone walls (Fontein, 2006a; Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). The principles of conservation set forth in the charter, are based on the concept of authenticity and the importance of maintaining the historical and physical context of a site or building (Rojas, 2014). Increasingly, the provisions of the Venice Charter have been criticized by local communities who believe restoration should be a spiritual process and should not only focus on the physical (Krishna Menon, 1994). These criticisms have seen the development of other charters such as the Burra Charter, which place greater emphasis on community processes and intangible values, moving away from the focus of the Venice Charter on technical expertise and the preservation of the historic fabric (Truscott and Young, 2000).

Summary

This chapter sought to highlight the development of heritage management systems in Zimbabwe. The chapter highlighted the heritage management scene before the commencement of colonialism in Zimbabwe, which was dominated by indigenous knowledge systems. However, the heritage management landscape is now dominated by legislative frameworks which are hugely influenced by European standards of heritage management. Indigenous knowledge systems, long practiced by local communities were disrupted as colonial authorities took a racialized view in promoting westernised forms of heritage management.

CHAPTER TWO

GEOPOLITICS AND WORLD HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I seek to examine the role of geopolitics in the management of World Heritage using available research. In the focus is UNESCO's concept of universal heritage, which arguably has brought about opportunities to create a collective responsibility for the world's heritage in the form of technical support, expertise and funding. However, the increasingly complex global crisis in terms of global pandemics such as acquired immune-deficiency syndrome (AIDS), worldwide financial collapse, global warming and international terrorism amongst others, continue to threaten heritage in a far more negative way than is currently understood (Costanza *et al.*, 2017). Effective and sustainable heritage management must begin to take into consideration such changes in the global environment if long-lived archaeological heritage is to be achieved.

2.1 Geopolitics

The definition of the term geopolitics has proven problematic. Coming up with a specific definition of geopolitics is notoriously difficult since, the meaning of concepts like geopolitics tends to change as historical periods and structures in the world order change (Tuathail *et al.*, 1998). The term's use and meaning has transformed from being associated with western imperial projects in the first half of the twentieth century, to its use as an ideological proxy

during the Cold War, the fight against terrorism and, of late, climate change. However, what is generally agreed is that the term was coined originally in 1899 by a Swedish political scientist named Rudolf Kjellen, (Atkinson and Dodds, 2000; Sidaway, 2001). Scholars believe that the term geopolitics was coined as geographers and other thinkers sought to analyse, explain and understand the transformations and finite spaces of the *fin de sickle* world (Atkinson and Dodds, 2000). What is evident is that the term was influential in bringing to the fore, geographical thinking about the relationship of humanity and the environment (Parker, 1998).

For purposes of this study, geopolitics is defined and understood as the relationship of international political power to the geographical setting where this activity takes place (Gray, 1988; Parker, 1998). In other words, the term can be used to understand the state's interest and how the state tacitly or overtly represents such interests. Focus is on the relationship between State Parties based on their geographical and political settings. This study problematizes geopolitics as a major challenge to UNESCO's concept of universal heritage (Meskell, 2012a, 2013; Meskell *et al.*, 2014).

Geopolitical relations can provide opportunities for enhanced cooperation but, in many other instances, create vulnerabilities in the management of heritage, escalate conflicts and other forms of human insecurity, as is happening in the Middle East (Bewley, 2017; Sheldrick and Zerbini, 2017). In the context of African heritage, very little has been done to understand the impact of geopolitical relations on the management of heritage. Whilst the study uses the case of the Great Zimbabwe to demonstrate the ramifications of geopolitics in the management of the site, it also draws attention to other regional and global experiences. As shall be demonstrated, geopolitics, if not properly addressed might as well be the undoing of UNESCO's vision of World Heritage.

2.2 UNESCO, international politics and World Heritage management

UNESCO's concept of World Heritage under the aegis of its 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, has received considerable support from State Parties since the formation of the organisation in 1945. State Parties have keenly taken up the task of ratifying the Convention. As of the 31st of January 2017, 193 State Parties had ratified the Convention (UNESCO, 2019). The success of the World Heritage Convention has been spurred by the belief that State Parties with World Heritage Sites garner international, national prestige and can tap the potential benefits of heightened awareness, tourism, and economic development (Meskell, 2013; Meskell *et al.*, 2014). Moreover, as noted by (Askew, 2010), having the national cultural and natural heritage valued and recognised by the global community is regarded as an important issue internationally, a source of pride and prestige. The possibility of such benefits has made UNESCO popular especially in regions where financial resources to manage the State's affairs, let alone heritage, are lacking. Above all, the ratification of the Convention underpins the recognition and awareness by State Parties of the need to protect the finite heritage resources around the world and in their respective countries.

The 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, calls for a collective responsibility to the management of the world's heritage. Through this convention, several high-profile interventions have occurred which helped galvanise the importance of UNESCO to the rest of the world. In 1960, the Nubia campaign was launched to rescue some of the priceless heritage that was destined to disappear under water when the giant Aswan Dam was completed on the Nile (Cleere, 2011). In 1966, UNESCO spearheaded an international campaign to save Venice after disastrous floods threatened the survival of the city (Frey and Steiner, 2011a). This underpinned the responsibility the world had to the

preservation of heritage for all humankind. International cooperation has proven to be successful in combating all forms of deterioration on World Heritage Sites in distress.

2.3 Geopolitics as an inhibitor to the concept of World Heritage.

Geopolitical interests between State Parties continue to affect the operations of UNESCO and the concept of World Heritage, long after the end of the Second World War. The history of the role of geopolitics can be traced back to the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education[4] (CAME), which laid the foundation for the creation of UNESCO. It must be recalled that, CAME's creation was a political tussle, firstly between France and Britain, with the former working tirelessly to promote French language and culture at the same time counteracting Anglo-Saxon influence in the organisation (Wanner, 2015). Secondly, the geopolitical tussle pitted the United States of America against what it saw as an overly aggressive British leadership. The US was also increasingly becoming afraid of losing influence in securing modifications to UNESCO's objectives if the country continued to be on the side-lines. Subsequently the US joined CAME in 1944 and played a dominant role in the conception of UNESCO to its political ideology. UNESCO was created with very little participation from experts as the delegations to the London Conference were mostly politicians (Wanner, 2015). The dominance of political decisions on UNESCO platforms continues to this date and their ramifications to World Heritage will be explained in detail in this section.

Whilst geopolitical relations between State Parties were very instrumental in the formulation of UNESCO, they in some cases, are responsible for challenges affecting the concept of universal heritage. Most of these geopolitical challenges were inherited from the Cold War. As explained by (Long and Labadi, 2010), the Cold War created a political system where nations

[4] a gathering of Education Ministers interested in the post-war reconstruction

were asked to choose sides or, in the case of the Non Aligned Movement, forced not to choose sides indicating the extent to which it was no longer possible to avoid involvement in broader global processes (Long and Labadi, 2010). Whilst the Cold War has ended the current trajectory of global political relations indicates that the world is increasingly becoming divided along the same East-West allegiances. This polarisation extends to the voting patterns at UNESCO decision making platforms such as the WHC (Meskell, Liuzza and Brown, 2015) and also changes attitudes amongst member states. For example, "during deliberations on the admission of Palestine to UNESCO, the United States, Canada, Germany and Holland voted against Palestinian membership. Brazil, Russia, China, India, South Africa and France voted in favour" (Irish, 2011). With the exception of France which voted for admission, the voting outcome was reminiscent of East-West alliances characteristic of the Cold War.

International attitudes towards the management of World Heritage tend to change following geopolitical conflicts. The acceptance of Palestine to UNESCO had huge repercussions for UNESCO, as the United States of America withdrew funding due to the organisation's recognition of Palestine (Meskell, 2015a). The United States was also particularly concerned with UNESCO's decision against its ally Israel, to inscribe the Old City of Hebron and the Tomb of the Patriarchs as a World Heritage Site, and to associate the site with "Palestine" (Blanchfield, 2017). Inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1981, the Old City of Jerusalem has long been out of UNESCO's reach because of politics, particularly its contested status following the 1967 occupation and unilateral annexation of East Jerusalem as the heart of Israel's capital in defiance of international law (De Cesari, 2010). Due to these issues, the USA subsequently left UNESCO in 2018. The withdrawal of the US had serious financial ramifications for UNESCO since the US contributed about 22% of the organisation's funding (Irish, 2011). More so, the fallout had serious consequences to Palestine as all US assistance to Palestine—including security assistance, came to an abrupt halt in February of 2019 (Arbit,

2019). Whilst the recognition of Palestine stood as an opportunity to enhance cooperation in the preservation of the country's heritage, geopolitics has proved to be an impediment UNESCO's vision of global efforts in the management of heritage.

UNESCO's concept of World Heritage depends on the mutual cooperation of State Parties. However, the mutual understanding of State Parties is sometimes broken due to broader geopolitical disturbances. In the last quarter of a century alone, the conflict in former Yugoslavia, the second Gulf War and the Northern Mali Conflict have all seen sites of important cultural heritage severely damaged by warring parties, whether directly or through a lack of care – which can be just as destructive as a bomb or mortar blast (Harrowell, 2016). In Syria, several famous WHS such as Palmyra have been destroyed and looted by terrorist groups. What is of particular concern is the fact that the civil war has dragged in regional and global powers waging a proxy war in Syria and cause huge population displacements within and beyond the region (Karim, 2017). This proxy war has affected the relationship between communities and their heritage and, at the same time exposed the way competing political interests can harm efforts in the preservation of the world's heritage. Unexpectedly, countries such as the US and UK which used to back Syrian conservation efforts, have since issued travel warnings to their citizens (U.S. Department of State, 2019). Despite the end of the Cold War, global superpowers are still competing for geographical space to exert their political influence (Long and Labadi, 2010). The most notable example of the ominous threat of geopolitical ambitions of global superpowers has been the Russian support for the government of Syria despite international calls for recognizing Syrian sites as endangered (Meskell, 2015b).

The historic influence and dominance of Western thought in the operations of UNESCO, might be part of the reason why the concept of World Heritage is not thriving in other parts of the world. Critics of the composition of the WHL, point to the imbalances created in the

distribution of World Heritage sites according to countries and continents (Frey and Steiner, 2011b). Ironically, it took more than two decades for some Western states to actually make any proposals for World Heritage listing, but once they did, most submissions and subsequently most inscriptions did come from Western countries (Willems and Comer, 2011). Meanwhile, countries such as Zimbabwe, which ratified much earlier have only 5 sites on the list, and two on the tentative list, one which has been there since 1997. This is a situation which has the possibility of creating a negative image for UNESCO's most successful piece of legislation (Meskell, 2013). Already post-colonial communities in Africa have misgivings towards UNESCO as they view World Heritage as a kind of colonial imposition (Chalcraft, 2016). Critiques of Euro-centrism have also led calls for alternative, more grounded philosophies and curatorial methodologies, that borrow or at least recognise knowledge systems inherent in other parts of the world (Winter, 2009). Although in 1994, the WHC launched the Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List (hereafter Global Strategy), in a bid to raise the share of non-European Sites on the List, "the immediate success of these efforts is questionable" (Strasser, 2002; Steiner and Frey, 2011).

Scholars such as (Askew, 2010), bemoan the fact that the current setup of the organisation empowers State Parties over technical experts especially during deliberations of the WHC. Such a scenario results in UNESCO being used as a platform for the performance of international politics (Meskell, 2014). For example, post-colonial countries are now creating pacts during deliberations of the WHC to list properties to the WHL (Meskell, 2014). The World Heritage Committee has become politicised as countries from the Global South seek to assert themselves in order to counter the domination of Western philosophy at UNESCO. While the goal of UNESCO is to protect Sites of vital importance for humanity, not unexpectedly national interests dominate global interest. As (Frey, Pamini and Steiner, 2013) aptly put it: "the rhetoric is global: the practice is national." Hence, countries from the Global

South are coalescing against the idea of heritage practice as determined by the West. However, this is of concern, since political formations and decisions are superseding the cultural merit of sites, resulting in sites which do not meet the criteria of the World Heritage Committee getting Listed (Meskell, 2012b). The initial objectives of UNESCO are no longer being met, that of celebrating and conserving outstanding pieces of heritage, both tangible and intangible, for the sake of humanity.

Geopolitics continues to threaten the progress that has been made in the management of the world's heritage. As highlighted earlier in the chapter, geopolitics as a concept was very influential in promoting western hegemony in the execution of state power (Atkinson and Dodds, 2000). Geographers and explorers were useful to the state as they provided valuable information effective in shaping the state's policies and interests. Inevitably this geographical knowledge brought about the domination of Western conception of the world (Smith, 1980). Sadly, this domination of Western knowledge drove other forms of knowledge into irrelevance (Pwiti and Ndoro, 1999; Ndoro and Wijesuriya, 2015b; Chirikure, Ndoro and Deacon, 2018). It's unfortunate that instead of a rapprochement of different forms of knowledge, non-Western forms of knowledge continue to be ignored long after the collapse of colonialism, a situation exacerbating the rate of conflicts at heritage sites and limit UNESCO's ability to dispense its mandate.

