Nyararai Ellen Mundopa

RESEARCHING, PRESERVING AND PRESENTING VARIABILITY: TOWARDS AN AUGMENTED MANAGEMENT OF DRYSTONE-BUILT-CAPITALS OF THE ZIMBABWE CULTURE

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

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by

Nyararai Ellen Mundopa

(Zimbabwe)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy,

Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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

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Abstract

The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), the nation's custodian of cultural and natural heritage, has developed a classification system of monuments as a way of prioritizing human and financial resources for management purposes. The system, which ranks sites from class one to four, privileges a few monuments in classes one and two, managing the others in classes three and four by negligence. Archaeological research has exposed the Zimbabwe Culture as a phenomenon that varied widely across time and space, bringing out a complex and ambiguous concept of the Zimbabwe culture. In recent years, sporadic monuments inspection outreaches to some of the less privileged classes of the drystone-built heritage have reported extensive vandalism and disappearance of these sites. Departing from current heritage management framework of the Zimbabwe culture sites, this thesis explores how an increasing body of archaeological evidence about the variability of the Zimbabwe sites can be used to inform a more representative model of managing and salvaging this heritage. Using the decolonial theory which advocates for the collaboration of heritage experts and local communities in the holistic management of heritage inclusive of biodiversity drawing from the Ndongo Site management model

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Lastly and most importantly this work is dedicated to Anesu, my husband and Ayanna my beloved daughter. Thank you so much for your patience and understanding during the time mama was away from you.

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List of Abbreviations

AHD- Authorised Heritage Discourse

CHIEHA - Chibememe Earth Healing Association

LTLA - Local Traditional Leaders Act

NGO- Non-Governmental Organisation

NMMZ - National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe

NMMZA- National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe

TLA- Traditional Leaders Act

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

WHC- World Heritage Convention

ZBC- Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation

ZCC - Zion Christian Church

ZMM – Zimbabwe Military Museum

AFC - Apostolic Faith Church

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Fig 1: Great Zimbabwe National Monument Dry stone structure

Southern Africa underwent a unique experience of urbanism from around the 11th century CE to the dawn of colonialism in the 19th century that saw the proliferation of dry stone-built settlements (Chirikure et al. 2014, 1; see fig 1). Webber Ndoro estimates that there are more than 300 of such elite settlements in the region, the famous ones being Great Zimbabwe, Danamombe, Naletale, Shangwe in Zimbabwe, Domboshaba in Botswana, Manikweni in Mozambique and Thulamela in South Africa (Pikirayi 2013, 26; Ndoro and Pwiti 2001). Of all

these, Great Zimbabwe is probably the largest and most complex in terms of engineering ingenuity. About 80% of dry-stone settlements are within the borders of modern-day Zimbabwe, which got its name from the site of Great Zimbabwe at independence in 1980 (Ndoro 2005, 12). The word Zimbabwe comes from Shona, one of the Bantu languages in southern Africa, *dzimba dzamahwe*, meaning houses of stone.

Archaeological research has revealed that some of these settlements were occupied sequentially and by different rulers (Chirikure et al. 2014, 2). Archaeologists continue to debate whether these centres rose one after another across southern Africa in a linear trajectory, or whether it was a multidirectional development(Chirikure et al. 2016, 75). What is clear, however, is that some of these elite settlements developed contemporaneously, sharing with and competing against each other in different ways including building styles and techniques. As such, there is so much variability within what has come to be known as the Zimbabwe culture with some sites being more impressive and vaster than others in terms of the built-up landscape. In other parts of southern Africa, the Zimbabwe settlements are less elaborate and sometimes they are just marked by a few standing pillars of granite rocks.