The listing of sites to the WHS and continued use of western standards of heritage management has proven to be a challenge in other parts of the world. One of the major concern for societies has been the appropriation of heritage places by State Parties to cater for a booming tourism industry which feeds off from UNESCO's World Heritage program. (Rakic and Chambers, 2008:146), note that "..the World Heritage status has become a measure of quality assurance, a trademark and an 'authenticity stamp' for the heritage tourist and an arena for the presentation

of prestigious national heritage, integral to the nation building projects of States Parties". As State Parties, especially in developing nations of Africa, see listing of heritage sites as solutions to their economic challenges, communities find it harmful to their heritage. For example, communities near Njelele Shrine, in southwest Zimbabwe, have resisted the management of their shrine using modern heritage laws. They fear that it would open up their religious shrine to mass tourism, with the government taking up all the proceeds and communities getting nothing in return (Makuvaza, 2008b). Just like at other places such as Great Zimbabwe, communities fear their shrine will lose its sacredness if it's opened up to tourism (Makuvaza, 2008b; Fontein, 2009).

The criteria with which UNESCO uses to select sites to the World Heritage List has long been problematic. During the relatively short lifespan of the World Heritage Convention it has become evident, looking at a map of World Heritage Sites, that heritage as defined by UNESCO had not made an equal appearance in all continents and did not represent the full diversity of cultures in the world (Rico, 2008). Barring the unequal representation of sites to the World Heritage List, another bone of contention has been the failure of UNESCO to recognise other forms of heritage outside Western standards. UNESCO's definition of heritage shows that it is grounded in Western philosophies which give primacy to the preservation of physical buildings and landscapes (Smith, 2006). This is in contrast to other philosophies, notably from sub-Saharan Africa, which value the intangible aspects of heritage.

One of the key objectives of this thesis is to examine what the experiences of GZWHS have been, particularly in the context of Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform, which dragged in global powers who implemented sanctions on the country, causing huge donor organisations in archaeology such as SIDA/SAREC, NUFU, African Archaeology Network to withdraw from the country, the latter fund relocating from being hosted by the University of Zimbabwe

to the University of Dar es Salaam. The thesis focuses on the history of funding and collaborations in heritage management involving Great Zimbabwe Chapter four, 4 explores the challenges of World Heritage when international relationships sour in Zimbabwe's ever-worsening socioeconomic, political and environmental systems and processes employing a variety of data collection methods.

Summary

UNESCO's World Heritage Convention has been aptly described as the most effective international legal instrument for the protection of the cultural and natural heritage(Frey, Pamini and Steiner, 2013). Born out of the ashes of the Second World War, UNESCO has played a major role in promoting and fostering peace, tolerance and international co-operation by pursuing the effective management of the world's cultural and natural heritage. Importantly, the organisation has managed to bring State parties to the table.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS, STRATEGIES AND RESULTS

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the methods and strategies, as well as present and interpret the results of the various techniques employed in this study, within the framework of stepwise methodology. I began by obtaining permission to conduct research on Great Zimbabwe from the NMMZ Executive Directorate. The permit was crucial for accessing non-public records, particularly as concern to desktop research and archival studies. Once the permit came, I began with a review of the works published on the management of Great Zimbabwe and related WHS. This review was followed by archival studies at the GZCRC, at the World Heritage Site itself, the NMMZ Head Office in Harare and the Department of Meteorology. Although, part of the information on Great Zimbabwe is kept at the WHS, where all the heritage activity in NMMZ's Southern Region is administered (see Figure 3), a greater part of the data from this corpus is kept at the Head Office in Harare. The same thing holds true for records of weather elements recorded at Great Zimbabwe; these records are stored in the capital city, Harare.

Subsequently, I conducted interviews and focus group discussions, as well as emails, the latter for individuals who were not be available to be interviewed. Below, I present a restatement of the guiding research questions shaping the varied data collection techniques employed in this study (see appended questions and questionnaires for the detail interviews conducted):

- What have been the opportunities and challenges of managing Great Zimbabwe since its designation as a national monument and World Heritage Site?

- How have the attitudes of the local and international communities changed toward the idea of Great Zimbabwe as a national monument and World Heritage Site?
- Within the context of Zimbabwe's political, economic, social and environmental challenges, how can the idea of using heritage bring about a more inclusive and sustainable future for Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site?

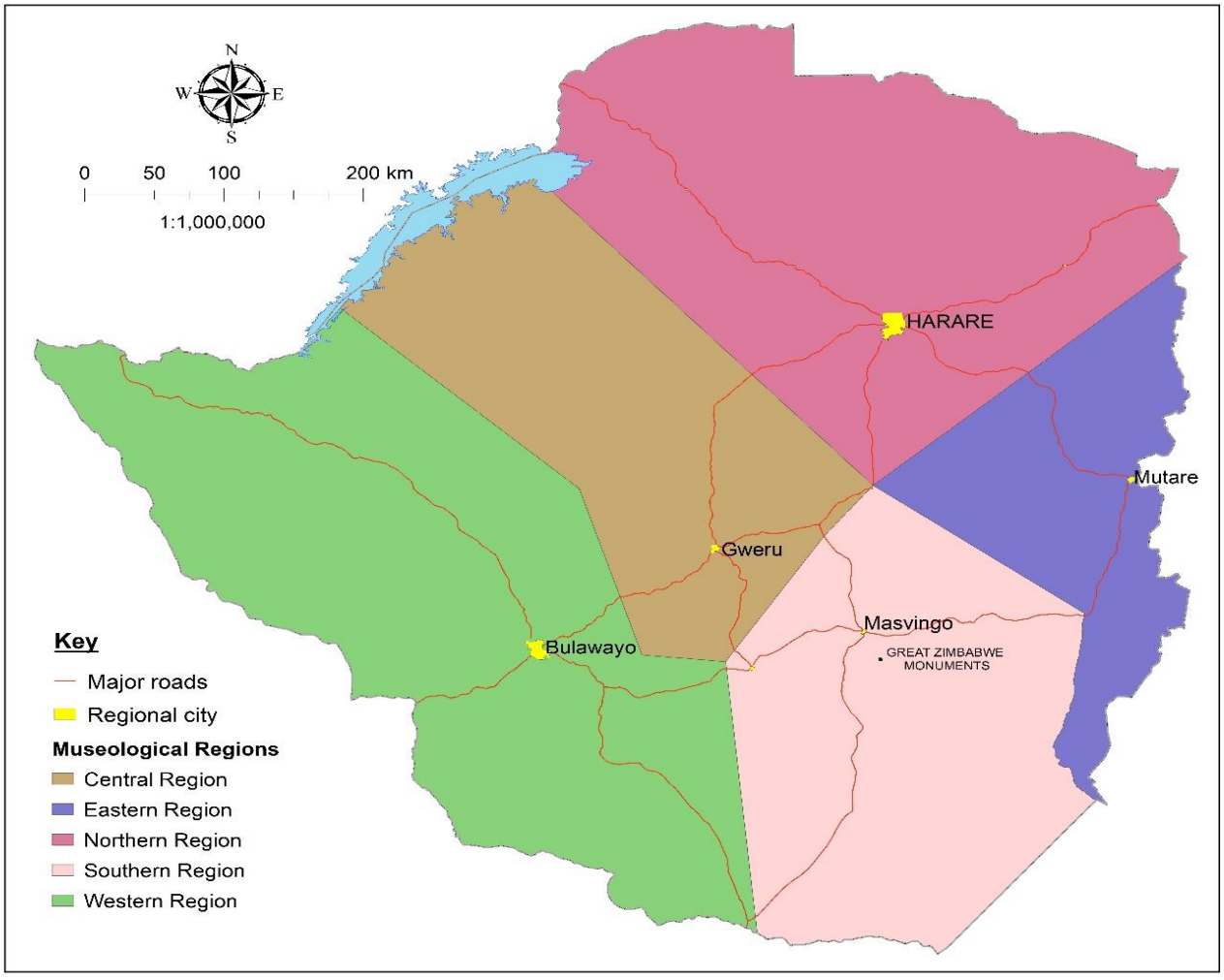

Figure 3. Map showing the location and extent of NMMZ's Southern Region, administered from Great Zimbabwe WHS (courtesy of Justin Magadzike).

3.1 Data Collection Methods and Strategies

3.1.1 Desktop surveys and Archival Studies

Desktop surveys were a critical component during this research. The main purpose of carrying out a desktop survey at the site was to reveal documentation pertaining to external funding of NMMZ connected to the management of the site, changes in the site's staffing levels and local management structures. Work at the site has produced a lot of unpublished materials such as project reports, proposals and correspondences between NMMZ and external heritage bodies. The desktop survey also helped to reveal visitor statistics to the monument.

3.1.2 Interviews

Figure 4: *Interview with Chief Nemanwa who is on my immediate right and members of his inner circle. (picture courtesy of Munyaradzi I. Mashamaire).*

I conducted both formal and informal interviews throughout this study. Having worked for close to a decade with local communities around Great Zimbabwe, the informants were very forthcoming with information. Some had known about my research interests for a long time. Again, my dual persona as a former employee and resident of the broader Great Zimbabwe regional landscape qualified me as an embodied researcher, making me conversant with issues surrounding Great Zimbabwe. Thus, I could easily crosscheck and evaluate information given by various respondents. In any case, I also enjoyed the privilege of being able to make brief revisits to local informants whenever there was need to crosscheck one or another piece of information.

Informal or semi-structured interviews were suitable for this research because they involved open-ended questions, which allowed further exploration and interrogation of the subjects being discussed (Clifford *et al.*, 2016). The interview questions had the advantage that they could be conducted anywhere with a total lack of structure or control over the informant. This category of interviews was useful for obtaining information regarding local African traditional knowledge systems, history, social beliefs and cultural values relating to Great Zimbabwe specifically and heritage management in general. Naturally, the respondents were traditional leaders from lands surrounding GZWHS, ordinary community members, fellow heritage managers as well as other government agencies working with NMMZ and local communities.

The interviews with the NMMZ heritage managers and staff based at GZWHS were carried out in English, since most professionals in Zimbabwe are more comfortable expressing their views in English, mixed with the local Shona language here and there. This group comprised the site's surveyor, curators, stone masons and the regional director. I also used English for communication with officials from the Meteorological Department, and other heritage officials. During interviews, voice recordings using a mobile phone were made with the full

knowledge and consent of participants. I also made notes in a notebook for future reference and consultation. Table 1 below summarises the various categories of respondents.

Respondents	**Local people**	**Stone Masons**	**Monuments Surveyors**	**Curators of Archaeology**	**Traditional leaders**	**NMMZ Directorate**
Number	24	3	1	10	4	3

Table 1. Statistics for respondents included in the research

The study purposively sampled more members of the local communities and their leaders than professionals in order to gather as much as possible, of their collective memory and attitude towards Great Zimbabwe. In traditional research, the contribution of local communities to knowledge production tends to be overlooked, but recent trends focused on decolonizing practice have shifted in favour of community archaeology (Pikirayi, 2016; Pikirayi and Schmidt, 2016). At GZWHS, I also included some of the full time but low ranked employees who are rarely consulted in research, particularly stonemasons, whose indigenous skills in drystone architecture qualify them for restoring and reconstruction Great Zimbabwe's walls. Obviously, the curatorial staff and managers' significance and representation in this type of study cannot be overemphasized.

For purposes of approaching local communities, I made use of local informants who resided under the three chieftaincies located around GZWHS. Interviews with local communities were conducted in the local Shona language. I managed to interview Headman Nemanwa whose area is under the jurisdiction of Chief Charumbira. Interviews were also carried out with three of his advisors. It was not possible to get an audience with Chiefs Murinye, Mugabe and Charumbira owing to time constraints on my part. As an alternative, I left an interview guide

with the respective chiefs' assistants responsible for research issues. They were in a good position to pose interview questions to the chiefs at opportune times, and equally able to make notes and recordings as per instructions.

3.1.3 Questionnaires

I made use of questionnaires which were designed with uniform questions for respondents. One set of questions were circulated to different respondents. The questionnaire was divided into three different themes. The first theme sought to gather data about the respondent such as their affiliation, sex and age. The second theme sought to capture the respondent's views on the role of UNESCO in the management of GZWHS. This last section focused on GZWHS, aiming to understand the opportunities and challenges brought by universalizing heritage. The questionnaires were distributed to ten Curators of Archaeology from NMMZ across the organization in the country and four heritage professionals. Three of these Curators were female, highlighting the gender bias which prevails in the systems and processes of heritage management in the country.

3.1.4 Focus group discussions

Figure 5: Showing the gender imbalances which occurred during focus discussions and interviews (courtesy of Munyaradzi I Mashamaire)

Two focus group discussions were carried out with members from Chief Charumbira's jurisdiction. Before conducting the discussion, the researcher approached Chief Charumbira for permission is customary. The focus group discussion was carried out with fourteen elderly members of the community. Although the group did not have enough balance in terms of gender with eleven of the group members being male and five of them being female (see Figure 4), this is one of the few studies that have included women in its enquiries. The role of women in knowledge production has been overlooked in African researches. Ethnographic enquiries have tended to involve only men (Killick, 1991). Recent trends have shown that women are not ingenuous members of the society, as traditionally projected; they are embodied knowledge beings equally capable of contributing to scientific enquiry, see for example (Iles, 2013;

Mtetwa *et al.*, 2017) . Thus, I had to organise another focus group discussion which involved three curators at GZWHS and ten members of the GZ Local Management Committee (GZLMC), in which there are 3 women. This research was carried out with the help of two research assistants based at GZWHS.

3.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

3.2.1 Results from digging the *Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site Archives*

An 'excavation' of filed records on Great Zimbabwe revealed an intriguing history of good will by both the government and the international community towards the preservation and presentation of the site, particularly in the first two decades of the post-independence era (see Table 2). In 1980, the new black government adopted the name and aspects of the site's characteristic material culture to use for the name and emblem of the newly independent country from British colonial rule. Thus, sites such as Great Zimbabwe were integral in promoting not just the pride and self-esteem of the nation, but also in projecting the image of the country as a world-class destination for cultural tourism (Sinamai, 2019b). Commendably, the new Zimbabwean government took the initiative to conserve its premier heritage site by creating a special fund to support its physical protection. Records reveal that in 1981, the government created a fund called the Restoration Programme for Great Zimbabwe (RPGZ), a fund specifically targeted at resolving the conservation issues facing the site (Sinamai, 2019a). The creation of the RPGZ fund saw the development of a conservation and research centre which began operation in 1990 (GZNM Admin Records SAREC File S1). The fund also supports for the costs of training staff in the conservation of dry stone walls and the construction of tourist facilities (Sinamai, 2013). The fund was also instrumental in launching environmental

conservation programs to fight the growth of *Lantana camara*, an invasive woody shrub, notorious for inhibiting the growth of other tree species and archaeological strata.

Having attained its political independence from British colonial rule, Zimbabwe ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1982. This opened up the floodgates of cooperation between the country and international partners mostly UNESCO, UNDP and diplomatic missions based in the country. Globalised forms of technical assistance were kick-started by UNESCO in conjunction with the UNDP soon after independence. In 1982, a consultant named Hamo Sassoon, was sent by UNESCO to Zimbabwe to conduct a condition assessment and report on Great Zimbabwe and related monuments (Ndoro 2001). The report classified the problems affecting the site into four categories: the weather, humans, plants and animals (Sassoon, 1982). His report also sought ways to relieve pressure on the monument's more sensitive areas in anticipation of increased tourism pressure (Sinamai, 2019a). Whilst UNESCO's decision to send Sassoon was a welcome development and a step in the right direction to ensure the longevity of the Great Zimbabwe's conservation, its focus solely on the physical aspects of the monument is also its anti-climax. Not much consideration was given to the local communities who eventually lost their historical privilege of accessing the site as Sassoon's report recommended that the site be fenced off (Sassoon, 1982; Ndoro, 2001). Indeed, the site was eventually fenced off in 1987, an act sponsored by the UNDP funds.

Archival records also show that in 1987, UNESCO commissioned another study, again headed by the technical experts Rodrigues, a geologist and Manuelshagen, a photogrammetrist to carry out a specialist evaluation on Great Zimbabwe (Ndoro, 2001). They too, like Sassoon, focused on the physical aspects of the monument, specifically the stability and restoration of the dry stone walls. However, these experts only had experience dealing with European historic

buildings. Some of their recommendations were not applicable to the monument and, had huge cost implications to the government (Ndoro, 2001). In many ways, their work has served to perpetuate the colonial ideology which privileged western knowledge as superior to other forms of knowledge despite its partial incompatibility with the intricacies of the Great Zimbabwe site. What is amiss in UNESCO and many other international organisations who came to the government's help was their lack of awareness and interest in understanding how indigenous knowledge systems can be incorporated in efforts to preserve the site.

In 1988, the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC) made funds available for archaeological investigations at the site (Ndoro, 2001). Admittedly, SAREC played a very important role in training archaeologists and artefact conservation technicians for the NMMZ (GZWHS Admin Records Donors Conference File S6), including a provision of equipment for the archaeology laboratory in the GZCRC (Ndoro, 2005). It is important to note that the SAREC project was later run under the auspices of a bilateral agreement signed between the Zimbabwean and Swedish governments. The agreement was formalised in 1992 and was valid for five years (GZWHS Admin Records SAREC File S1). This agreement came after the Donors Conference which sought to raise funds for the conservation and management of the Great Zimbabwe and other related sites.

The Donors Conference was preceded by the Master Plan for the Preservation and Development of Zimbabwe's Archaeological Heritage, which was prepared by the NMMZ with the assistance of UNESCO, UNDP and universities in 1988 (Sinamai, 2019a). This master plan identified archaeological and cultural resources inside Zimbabwe as potential sources of revenue through tourism. It produced a raft of ambitious proposals to turn the Great Zimbabwe into a world class tourist destination, with visitor facilities such as a visitor centre and accommodation (Collet, 1991). The document was then used by the NMMZ to engage

international partners in order to raise funds for the required conservation needs for the Great Zimbabwe, underscoring the role of cordial political relations in raising funds and attracting collaborations in managing the World Heritage site.

One of the most important milestone in Zimbabwean heritage was the organisation of a conference to raise funding for the management and promotion of sites in the country. The Donor Conference was successfully held in Zimbabwe from the 27th to the 31st of July 1992 (Gambanga, 1992; NMMZ, 1992). The conference was attended by diplomatic missions, technical experts from outside the country and representatives from UNESCO, UNDP and the NMMZ. It highlighted the conservation needs of the Great Zimbabwe, resulting in a number of agreements being reached with different State Parties and organisations. Finland came on board through the Finish International Development Agency and helped fund the Donors Conference (FINNIDA) and (GZCRC Computer Lab Finland File). Finland also released three million dollars towards documentation of the monument(Herald, 1992; Ziana, 1992). The documentation involved terrestrial photography and mapping of the different walls within the site. Much of the data collected, which includes aerial photographs and glass plates, lie forgotten and unused in the Conservation and Research Centre *(personal observation).*

Other agreements were entered into by NNMMZ towards the conservation of the site. In 1993, the NMMZ signed a bilateral agreement with Riksantkvaren, a body corporate in charge of heritage in Norway (GZCRC Computer Lab MT Survey File). The agreement sought to enhance the documentation of the Great Zimbabwe site and development of its human resources. The agreement also sought cooperation with the Central Culture Fund of Sri Lanka (GZCRC Computer Lab MT Survey File). Under the auspices of that agreement, many senior heritage experts received training abroad, showing the importance and global support Great Zimbabwe received.

Apart from UNESCO consultants, technical assistance was also provided by the British Overseas Development (ODA) in the conservation of the dry-stone walls (Sinamai, 2013). They undertook to fund a joint project between NMMZ and Loughborough University, a British institution. The project focused on evaluating various methods of monitoring deformations on dry stone structures and identifying the failure mechanisms impacting the walls. The ODA donated demec gauges, digital thermometers and Vernier callipers (GZWHS Admin Records ODA File S3). The NMMZ also received technical assistance from the Japanese Embassy through a cultural grant. The Japanese cultural grant furnished the computer lab at the GZCRC and also brought surveying equipment still in use today (GZWHS Admin Records Japanese Master Plan File).

Donor/Organization	Year	Description of Collaboration/Donation
UNESCO and UNDP	1988	• Support for hosting the Donors Conference
SIDA-SAREC (Sweden) • GZWHS Admin Records SAREC File S1 • GZWH Admin Records Donors Conference File S6	1988	• Funding for archaeological study of the site • Capacity development of archaeologists and artefact conservationists
FINNIDA (Finland) • GZWH Finland File	1992	• Funded the Donors Conference • Donated $3 million for aerial and terrestrial documentation of the site and on glass plates
Riksantikvaren (Norway) • GZCRC Computer Lab MT Survey File	1993	• GZ documentation • Human resources capacity building
Central Culture Fund of Sri Lanka • GZCRC Computer Lab MT Survey File	1993	• Cooperation
ODA(Britain) • GZWHS Admin Records ODA File S3	1993	• Conservation of drystone walls technical assistance • Funded join project between NMMZ and Loughborough University • Donated demec gauges, digital thermometers, Vernier callipers

Japanese Embassy • GZWHS Admin Records Japanese Master Plan File	1993	• Cultural grant for furnishing the computer lab at Great Zimbabwe • Donated surveying equipment
US Embassy	2006 2017	• Funded the Site Museum's CCTV • Funded lantana camara extraction from the monument.

Table 2. The history of international support of Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site

3.3 Interview results on the idea of World Heritage at Great Zimbabwe

It was crucial during this study to understand what the concept of universal heritage meant to my respondents. An understanding of its meaning would allow, deeper discussions concerning its present usage and the nature of relationships with the management of the monument. The questions surrounding the concept of World Heritage were mostly directed to curators within the NMMZ, heritage intellectuals from local universities, past and present directors within the NMMZ. A different data gathering methodology approach was employed for the local community. This was done to avoid complications associated with academic discussion. Hence, I resorted to asking questions related to how communities socially engage with, think and talk about Great Zimbabwe. Through semi structured interviews and focus group discussions, the respondents showed an understanding of the concept of World Heritage albeit with different opinions about its application at the GZ.

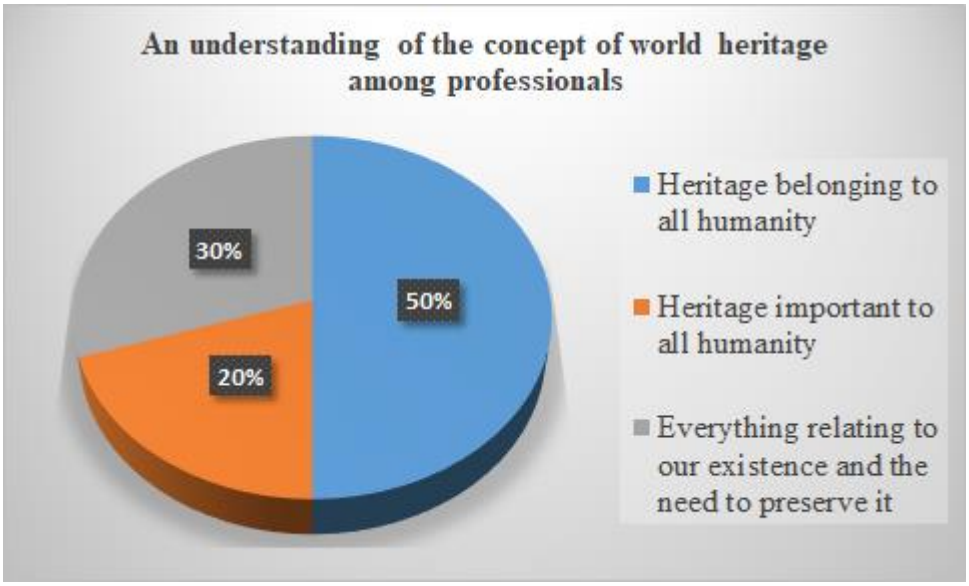

Figure 6. Results of professionals' understanding of the concept of World Heritage

I also asked respondents whether the concept of universal heritage benefitted local communities. In an interview with Tendai Zihove (2017), a curator at the monument, she noted that the concept afforded local communities a certain level of patronage. She further explained that, local communities living near important national sites such as the GZ receive a lot of government backing that ordinarily might not be forthcoming for communities living elsewhere. As a result, basic services such as road access, clinics and shopping centres were developed to the benefit of local communities (Zihove 2018: *pers. comm*). As such, it can be argued that the concept of universal heritage is crucial in furthering the conservation of places and also the socio-economic development of livelihoods.

Equally critical is the question concerning the ways Great Zimbabwe can benefit local communities. The majority of respondents showed an awareness of what the concept of universal heritage can bring. In an interview with Munyaradzi Sagiya, the Head of Department for the GZCRC, he highlighted that tourism and tourist industries benefited from the advertisement associated with the concept of universal heritage. He further explained that

members of the local community were supplementing their livelihoods through selling crafts to tourists at the site and that there is also a burgeoning downstream industry of hotels and lodges benefitting from the international attention the monument gets. Importantly, the concept of universal heritage resulted in the development of technical skills and knowledge generation in the conservation of the GZ (Sagiya 2018: *pers. comm)*. Thus, sites such as the GZ and Khami have benefitted from the globalised forms of technical support developed through the concept of universal heritage.

Mr James Nemerai, the former Senior Heritage Officer of NMMZ echoed Sagiya's sentiments on the development of technical skills. Mr Nemerai cited staff development programs which were created after the country's independence in 1980. A number of senior curatorial staff were sent to train abroad to acquire special skills in photogrammetry and collections conservation. These skills were previously lacking and important in the conservation of the monument. Nemerai's case underscored the importance of the notion of universal heritage in which resources are pooled to help even the poorest of nations.

Respondents were also asked whether international relations had an influence on the concept of World Heritage in light of Zimbabwe's falling out with the international community over the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) in 2000 (Matondi, 2012). I posed this question to professionals who are currently tasked with the management of the monument. This question was aimed at understanding whether Zimbabwe's unfavourable international image has affected the management of the monument.

Question	Responses	Practitioners with similar sentiments
• In what ways do you think international relations affect the concept of universal heritage?	1. Conflict reduces visitor-ship	4
	2. Political disagreements lead to heritage sanctioning which affects listing of sites to the WHL	2
	3. Heritage conservation requires a lot of technical assistance which can only be made possible if countries have a cordial relationship	2
	4. Bad international relations affect the ability of State Parties to access resources both financial and human.	2

Table 3. Heritage practitioners' view of the relationship between international relations and World Heritage

The number of international tourists to the Great Zimbabwe dipped sharply between 2000-2008. This can be attributed to the negative publicity which followed after Zimbabwe's violent FTLRP, and by 2008, the situation was aggravated by a cholera outbreak and violent elections (Nyakazeya, 2009). To add to the woes affecting visitor-ship to the monument, the prices of basic goods and services remain unrealistically out of reach due to high inflation in the country, thereby creating serious shortages. The dwindling number of visitors affected revenue

collection at the monument which hampered the NMMZ's efforts to maintain the site. Projects such as environmental control through the construction of fireguards could not be carried out due to shortage of funds. In 2008 the NMMZ had to pay contract workers, mostly drawn from the local communities with maize-meal for cooking sadza, Zimbabwe's staple diet (*personal observations*). These were some of the desperate measures authorities at the site devised to plug the holes created by the geopolitical stand-off between Zimbabwe and the West.

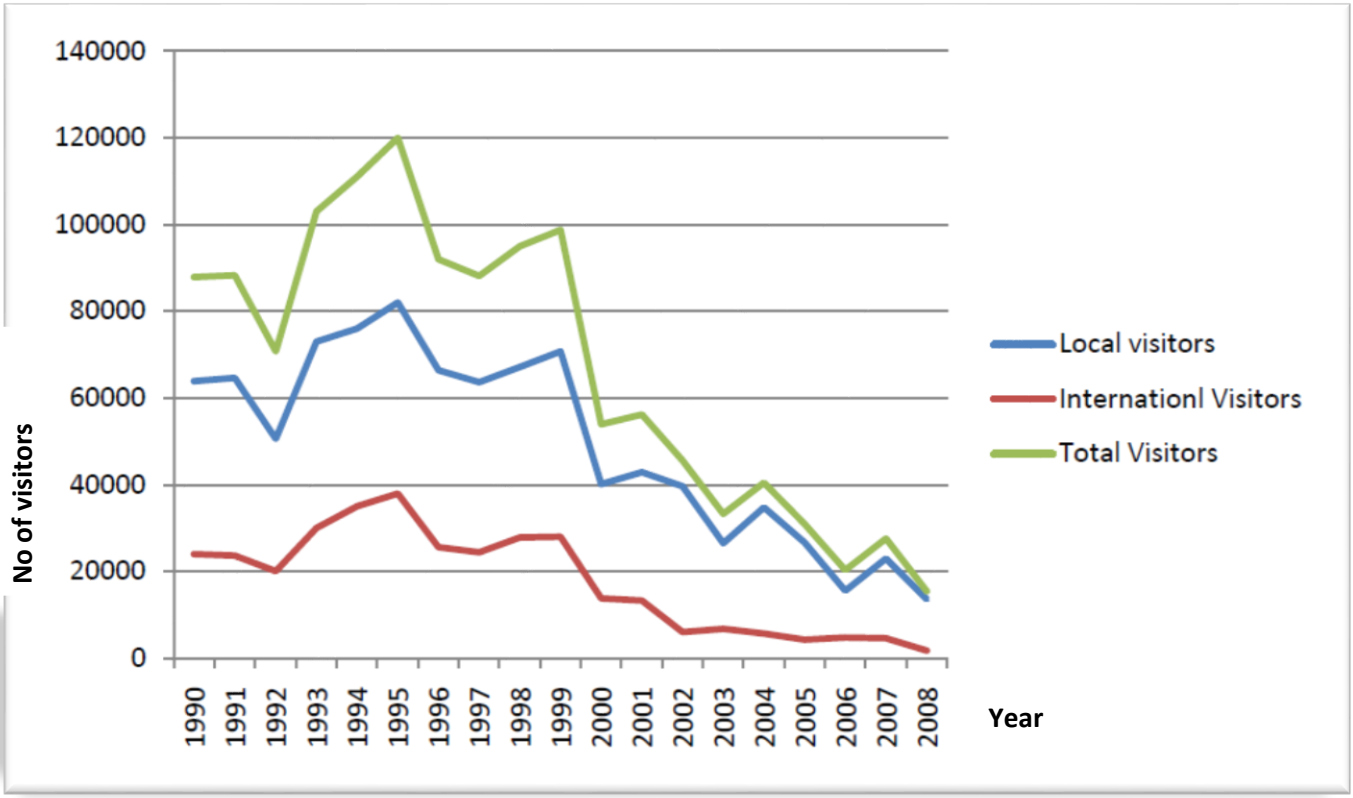

Figure 7. Great Zimbabwe visitor statistics.[5]

Tourists brought much needed foreign currency into the country. Without this national income, important operations such as environmental control, restorations, monument security and inspection were negatively affected. The situation was made worse because the personnel which were supposed to protect and present the site were badly underpaid and their salaries

[5] Adapted from the Situational Analysis of Great Zimbabwe by the African World Heritage Fund (2008)

were quickly eroded by inflation. Unsurprisingly incidences of theft of Great Zimbabwe's cultural properties from the museum's holdings were recorded during this period. In 2003, an exhibition officer created a forgery of a gold bracelet and sold the original bracelet to unknown buyers. Five years later, a gold bead also disappeared from an exhibition shelf in the site museum and is still not accounted for. Despite the importance of Great Zimbabwe to humanity, its longevity depends on a satisfied and dedicated personnel. That standard was difficult for the NMMZ to maintain as the organisation did not have alternative means of cushioning their employees against the harsh economic conditions in the country.

Figure 8: The vintage car rally at the Great Zimbabwe WHS, (GZCRC, Office 3b photographic files)

According to Mudawose (2017, *interview),* due to the bad international image affecting the country and also the fractious national mood spurred by the controversial FLRP, some activities which benefitted the monument stopped. He cited the example of the vintage car rally which drew a lot of visitors thereby creating the much needed exposure and revenue for the NMMZ. This program was mainly dominated by white commercial farmers, who discontinued the program after the emotive FLRP. The vintage car rally surprisingly was one of the programs

which was welcomed from the local communities. According to Chief Nemanwa, the car rally provided good entertainment to the community, although during that time they were not fully involved in the programme. This therefore strengthened my resolve to formulate a project which would involve the local communities, without infringing on their cultural beliefs whilst providing for their socioeconomic livelihoods.

I further asked if Zimbabwe's pariah status affected UNESCO decisions concerning the country. Dr Godfrey Mahachi, the current executive director of the NMMZ, intimated that, the relationship between NMMZ and UNESCO had not yet improved because of the country's negative outlook. Mr Kundishora Chipunza, the senior archaeologist and current Director for Research and Development in the NMMZ, supported the views of Dr Mahachi, adding that if UNESCO were to changed its attitude, it probably did so only privately (Chipunza 2018: *pers. comm*). He further explained, however, that UNESCO has adjusted its budgetary decisions, not only against Zimbabwe, but against most of the Member States because of the withdrawal of United States funding. UNESCO also fostered bi-lateral relations between countries but the state of the country made it difficult for UNESCO to source funding bilaterally for Zimbabwe. Given these responses from leading members of the NMMZ Directorate, as well as other heritage practitioners, it is clear that many benefits are derived from the concept of universal heritage. However, these benefits are dependent on mutual understanding between nations.

3.4 The effects of Zimbabwe's economic challenges on the management of Great Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe became the world's fastest-shrinking economy with the world's highest annual inflation rate, featuring unemployment figures of 70% and above (Grebe, 2010; Portela, 2014).This economic turmoil had far reaching implications for the management of heritage in

general and Great Zimbabwe in particular. As figures taken from the Ministry of Finance show, the annual budgets availed for the NMMZ were quickly eroded by inflation thereby compromising heritage preservation in the country. NMMZ receives yearly grants from the government for the upkeep and maintenance of all monuments in Zimbabwe, with a huge chunk of the grant going towards payment of its workers. However, as figures show, the budget shrunk at the national level, which seems to have led directly to wage reduction at the local level.

Year	Amount (Zim Dollar)	Official Exchange Rate (USD)	Parallel Exchange Rate (USD)
2000	284,379,000	55	410
2001	665,518,837	824	3700
2002	637,350,440	55	890
2003	2.495,612,941	439.5	3700
2004	27,920,698,750	45 159	51200
2005	95,754,321,160	93 554	2 800 000
2006	1.27,758E+11	250	550
2007	2.53,929E+11	30000	100 000 000
2008	2.40,268E+12	69,484,070,056.18	5.55E+11

Table 4. Annual budgetary allocations to the NMMZ by the Ministry of Finance

The table above shows that monetary figures availed to the NMMZ increased from the period 2000-2008. However, these figures were in the since defunct Zimbabwean dollar. With the hyperinflationary environment in the country, these figures show a steady decline of funding to the NMMZ when they are compared to the USD. It was difficult to run the operations of the Great Zimbabwe specifically the period between 2007 and 2008 because of shortages and ever increasing prices of products important to the management of the monument. For example, due to the bureaucratic nature of NMMZ, decisions to pay contractors mostly drawn from the local communities took too long, as these were done at the organization's head office in Harare. When payments were eventually made, the prices of basic goods would have gone beyond reach and this created serious confrontations between staff at the monument the local community. The table below translates the budget allocations against the stronger USD currency.

Year	Amount USD (using official rates)	Amount USD (Using parallel rates)
2000	5 170 527.30	693 607.32
2001	4 563 568.34	368 752.64
2002	11 588 189.82	1 133 686.81
2003	5 678 300.21	674 489.99
2004	618 275.40	545 326.15
2005	1 023 519.26	34 198.00
2006	421 656 843.3	191 662 201.5
2007	2 035 312.80	610.60
2008	34.58	4.3

Table 5. Conversion of the yearly ZW allocations into USD

The above budgetary allocations were obtained from the Ministry of Finance's bluebooks. Due to time and logistical constraints, it could not be verified with the NMMZ whether they received

these exact amounts or additional grants from the government. However, from the allocations available it is apparent that whilst the amounts in ZW increased, they meant little compared to the conversion rate based on the USD. In 2008, the situation was so bad that the organisation failed to clear firebreaks important in protecting the monument from *veldt*[6] fires (personal observations).

3.4.1 Zimbabwe's socioeconomic and political challenges and staff turnover at the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site

The political standoff between Zimbabwe and its erstwhile allies had far-reaching implications for the long-term management of the monument in the form of a brain drain, and the heritage industry was not spared. Due to the hyperinflationary period, between 2000-2008, NMMZ experienced a huge brain drain of skilled personnel important in the conservation and monitoring of the dry-stone walling at the site. Most of the skilled personnel gained invaluable job experience through research collaborations and exchange programs with international institutions such as SAREC. This situation exposed Great Zimbabwe and related sites to long-term risk as the NMMZ hired inexperienced personnel who did not have in-depth knowledge concerning the intricacies of World Heritage management.

NAME	DESIGNATION	DATE JOINED	DATE LEFT	REASON
Kamumvuri. T	Surveyor	January 1992	December 2001	Pursued greener pastures in the USA

[6] Term used in Southern Africa to describe open grasslands.

Nehowa. O	Surveyor	January 1986	January 2003	Pursued greener pastures in South Africa
Sinamai. A	Curator of Archaeology	January 1994	December 1998	Joined Midlands State University and later pursued PhD studies and greener pastures in Australia
Chakanyuka. C	Curator of Archaeology	February 1997	December 2006	Joined Midlands State University and later pursued PhD studies and greener pastures in Australia
Matenga. E	Regional Director	January 1988	December 2006	Pursued PhD studies in Sweden and currently in Archaeological Consultancy in South Africa
Matsikure. J	Curator of Archaeology	February 1997	November 2007	Pursued greener pastures in the USA
Chauke. C	Regional Director	December 1997	August 2011	Joined South African National Parks
Mubaya. R	Curator of Archaeology	September 2004	August 2012	Joined Great Zimbabwe State University
Mtetwa. E	Curator of Archaeology	May 2006	September 2012	Pursued PhD studies in Sweden and currently a Postdoctoral Researcher at Uppsala University.
Msindo. T	Curator of Archaeology	September 2005	May 2012	Joined Great Zimbabwe State University

Table 6. Staff turnover at Great Zimbabwe

3.5 The vicissitudes of rainfall variability in the Great Zimbabwe regional landscape.

Rainfall is the main determinant of which flora and prevails fauna in southern Africa's sub-tropical savannah climate and Great Zimbabwe is not an exception. Although rainfall is plentiful on the Zimbabwean high plateau, which receives up to 1400 mm/year, it is low in the southern part of the Great Zimbabwe regional landscape all the way to the Limpopo Basin, which receives only 400 mm/year. Everywhere else in Great Zimbabwe, rain falls mainly in summer (November-March) although of greater importance than annual rainfall is rainfall variability between years. (Tyson and Preston-Whyte, 2010),have suggested a near decadal variability of below and above average rainfall, which affects the whole of the summer rainfall region. Table 6 below shows rainfall pattern around Great Zimbabwe, confirming the decadal variability of rainfall.

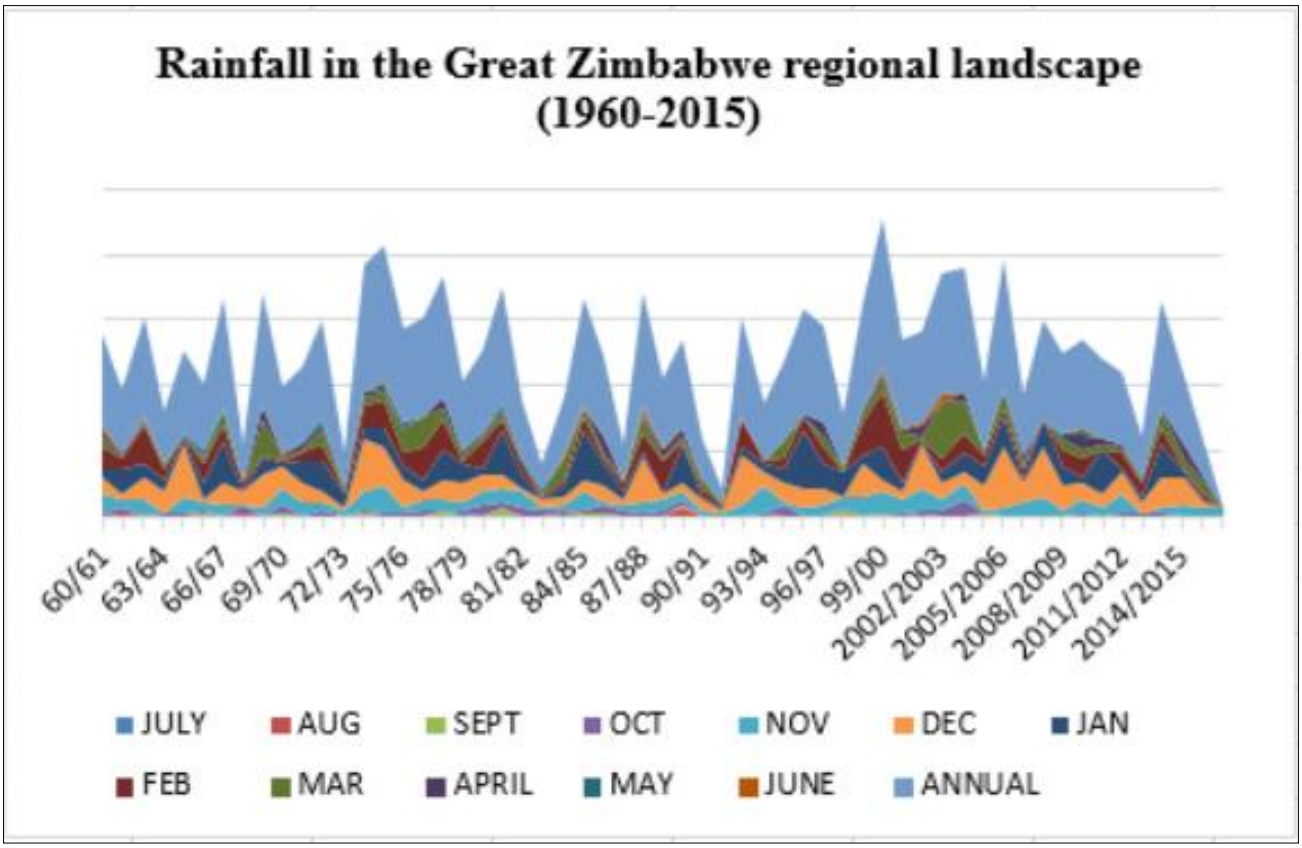

Figure 9. Rainfall Variability in the Great Zimbabwe (Masvingo) Regional Landscape [7]

Apart from these decadal trends in rainfall variability, El Niño–Southern Oscillation (ENSO), also affects c. 25% of rainfall variation and occurs with a cyclist of 3–5 years (Hulme, 1995). Within the region, there is also considerable rainfall variability. The last 100 years has seen adverse anomalies of rainfall over the whole of southern Africa (Nicholson and Farrar, 1994; Nicholson, 2000). References to droughts in written sources also indicate considerable variability, though these records are not extensive (Pikirayi, 2003; Ekblom, 2004). The intra-regional variability in rainfall is important to remember when discussing resource use and the growing population of human beings and their livestock living around Great Zimbabwe. The long-term effects of their activities on the World Heritage Site are bound to be dire. The immediate areas surrounding the and Great Zimbabwe itself enjoy a local climate with

[7] Rainfall pattern figures were collated from the Meteorological Services Department's Head Office in Harare.

precipitation all-year round, and cool temperatures making the area an island of rich biodiversity, favourable for agriculture and settlement. Thus, places like Great Zimbabwe are acting as population magnets as climate variability increases within the broader landscape, resulting in a potential increase of vulnerability in both its cultural and biophysical heritage.

There has been growing pressure on the Great Zimbabwe's cultural landscape due to frequent droughts that have been affecting the country since 2002. Due to the dry spells, electricity generation decreased, giving rise to the need for firewood as a source of energy for residents staying in the nearby Nemanwa Growth Point and City of Masvingo. This also coincided with the capitulation of the Zimbabwean dollar, which resulted in an increase in the number of poaching incidences, mainly for small birds and game within the monument. The boundary fence that once protected the monument was also stolen as suspected thieves tried to make a living out of the harsh economic and environmental conditions. However, Javachava (2017, *personal communication*), felt that most of these problems were as a result of illegal settlers who reside in the vicinity of the monument. Javachava was supported by Chief Nemanwa, who pointed out that the settlers did not understand the significance of the monument, because they do not have a spiritual attachment to the site. The Chief further explained that the people came to stay near the monument during the chaotic farm invasions. As much as, the country's policies affect its international standing and facets of the economy, they have ramifications to the long-term preservation of heritage.

The shift in environmental conditions has greatly compromised the management of the Great Zimbabwe. As shown by the table above, since 2000 the area around the site has not received adequate rainfall. This means that the grass is dry for longer periods of the year. Resultantly the veldt fires that always torment the monument have become ferocious and the fire season has become longer than before (Magadzike 2017, *personal communication)*. These fires are usually started through traditional practices by communities as they prepare for the next

farming season and in some cases, by poachers looking for game meat within the monument (Ndoro, 2001; Fontein, 2006a). The worst fire season was recorded in 2003 which resulted in the loss of the Shona Village, interpretive shelters in the Great enclosure and a guest house within the monument (Chauke, 2017 *email communication)*. To date the site does not have adequate equipment to deal with veldt fires nor were there studies conducted to ascertain the effects of the fires on the dry stone structures (personal observations). This can be attributed to lack of funds which have dried up due to the country's pariah image.

The dry spells affect the local communities who mostly survive on subsistence farming. Around the monument large tracts of land have been cleared for farming activities. However, with the rainfall short of expected standards during seasons, there is a fear that this gave rise to other avarices such as prostitution. As pointed by Makokisi (2017 *interview)*, the communities around the monument are now headed mostly by women as the husbands have either passed on or migrated to South Africa for greener pastures. With the harsh environmental and economic conditions prevailing in the country, most women resorted to prostitution which heightened the prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS around Nemanwa Growth Point. Already, the growth point made headlines infamously for high STD infections recorded in Masvingo Province (Samukange, 2015). Although the newspaper report by Samukange pointed to a possibility of Masvingo dwellers traveling to the growth point to conceal their ailments, it does not discount the local origins of the STDs. Hence it became pertinent for this study to investigate possible projects to improve welfare of local communities.

3.6 Dystopia: World Heritage, community access and benefits in the management of the Great Zimbabwe

The concept of universal heritage is at times, at odds with local values placed on it by local communities. In a semi-guided interview in 2017, Chief Paul Mavhima of the Nemanwa Clan in 2017, lamented the devaluation of the sacredness of the site because of the increased exposure of the monument to tourism. He stated that the site used to be an intimate and revered space for his people. However, due to the listing of the monument as a WHS, people who are not socialised to respect intangible or spiritual attributes access the monument irreverently. Whilst he has no reservations about having tourists accessing and admiring their heritage, he wishes that his clan, which has historically played a priestly role at Great Zimbabwe (Matenga, 2011), were more involved in the management of the monument in order to socialise tourists in experiencing and safeguarding its spiritual atmosphere. In this regard, the concept of universal heritage is important in raising awareness among people from different cultures, although awareness comes with a price. Spiritual attributes, important in the daily lives of the local community, sadly pale into insignificance compared to the economic returns generated at the monument through tourism.

The issue of economic benefits for local communities remained problematic for authorities managing the Great Zimbabwe and cannot be ignored. A structured interview with Mr Chipunza, revealed that the NMMZ has tried to come up with sustainable solutions such as bee-keeping, from which local communities can derive a livelihood from. However, these projects have failed to take off. During the same interview, Chipunza was asked if the NMMZ had programs in place to cushion local communities from the harsh environmental conditions affecting the country. In response, he pointed out to the rich deposit of archaeological data on climate change which the academic community has failed utilise to inform policies connected to adaptation and sustainability. Local communities are, thus, yet to derive meaningful benefits from tourism, including the scientific value of the site. The post-1980 period, particularly after the inscription of Great Zimbabwe on the World Heritage List, research suffering from a

moratorium on excavations placed by cultural management authorities, in favour of the conservation of the famous drystone walls and earthen structures (Chirikure and Pikirayi, 2008).

According to Mr. Lovemore Mandima, (2017 interview) the regional director at GZWHS, local communities are benefitting from the monument through selling their wares at the traditional Shona Village[8] within the monument. Local members who are participants in the activities at the village are not formally paid by the NMMZ. Rather they are allowed to sell their arts and crafts to tourists Madhuro (2017, interview). These members were selected from the four chieftaincies surrounding the Great Zimbabwe. However, from interviews with members of the nearby craft centre, which is just outside the boundary of the NMMZ, the Shona Village participants are now benefitting more than they are. They argued that the participants of the Shona Village are charging less hence tourists are no longer stopping to buy from them (Charumbira 2017: interview). The situation is made even worse by the fact that the NMMZ does not formally involve or engage them to understand the issues affecting their industry (Mlambo, 2017: interview).

I asked my respondents about the role of local communities in the management of the World Heritage site. Dr Mahachi cited the creation of the Great Zimbabwe Local Management Committee (GZLMC) to assist authorities in the management of the site. Such a role did not exist for local communities until 2012. However, according to nine of the ten members of the committee, they were not aware of their role or their terms of reference. They still do not know their exact roles as they are not cleared defined. It would appear, the committee was only created to satisfy the needs of UNESCO on managing World Heritage Sites. Mugunzva (2017 *focus group discussion*), one of the committee members felt that the GZLMC was ineffective

[8] The Shona Village is a depiction of a typical polygamous Karanga homestead. It is meant to enhance the understanding of Karanga way of life.

as it spent time discussing insignificant issues such as cattle grazing within the monument. To him proper management would entail access to financial records and also taking part in decisions in the management and conservation of the monument. Chief Mugabe (2017, *interview)*, went a step further and suggested that traditional leaders should sit at the regional Board of Trustees of the NMMZ as they had vested interests in the management of the monument. He lamented the fact that the Board is dominated by experts and political players who are not attached to the site. Therefore, serious co-management of the monument must begin to consider the interest of local communities and clearly specify their roles.

During a focus group discussion at Chief Charumbira's homestead, members of the Charumbira clan, expressed their concerns about the composition and functions of the GZLMC. Mhukude (2017, *interview*) felt that the GZLMC was selective and was not transparent in dealing with benefits accorded to local communities. These benefits referred to in the discussion is the school fees initiative for underprivileged pupils which the NMMZ launched as part of its social responsibilities. Other members accused members of the GZLMC of being corrupt. This has resulted in simmering tensions between the community and authorities.

Chrispen Chauke (2018: *email communication*), former Regional Director and Deputy Executive Director of the NMMZ, noted that universalising heritage might have a negative impact on the social wellbeing of local communities. He pointed out that that the visitors to the World Heritage site can bring social ills like prostitution. Also, the exposure to different social groups can in some instances result in feelings of inferiority and consequently the abandonment of traditional values in favour of foreign values. However, social interaction not only results in negative effects. In some instances, it exposes the local community to other cultures, and since the world is now like a village, this can be beneficial.

3.6.1 Creation of the Great Zimbabwe Cultural Festival

In fulfilment of objective number three, which seeks to explore how the idea of using heritage can bring about a more inclusive and sustainable future for Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site, I proposed the formulation of the Great Zimbabwe Cultural Festival to local communities. Seeing that, there were disagreements between the NMMZ and local communities over the use of the monument for government initiatives such as musical galas and construction of buildings within the monument (Sinamai, 2017b), I sought to understand whether communities would agree to a cultural program within the monument. Chief Nemanwa (2017, *interview)*, intimated that he does not see a problem with such a program which seeks to promote their culture and identity. He further emphasized that such programs should be encouraged as they would create employment for the vulnerable within his jurisdiction. Already the NMMZ does not employ enough people with only one person formally employed by the institution Matambanadzo (2017, interview). Women such as Mhare (2017, *interview),* welcomed the idea of the Great Zimbabwe Arts Festival as it would create much more opportunities for them to showcase their art as the current setup where a few are employed is not working for them. She, however, cautioned against outsiders who always end up benefitting at their expense.

Chief Murinye (2017 interview), said he has always led calls for the formulation of projects that benefit local communities such as the ones that are implemented by nearby organisations such as the National Parks. These organisations allow communities to benefit from natural resources such as fishing once they become registered. He therefore supported the idea of the Great Zimbabwe Arts Festival. I probed him further to find out whether past disagreements with other chieftaincies would derail such a program. He said his chieftaincy is capable of working with anyone to ensure the development of his people. These were encouraging

responses as the success of such a program might actually lead to rapprochement between these erstwhile chieftaincies.

Summary

This foregoing chapter laid out the research methods adopted by this study. These were identified as structured interviews, desktop surveys and archival studies, interviews, email communication and focus group discussions. The chapter also presented the respondents who were mostly from local community, NMMZ and former directors from the organisation. Using table, figures and photographic evidence, the chapter demonstrated how the national and international attitudes affected the management of the Great Zimbabwe. It demonstrated that funding significantly decreased during the period 2000-2008. This period also witnessed harsh environmental and financial conditions which led to communities prioritised more the economic value of the monument over its spiritual attributes. However, the presentation of the Great Zimbabwe Arts Festival can be seen as an opportunity to enhance the economic and spiritual significance of the monument to the benefit of local communities.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

The foregoing chapter presented a broader perspective of evidence illuminating issues arising at the intersection of managing Great Zimbabwe as a World Heritage Site and the dynamics of Zimbabwe's social, political, economic and biophysical environment. These data sets included archival information on the history of government and international support for the management of Great Zimbabwe, ethnographic enquiries about the attitudes of locals towards the World Heritage site, interviews with varied heritage professionals and researchers as well as aspects of the local and national environment. In this chapter, I use this collected information to discuss the challenges and opportunities of sustainable management of the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site in light of the research aims. I first sought to illuminate the experiences at Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site with the local and international communities, as well as the impact of environmental change on its management. Secondly, I enfold the notion of heritage performance as an alternative and more socially rooted practice of sustainable management of Great Zimbabwe. In this thesis, I propose that a shift in attitudes to what comprises heritage should be consistent with changes in the worldview of a society.

4.1 Enfolding the African worldview of heritage performance at Great Zimbabwe WHS

Before this research, several studies implicated African governments as generally failing to support the nomination of cultural heritage sites to the WHL and maintain proper management of those places named as World Heritage Sites (Makuvaza and Makuvaza, 2013; Makuvaza and Chiwaura, 2014b). The findings from this research, however, suggest that the challenges affecting African world heritage in general and Great Zimbabwe specifically are more complex than previously imagined. The legacy of colonialism, the toll of geopolitical dynamics, the vicissitudes of climate change, as well as conceptual apparatuses and statistical tools through which the management of African World Heritage is revealed as having failed, are yet to be fully explained in satisfactory ways. There is no denying the fact that heritage management in Zimbabwe specifically and Africa in general, has largely retained old colonial attitudes which still fail to recognise local communities' traditional knowledge and belief systems, almost four decades after the attainment of political independence. As clearly established by (Smith, 2006), conservation practices at heritage sites mainly focus on retaining the aesthetic values of places in accordance to international standards, and Great Zimbabwe is no exception.

While the local communities interviewed in this study have differences amongst themselves with regards to the ownership of Great Zimbabwe, they all agree and have misgivings about their continued exclusion resulting from preservation practices that materialise African social beliefs and cultural values. Ignoring the voice of local communities is a widespread challenge in African heritage management and, not just at Great Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, the conflict between different communities on their own, as well as their respective clashes with National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe has a tendency to take the vandalism. The destruction

of Mujejeje[9] at Great Zimbabwe and the spraying of oil paint on the Domboshava rock art panel are notable examples (Taruvinga and Ndoro, 2003). Most of these conflicts are largely a result of differences in management, in which heritage finds itself at an all-time crossroads between scientific conservation techniques with their emphasis on materiality and authenticity, and traditional calls for the reverence of intangibility and spiritual identity, especially in the postcolonial era (Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). Unfortunately, as stated earlier, these confrontations often take the form of vandalism, again placing African archaeological heritage in the horns of social and practical dilemma. It is the grass that suffers[10] where two conflicting paradigms of heritage management clash. What might be the way out?

The idea of heritage performance introduced in the first chapter has the potential to valorise the multiple voices and many relations critical for maintaining sustainable futures of Great Zimbabwe through the stabilization of these social relations, worn down through colonialism's politics of exclusion. Smith argues, rightly so, that the whole process of cultural heritage management and museum curation are sustained cultural performances in which certain cultural values and identities are continually rehearsed and thus preserved (Smith, 2006). At Great Zimbabwe, however, ever since Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980, efforts have mainly been focussed on the preservation and conservation of archaeological monuments primarily from a technical point of view (Ndoro and Pwiti, 2005). There is an opportunity at Great Zimbabwe for both heritage managers, local communities and visitors to the site to be usefully engaged in cultural performances, see for example (Macdonald, 2012). Smith is of the view that the most obvious sense of heritage performance is that of commemoration of national

[9] "Mujejeje is a natural quartz line that bisects a granite outcrop forming the spiritual entrance to the GZ. It has long been associated with the Nemanwa Clan. See (Fontein 2006, Matenga 2011, Gurira 2015 and gordonmassie.com)

[10] Adopted the Shona idiom, "when two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers", to illustrate how archaeological heritage suffers when traditional and scientific knowledge systems fail to work together in the management of heritage in postcolonial Zimbabwe.

rituals, as well as personal rituals associated with familial anniversaries. At Great Zimbabwe, such rituals may take the form of rain ceremonies, thanksgiving for a good rainy season or relief after natural disasters.

Traditional knowledge is unique to a given culture or society. It is the basis for local decision making in agriculture, health, food education and environmental management (World Bank, 1998). For Shona society, traditional knowledge systems form part of their worldview, continuously rehearsed in everyday activities of production, consumption and maintenance of the biophysical world. It comprises their social capital (Patterson, 2005). They believe that there is one God, *Mwari,* who you communicate with through dead ancestors who are supposed to intercede between the living and God. The Shona believe that the real owner of the land and all on it is the tutelary spirit, Mwari and the various territorial spirits of dead ancestors (Taringa, 2006). Groves, caves, pools, trees are considered as the homes of the ancestors. The landscape belongs to the spirits (Maradze, 2003). Any transgressions against the environment or against the spirits' wishes are associated with bad omens. 'To the Shona the universe is morally significant. They believe in imminent justice. Retribution of peoples' faults will fall upon people out of the universe, apart from policemen or parental spanking' (Taringa, 2006).

African communities have their own set of regulations which ensure the survival of heritage sites and the environment. Heritage sites in Zimbabwe as in many other parts of Africa were revered and effectively managed through heritage performances and collective memories that deployed restrictive taboos, myths and legends (Ranger, 1999; Fontein, 2006b; Jopela, 2011).To safeguard their environment and traditional sites, the Shona make use of taboos, totems and norms that are prescribed on sites, which are invariably viewed as sacred. (Taringa, 2006) observes that taboos have been used to maintain the values and respect for human life, especially the endangered, small and powerless creatures such as African rock python *(Python*

sebae) and ground pangolins *(Smutsia temminckii*), which has helped to prevent their total extinction. In the same way, there has been considerable success in preserving taboos to preserve sacred forests in Zimbabwe such as Dambakurimwa at the Domboshava Rock Art Site and Nerumedzo in Bikita District (Maradze, 2003). Since breaking these taboos often resulted in communal punishments such as lack of rainfall, disease or famine(Taringa, 2006), the preservation of the biophysical environment became a collective responsibility in the society.

At Great Zimbabwe, there is evidence that the site has long been used for religious practices by local communities(Ndoro, 2005). When early European explorers encountered the site, they met local communities who were residing at the site and protecting it (Matenga, 2011). Chief Mugabe was resident at the site to watch over it, and the Nemanwa clan officiated over ritual ceremonies at the site. Moreover, by the end of the 19th century, remnants of the Mugabe clan occupied parts of the Hill Complex and much of what is now the Great Zimbabwe estate was grazed by cattle, hunted on and used for gathering fruits and collecting thatching grass (Fontein, 2006a). The Mugabe and Nemanwa people protected their place memory as opposed to the actual physical walls, ensuring that the spirits of the ancestors were revered and respected by all (Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). Sadly, it still remains difficult for local spiritual leaders to access the site for ritual performances, and even when permits are granted to do so, they are given grudgingly. The future of sustainable management of Great Zimbabwe and other related forms of heritage depends largely on the removal of barriers to localised forms of experiencing and preserving heritage.

Instead of physical boundaries, viewed as an extension of the physical alienation from the site they experienced during the colonial era, local communities have invariably employed restrictive taboos, myths and legends to ward off abuse of sacred sites and material culture. Today, very few and only small sections of the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site still have

the fourteen-strand fence that was erected in 1987 courtesy of UNDP funding. To the locals, the fence has restricted them from accessing their shrine and, angering the spirits of their ancestors at Great Zimbabwe. Such anger is usually manifested through repeated, long-term incessant droughts and mysterious collapse of walls in the monument (Fontein, 2006a). In their beliefs about well-being, the Shona hold that there is a causal connection between the moral condition of the community and its physical environment (Taringa, 2006). Hence communities feel that the solutions to structural challenges being experienced on the site's walls are not found in restorations and other conservation works. The solution lies partly in using the site for cleansing rituals and rain petitioning ceremonies, as well as festivals for thanksgiving to the ancestors after a successful harvest or in the aftermath of such natural disasters as Cyclone Idai which devastated eastern parts of Zimbabwe earlier in 2019. This is a challenge to National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe as they are worried about the image created for their international audience and contradictions to the heritage conventions they are supposed to adhere to (Fontein, 2006b).

Communities around Great Zimbabwe see modern day conservation of the site as responsible for the cultural debasement of the site. They believe that the manifestation of spirits at Great Zimbabwe has stopped because the ancestors are angry (Fontein, 2006b). Communities cite the introduction of foreign material such as cement on a sacred natural spring within Great Zimbabwe called *Chisikana* which has since dried up (Matenga, 2011). Cement was introduced to the pool during the colonial era to establish a golf course within Great Zimbabwe site (Ndoro 2001). A survey around the site shows several pools are still functional, and these pools are those that which have remained under a battery of traditional management systems taboos (Pikirayi *et al.*, 2016).

Local communities around Great Zimbabwe have a holistic approach to heritage management, which also include conservation of biodiversity. Currently, they lament the felling of sacred *muchakata* trees within the monument (Fontein, 2006a). These trees are a management problem to heritage managers who feel that they threaten the structural stability of the walls at Great Zimbabwe. However traditional knowledge systems dictate that wild fruit trees, and particularly the *muchakata* tree, are a critical source of everyday nutrition, and also the only source of food at times in a bad rainy season (Risiro, Tshuma and Basikiti, 2013). The cutting down of trees is among a raft of landscape modifications which have occurred at Great Zimbabwe. Other modifications included the construction of new roads and erection of new buildings among the ruins; the planting of exotic eucalyptus trees meant to drain the marshes in the monument in preparation for the golf course (Fontein, 2006b). In terms of conservation, cutting trees degrades the environment resulting in erosion which can also affect stone walls and exposure of buried material culture.

Communities do not see every conservation process as beneficial to the cultural landscape of Great Zimbabwe. For example, cutting off of branches of trees falling on walls at the Great Enclosure raised complaints from communities who countered that if the branches fall on walls then it is the choice of the ancestors to destroy their abode (Fontein, 2006b). Restorations for locals should only be only permitted when the living are specifically instructed by the spirits to do so which would require rituals preceding such conservation works (Pwiti, 1996). This demand is in direct contrast to the international conventions to which National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe ascribes. Having overgrown trees within the monuments affects the structural stability of the walls and, thereby the integrity of the site (Ndoro, 2005). Without compromises, the long-term survival of heritage sites such as Great Zimbabwe is at risk. The proliferation of human activities such as farming and vandalism has been a major threat to the conservation and preservation of heritage sites in Africa, and in particular in Zimbabwe. These

negatives are arguably the unintended result of western influences that have increasingly made locals disrespect and lose their sense of the value of the sites (Mawere, Sagiya and Mubaya, 2012).

Communities believe that conservation at Great Zimbabwe should comprise cultural conservation not just physical maintenance of the built landscape. Communities believe that the conservation of the Great Zimbabwe should be integrated in their beliefs. When a practice is adopted, it may be necessary to adopt the cultural baggage that comes with it. For example, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe refuses to allow rituals before restorations, rituals which form an integral part in the Shona belief systems (Fontein, 2006b). Communities see conservation not just as a scientific practice but also as a social and cultural activity that should bring communities together through rainmaking ceremonies and before restorations. It is in this regard that present day management at the site should rid themselves of the colonial mentality which refuses to recognise the value of community beliefs (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008; Chirikure, Manyanga, Ndoro and Pwiti, 2010; Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016) The introduction of new materials, such as cement, not only affects aesthetics or authenticity it may affect the confidence of communities who believe that any materials that are foreign to the site may result in retribution from the ancestors (Fontein, 2006b; Chirikure, Mukwende and Taruvinga, 2016). It was high time traditional skills and practices begin to be used in the restoration of the walls and rituals associated with drystone masonry in the conservation of the Great Zimbabwe. Allowing communities to perform their traditional beliefs on the site will help to preserve it as well (Maposa 2013). It will also bring communities closer to the monument as they have largely been relegated to the role of spectators in the management of their own heritage. The refusal by NMMZ to integrate these intangible spiritual beliefs into the management system at Greater Zimbabwe represents the kind of cultural appropriation which was synonymous with the colonial period.

Summary

This chapter presented the challenges posed to the management of the Great Zimbabwe due to the disregard given to indigenous knowledge systems, long practiced by communities in the management of the site. In this chapter, I argued for the inclusion of local communities together with their traditional beliefs in the management of the site. Failure to include them, leads to the losing its spiritual value to local communities who continue to fight for their recognition. There is also an unwanted label that the NMMZ need to rid of, that of perpetuating the colonial ideology which saw communities as inferior and a risk to the management of the monument.

CHAPTER FIVE

HERITAGE PERFORMANCE AT GREAT ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF CULTURAL FESTIVALS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a project proposal based on the idea of heritage performance in the form of an annual cultural festival at the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site. The World Heritage Site enjoys a huge visitor-ship from local, regional and international tourism markets, despite the on-going hardships and uncertainties in the country. The idea of an annual festival is justified, given that it has the potential to open another revenue channel necessary for the management of the site and to generate income for varied heritage performers. The NMMZ, responsible for the management of all heritage in the country, is funded principally by recurrent and capital budgets from the Ministry of Finance's Public Sector Investment Program via the Ministry of Home Affairs (National Museums & Monuments, 2015). Owing to the current state of the economy, as shown in this study, it has been increasingly difficult for the government to provide adequate funds for the NMMZ to manage Great Zimbabwe and other heritage properties around the country. More importantly, local communities who reside near Great Zimbabwe also regard the monument, not only as a religious centre, but also as a source of income. Harsh climatic conditions which have affected the country in the form of intermittent rainfall, have disrupted the socio-economic livelihoods of local communities and there is a need for strategies which will assist communities to regain their livelihoods. By devising such

strategies, it ensures the social relevance of NMMZ as a museum institution. The general belief nowadays is that museums should be at the forefront of building cohesive communities, tackling exclusion and contributing to community regeneration (Macdonald 2010).

Several other cultural festivals have been successfully held across the country, but these have largely avoided Great Zimbabwe as the hosting venue. These festivals include the Machangana Arts Festival, the Dzimbabwe Arts Festival, the Jikinya Traditional Dance Festival and the Harare International Festival of Arts among many other initiatives which have been held with varying levels of success. However, of all the places such festivals have been held, none is as culturally prestigious as the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site. Being the premier heritage site in Zimbabwe, a considerable number of tourism amenities already exist at the site. These include lodges, a curio shop, an interpretive site museum and open spaces for outdoor events and camping. The impact of tourism at the Great Zimbabwe has also seen the establishment of downstream industries such as hotels, the establishment of the Nemanwa Growth Point and other world class accommodation facilities which offer boat rides on the nearby Lake Mutirikwi. All these players and factors make the environment within and outside the Great Zimbabwe, conducive for such cultural event.

The proposal here seeks to open up space for an event which features traditional dances from the various Shona groups, traditional food competitions, showcasing of films based on Shona culture and other performative arts. This project proposal is going to be submitted to the NMMZ as possible partners. Since this project seeks to enhance the execution of the institution's mandate, it is only fitting to have their support.

5.1 Mission

The project aims are fourfold. First, the aim is to raise awareness among the local Karanga communities, the rest of the country and beyond about the cultural significance of Great Zimbabwe. Second, the aim is to highlight the importance of Karanga culture to the present and future generations. Third, the aim is to reveal the challenges affecting the conservation of the Great Zimbabwe and the socio-economic livelihoods of local communities at an event held at Great Zimbabwe in August. Fourth, the event aims to introduce as an annual event, the Great Zimbabwe Cultural Festival that is meant to celebrate and bring awareness to a place already rich in culture and heritage. The event is going to include academic programs as well as recreational programs. Great Zimbabwe today is widely acknowledged as an important cultural and national symbol. However, its significance to local communities and the rest of the country is often underestimated.

5.2 Vision

People are aware that the Great Zimbabwe is an essential part of Zimbabwe's history and that it is an important cultural identifier for local communities. Despite changes in socio-economic conditions, communities still maintain contact with Great Zimbabwe and are proud to celebrate it as part of their culture.

5.3 Objectives

- To promote the long-term and sustainable management of Great Zimbabwe through fundraising activities.
- To instil a sense of cultural pride in local communities and Zimbabweans at large.
- To provide a platform for members of local communities to improve their livelihoods.
- To promote synergies between NMMZ and other players in the tourism industry.

5.4 Motivation for the Project

Great Zimbabwe is the only archaeological site in the world to give its name to a country. This demonstrates the significance of this site to the modern nation of Zimbabwe. Some of Great Zimbabwe's features and artefacts have been incorporated into the national symbols of the country (Matenga 2011; Ndoro 2001). Communities identify with this site for spiritual purposes. They have been practising religious ceremonies at this site which they have managed to pass from generation to generation. Yet despite all this, Great Zimbabwe is treated as a delicate and dead cultural object. Communities are denied the space to freely associate with the monument, a situation which is reminiscent of the colonial period. As if lack of physical access is not enough, communities benefit very little from revenue generated at the site. This situation persists despite the fact that locals can claim reasonable and historically justifiable ownership of the site as an integral part of their heritage. Therefore, celebrating Zimbabwean culture at the site, will go a long way to bridge the gap between NMMZ and the local communities.

Additionally, the cultural festival also provides a platform to resolve one of the contentious issues affecting the management of the monument. The issue evolves around the ownership of the site and the continued homogenisation of Zimbabwe's cultural identity. By projecting the Karanga cultural heritage in the presentation and marketing of the festival, the project seeks to reaffirm the importance of this group whose ownership has been taken away by the government as it pursued its nationalistic ideology. It is simply an exercise in reclaiming the site from its current WHS and national identity, the latter of which is a project by the national state (Pikirayi, 2020). As stated earlier on, communities have a direct historical link with the site, ethnographically speaking, and have been custodians of the site before the introduction of modern systems of managing the site. Therefore, resituating Great Zimbabwe in the Karanga

cultural domain is necessary to cure the justifiable grievances communities have against the current management of the site.

5.5 Scope of the Project

To further convey the importance of the Karanga culture and the significance of Great Zimbabwe, a number of project elements have been identified. The project is going to make use of Shona art exhibitions, traditional dance performances, lectures, storytelling, cooking competitions and film competitions. These events are going to be paid for and the proceeds allocated between the NMMZ and local communities. The following is a brief description of the different elements identified for the purposes of this program.

5.5.1 Art exhibitions

Zimbabwe has a lot of talented fine artists who specialise in different kinds of art works. The most common and visible art productions are stone and wood carvings. Therefore, the event is going to call for an exhibition of these artworks with the possibility left open of selling them to visitors. In this way, as asserted by Laurajane Smith (Smith, 2006), visitors are both audience and performers in the performance of the Great Zimbabwe cultural festival. Another hugely overlooked field of art is that of paintings. Not much is exhibited with regards to Zimbabwean paintings and as such the project seeks to involve artists involved in this kind of art productions in possible exhibitions. At the end of the temporary exhibition, it is hoped that the funds generated from this initiative will assist in setting up an exhibition focusing on contemporary social groups living around the Great Zimbabwe.

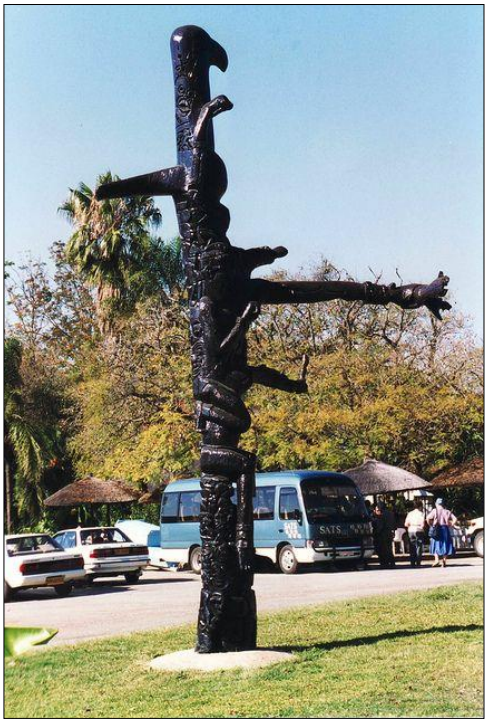

Figure 10. Woodcarving at Great Zimbabwe Hotel[11]

Figure 11: The craft centre near Great Zimbabwe Hotel[12]

5.5.2 Traditional dances

Figure 12. Traditional dance performance [13]

Figure 13. Mbira Dzenharira group[14]

[11] "Landscaping Ideas," Pinterest, accessed April 7, 2017, https://www.pinterest.com/pin/550987954130891 91/.
[12] Picture courtesy of Munyaradzi Elton Sagiya (2017): Curator Great Zimbabwe Monument
[13] 1. "Traditional Dances under Threat | The Herald," accessed April 7, 2017, http://www.herald.co.zw/traditional-dances-under-threat/.
[14] 1. "Dzimbanhete to hostMbira Sunsplash | The Herald," accessed April 7, 2017, http://www.herald.co.zw/dzimbanhete-to-hostmbira-sunsplash/.

As this event is mostly about showcasing local Karanga culture, traditional performances are going to take centre stage at the event. As there are many variations to the execution of traditional dances, the number of dance troops will be drawn from across the country. Given the cultural similarities in southern African countries, an opening will also be available for cultural groups from neighbouring countries.

5.5.3 Storytelling, film viewings, music performances and theatre performances.

Figure 14. Campfire gathering[15]

Personal experiences have revealed that there is a lack of night time activities at the Great Zimbabwe. This gives a very dull atmosphere at the site. As such the projects wants to introduce night time events such as storytelling around a bonfire. This is a famous night-time activity in most communal households where elders engage the younger generations through storytelling.

[15] 1. "f992a422-a613-4e02-90c2-b8cb6489344c.jpg (JPEG Image, 1400 × 700 Pixels) - Scaled (90%)," accessed April 7, 2017, http://a15.res.cloudinary.com/adventurelink/image/fetch/w_1400,h_700,c_fill/http://al-photos.s3.amazonaws.com/f992a422-a613-4e02-90c2-b8cb6489344c.jpg.

In this way they get to educate the younger generations in a less serious manner. Apart from storytelling, evenings can also be used for film competitions, music performances and theatre performances. These will go a long way in adding a little bit of activity to the night life of the monument.

5.5.4 Traditional food competitions

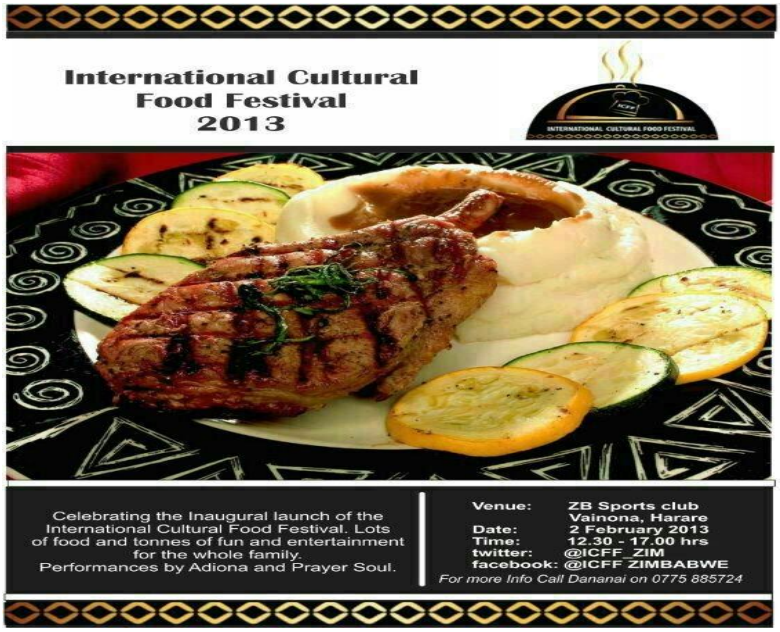

Figure 15. Event poster for the International Cultural Food Festival in Zimbabwe.[16]

This element is going to expose the various traditional dishes found in the country. This is also a potential fundraising initiative for contestants as they can sell their dishes to visitors. Contestants willing to enter this event will have to pay a participation fee which is meant for the NMMZ. Their returns will be recouped through the sale of their dishes and other wares they

[16] 1. "Event: International Cultural Food Festival – 2 Feb 2013 | Sir Nigel's Journey...," accessed April 6, 2017, https://sirnigelsjourney.wordpress.com/2013/01/30/event-international-cultural-food-festival-2-feb-2013/.

might have. Local health officers will be involved to ensure the hygiene and other related aspects are taken into practice by the participants.

5.6 Expected Benefits of the Project

This project has the potential to increase visitor-ship to the Great Zimbabwe and to the city of Masvingo. The historic town of Masvingo has many tourist attractions such as the Italian Chapel, pictured below, which visitors hardly enjoy since they are not properly marketed.

Figure 16. Outside and inside view of the Italian Chapel in Masvingo City, 27km away from Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site. [17]

This event is going to promote some of the historic landmarks within Masvingo city and near Great Zimbabwe. This is going to boost tourism in the area thereby making it a source of income for communities and government institutions. Great Zimbabwe and other hotel industries stand to benefit from the huge turnout anticipated for this event. Great Zimbabwe offers affordable and well maintained visitor amenities. This event is going to bring in customers who are going to buy from their museum shop, canteen and to make use of the organisation's accommodation facilities. Nearby, there other hoteliers such as African Sun,

[17] 1. "Visit Masvingo - Tour Africa Travel," accessed April 6, 2017, http://www.tourafricatravel.co.zw/index.php/packages/10-zimbabwe/21-masvingo.

Lodge at the Ancient City, Mutirikwi Lakeshore lodges, Noma Jeanne's, Kyle View Lodges and Mayfair Lodges. These hoteliers offer quality services which visitors will find interesting.

Figure 17: NMMZ's rondavels[18]

Figure 18. Great Zimbabwe Hotel [19]

Figure 19. Lodge at the Ancient City[20]

A decent amount of resources can be raised from this initiative, which will go towards the day-to-day conservation and management needs of the site. These include routine conservation of the dry stonewalls, research and presentation of the monument to the public. On the other hand,

[18] 1. "Ruínas Do Grande Zimbabwe - Dobrar Fronteiras," accessed April 6, 2017, http://www.dobrarfronteiras.com/grande-zimbabwe/.

[19] 1. Masvingo Great Zimbabwe Hotel3 5 csillagos3 and 5 Csillagos, "Great Zimbabwe Hotel : Masvingo," Hotels.com, accessed April 6, 2017, https://hu.hotels.com/ho352807/great-zimbabwe-hotel-masvingo-zimbabwe/.

[20] 1. "Lodge at the Ancient City, Great Zimbabwe, Masvingo.," accessed April 7, 2017, http://www.zimbabwe-holidays.com/lodge-at-the-ancient-city.html.

funds generated from this initiative will be used to setup sustainable projects for the benefit of communities. This is important as the museum has to fulfil its social responsibilities.

5.7 Financial Plan: Potential Financial Resources

5.7.1 Culture Fund

The project has identified the Culture Fund Trust of Zimbabwe as one of the potential sponsors for the event. The Culture Fund Trust of Zimbabwe is a Non -Governmental Organisation whose mandated is to build capacities in the cultural sector through multi-dimensional strategies. The Culture Fund has collaborated with a number of institutions and artists through their mobility scheme ("Mobility Impacts" 2015). The project has an opportunity for funding from this important organisation.

5.7.2 Sponsors

For the overall sponsorship of the event, the project hopes to get financial support from the business community. There are traditional corporate sponsors and embassies such as the American, Swedish and Danish Embassies who have invested a lot into cultural projects in the country. Other industry giants like Delta Beverages, Environment Africa and Old Mutual are all potential sponsors who can assist on this project. However, there is also need to partner with other established cultural initiatives to better understand their fund-raising methods. One such institution which comes into mind is the Great Zimbabwe University which is located near the monument. It is an institution which was established sorely to promote the research and dissemination of Zimbabwean culture.

5.7.3 Donations

The project is also going to anticipate and make use of donations from interested individuals. These donations can be in the form of financial packages, sound systems and other necessary provisions for this project.

5.8 Revenue

Revenue generation is one of the major reasons for carrying out this event. It is hoped that through ticket selling for entrance into the museum, selling of food, curios and accommodation bookings, a considerable amount is going to be realised. Other funds are going to be generated from companies or other players who would want to set up their marketing stalls during the event or organisations who would want to be involved during the project. It is important, however, to note that this event needs the involvement of the key stakeholders who are the local communities.

5.9 SWOT Analysis

Strengths	Weaknesses
• Program relates to NMMZ's mission and vision • Great Zimbabwe offers facilities necessary to support the project. • NMMZ has qualified and knowledgeable staff. • Diverse event spread for five days • Participation of local communities • Great Zimbabwe is already known locally, nationally and internationally.	• Centralized decision making within NMMZ thereby affecting planning and execution of the event. • Clash of ideas amongst stakeholders and personalities • Possible clash with local communities over unruly behaviour from visitors at the site.
Opportunities	**Threats**
• Possible partnerships developed between NMMZ and other tourism players • Enhancement of community relations • Increased revenue • New tourism markets	• Political interference • Corruption • Unfavourable climatic conditions • Unavailability of funds • Longstanding conflicts between local communities.

Table 7. SWOT analysis for Great Zimbabwe Cultural Festival

5.10 Target Audience

Great Zimbabwe monument is a unique cultural place which draws a lot of visitor-ship from all over the world. However, for purposes of this program, I have identified the local Karanga groups in Masvingo Province as the core audience. Rarely do they get the opportunity to congregate and celebrate their culture despite their proximity to this prestigious site. With proper marketing, the project stands to draw visitors from around the world. As personal experiences have shown, tourists always lamented the lack of entertaining activities to occupy them before they leave the monument. Therefore, tourists from regional and international markets form part of the targeted audiences.

5.11 Stakeholder Analysis

Stakeholder groups/individuals	**Our motivation to include them**	**Their objectives, motivations**	**Responsibilities/ Influence area**
NMMZ	*Support/Decision* The organization has the employees to help in the planning and execution of the event. They are also in charge of Great Zimbabwe.	The event is going to create revenue for them to execute their duties. The event also supports their mandate of promoting Zimbabwe's culture	*Key player* In the planning coordination and execution of the project. must meet their academic requirements and expectations
Local Community	*Our Target* Our audience, active participants in the program, their interest and feedback, promoting NMMZ.	Opportunity to showcase their traditional crafts and also to interact with other interested organizations.	*Show consideration* To their views, inputs and feedback as the success of the project depends on their participation.
Sponsors (*Embassies, Culture Fund, Corporations etc.)*	*Support* Financial support to enable us to fulfil our mission and vision.	By supporting our event they promote their own interest which vary from marketing their products to executing their own mission in the field of cultural promotion.	*Meet their needs* Providing them with the necessary information to facilitate funding.

Table 8. Stakeholder analysis for Great Zimbabwe Cultural Festivals

6.0 Archaeological and cultural considerations of the project

An event of such a magnitude poses a threat to the preservation of the fragile archaeological remains within the monument, the environment and the relationship between the local communities and NMMZ. It has happened before, where parts of the monument were vandalised and littered after government programs such as the late former President's birthday was held in the monument (Sinamai, 2017a). Therefore, it naturally follows that due considerations and safeguards should be taken or put in place in order not to harm the site and its cultural landscape.

As such, it is proposed that the event should not be centralised, rather it should be spread out to other areas outside the core and sensitive parts of the monument. Areas, such as the old Karanga Village, the Great Zimbabwe State University's proposed site campus and the old Girls' Scout cottage near the Morgenster road, are perfect alternatives for hosting programmes such as music festivals and art exhibitions. Using these areas also provides an opportunity to visitors to explore some of the monument's hidden parts such as the Chenga ruins and the GZ estate's diverse flora and fauna. Additionally, movement within the core parts of the monument should be monitored in order to ensure that human traffic stays on designated pathways and that cases are of vandalism are easily identified and reported. The use of volunteers, mainly drawn from the local communities would aid such an initiative.

Conclusions

This project has the capacity to empower local communities as they participate in the events identified above. In a country facing economic challenges, this program idea is going to be a welcome event to the local community, which has often clashed with NMMZ over proceeds generated at Great Zimbabwe as they withstand the worst of the vicissitudes of rainfall variability. Not only at Great Zimbabwe, has there been conflicts, but also at other heritage sites in Zimbabwe where communities feel that the institution is not doing enough to support their livelihoods (Chirikure, Mukwende, and Taruvinga 2016). In that regard, the project is crucial for the NMMZ, which has been struggling to fund its heritage conservation activities due to the unavailability of funds. Importantly the project fits into the NMMZ mission of promoting and preserving Zimbabwean culture. Options for funding this project are available from independent cultural organisations, government ministries, business entities and embassies who have bankrolled similar activities in the country.

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APPENDICES

A. Interviews with local communities

1. How long have you stayed around Great Zimbabwe?
2. How is the Great Zimbabwe important to you?
3. What do you understand by Great Zimbabwe being a World Heritage Site and what does this status mean to you?
4. As members how does the Great Zimbabwe benefit you economically and socially?
5. What have been the major challenges in the management of Great Zimbabwe?
6. In which ways do you think tourism at Great Zimbabwe has affected your community?
7. There are other groups of people who want to use the site for various purposes e.g. spirit mediums from other areas, war veterans and individuals who want to carry out cleansing ceremonies. What is your opinion on these ceremonies?
8. What is the role of local communities in the management of Great Zimbabwe?
9. How often are local communities consulted in the management of the Great Zimbabwe?
10. How effective is the Local Management Committee? Are you aware of it?
11. Which role do you think local communities might play to improve the management of Great Zimbabwe?

B. Guiding questions for interview with traditional leaders

1. Can you briefly describe your clan's history with Great Zimbabwe?
2. How important is Great Zimbabwe to you as traditional leaders?
3. Great Zimbabwe was listed as a World Heritage Site in 1986. What have been the social and economic benefits of this listing to your community?
4. As traditional leaders you have been calling for the NNMZ to observe traditional knowledge systems in protecting the site. In which aspects are you calling for the inclusion of traditional knowledge systems?
5. Seeing the increase in droughts over the years in Zimbabwe generally and in your area specifically, do you still see rainmaking ceremonies as solutions in times of droughts or erratic rainfall?
6. How should Great Zimbabwe be used by

   a) local communities

   b) other descendant communities (Shona/Kalanga)

   c) interest groups (war veterans, spirit mediums, youths, government, musicians etc
7. How many people from your area of jurisdiction are employed at Great Zimbabwe?
8. What do you think about the management of Great Zimbabwe?

9. What do you think needs to be done to improve the management of Great Zimbabwe?

C. Guiding Questions for the Local Planning Authorities

1. Can you briefly describe the relationship between MRDC and the Great Zimbabwe?
2. How important is Great Zimbabwe's status as a World Heritage Site to Masvingo Rural District Council?
3. When and why was the Nemanwa Growth Point established?
4. What has been the major impact of increased tourism at the Great Zimbabwe on the socio-economic livelihood of local communities surrounding the Great Zimbabwe?
5. How often does the MRDC consult with the management of GZ on developmental projects and settlements around the site?

D. Guiding questions: Heritage Managers from NMMZ

1. Zimbabwe has been labelled a pariah state mainly by western countries over its controversial policies such as the land reform program. Do you think the isolation of the country from the international community affected UNESCO's concept of shared responsibility in managing Zimbabwe's heritage?
2. Do you recall major projects which have occurred at Great Zimbabwe through the assistance of UNESCO or its advisory bodies such ICOMOS, ICCROM and other western agencies?
3. Seeing that the Zimbabwean economy has been struggling since the late 1990s which in turn has affected the operations of the NMMZ, are there any other formalised sources of funding for the management of the Great Zimbabwe?
4. What is the position of the NMMZ with regards to people staying near the Great Zimbabwe?
5. What role(s) do local communities play in the management of the Great Zimbabwe?
6. In your own opinion, what do communities find as important at the Great Zimbabwe?

7. Due to climate change, Zimbabwe has been experiencing droughts and extreme weather conditions such as floods. How does the NMMZ empower local communities to cope with the negative impacts of environmental change?
8. What is the position of the NMMZ on the use of the Great Zimbabwe by interest groups such as war veterans and politicians to hold cleansing ceremonies, birthday celebrations and musical galas?

E. Guiding questions for researchers or heritage intellectuals

1. What is your understanding of the concept of universal heritage?
2. In your opinion, is the concept benefitting local communities and local heritage in Zimbabwe?
3. In what ways do you think international relations affect the concept of universal heritage?
4. Can traditional management systems be effectively used in the management of the GZ?
5. Do you think the use of the Great Zimbabwe as a political tool affects its values or its management?
6. How can local communities actively participate in the management of the Great Zimbabwe?

F. Guiding questions: Interview with Local Management Committee, Shona Village, Craft Center

1. What is your role in the management of the Great Zimbabwe?
2. Is your role properly defined?
3. How often are you consulted in the management of the Great Zimbabwe?
4. What would you say are the major accomplishments of the Local Management Committee?
5. Are you familiar with the Great Zimbabwe Management Plan?
6. What would you say are the shared challenges affecting the management of the GZ?

7. There are other groups of people who want to use the site for various purposes e.g. spirit mediums from other areas, war veterans and individuals who want to carry out cleansing ceremonies. What is your opinion on these ceremonies?
8. When do you usually hold consultative meetings with a) Chiefs b) community members?
9. How many consultative meetings do you usually have?
10. Which role do you think local communities might play to improve the management of Great Zimbabwe?