Right from the inception of archaeology in Zimbabwe, researchers focused on the more elaborate sites such as Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Naletale, and Chibvumani, among a few others (Randall-MacIver 1906; Hall 1905; Caton-Thompson 1931; Summers 1958; Bent 1892). Archaeological research and conservation also developed at these sites faster and more intensively, leaving out the less elaborate sites, some of which were less accessible. Curators stationed at the then Queen Victoria Museum (now Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences) would visit the distant sites occasionally while other sites never received visits at all. This centralized and national management structure where sites are managed from city centres which act as regional capitals has largely remained the same in the post-independence era. The

National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), the government body responsible for heritage management in Zimbabwe, has categorized sites for prioritization of resource allocation in terms of conservation including but not limited to detailed condition surveys. The classification system also defines which sites are developed for visitor enjoyment through construction of a site museum and employment of resident custodians, among other considerations for archaeo-tourism. However, the still effective NMMZ Act of 1972 is silent on how sites are to be managed and this leaves them largely at the mercy of curatorial and central administration choices; it is up to the heritage managers to determine the framework. In this situation, local and custodian communities are marginalized. This has largely contributed to a 'them and us'-dichotomy between NMMZ and the communities. A myriad of conservation challenges has resulted from this lack of win-win relations between heritage communities and NMMZ. These include the continuation of centralized traditions in decision making that mainly assumes a top-to-bottom style of communication between central administration and curatorial staff. In turn, this influences the collaboration of curators and communities on matters of heritage management in their areas. Some protection failures result from a conflict of interests between NMMZ and local communities, particularly on contentious issues such as ownership and benefits accrued from heritage sites, a setting that, in particular, sites of lower ranks are currently facing.

It is against such a background that this study proposes a reconsideration of the current management tools given that there is a bewildering variation within the Zimbabwe culture, in order to develop a scheme that captures the multiplicity of heritage concepts. Within this variation this study invites the attention of policy makers and heritage managers in Zimbabwe and across the region to focus on the growing body of archaeological research regarding evolutions within the ideological and material manifestations of the Zimbabwe culture through time and space. As case studies, I will use Chibvumani National Monument which falls into

"class two" under state led management system and the Ndongo site which is "unclassified" and under a local community led management system.

The specific objectives of the study include the following:

1. to examine parameters that guide the current classification system;

2. to determine preservation conditions of sites that are less privileged within the current management scheme;

3. to develop an alternative management tool of Zimbabwe type sites taking into consideration their uniqueness against each other.

Research Methods

In search for answers to the questions above, the study uses several research methods in gathering data. It adopts focus groups, interviews and questionnaires in order to find answers to various questions raised in this study. Each and every research instrument will be analysed in order to ascertain its validity for the study areas.

Focus Group Discussions

Three focus group discussions were conducted. For all the focus group discussions a written consent form was signed by a chosen representative of the group. Consent was sought with regard to the recording of the discussions using an audio recorder, stating the purpose of the study, what was expected of the participants and how their data would be used. The Shona language was used to conduct the focus group discussions. One was conducted with members

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of the Chibememe Earth Healing Association (CHIEHA), a sub-committee responsible for the management, conservation and preservation of Ndongo archaeological site. Only five members of the committee managed to be part of the discussion due to various commitments. The discussion with the subcommittee was important because it brought about a deeper understanding of the management successes and challenges that they were facing.

The second focus group discussion was conducted with Chief Gudo, the traditional leader of the area around Ndongo Site. Before the group discussion, I approached the chief, through the CHIEHA coordinator to inform him about my research inquiry. The chief chose the participants at his own discretion for the discussion that was held at his traditional court. Members present included the chiefs' secretary, a district chairperson of the ruling party, Zanu PF, and local village headmen. The discussions were important because they brought a deeper understanding of the significance of the site to the traditional leaders based on their intimate relationship with the site and offered also an insight into how the site is used for traditional religious ceremonies.

The third focus group discussion was held at Chibvumani National Monument. The discussions were important because they led to a deeper understanding of the significance of the site to the traditional leaders and the society in general and offered, again, an insight into how the site is used for traditional religious ceremonies. The focus group discussion comprised of representatives of all the chiefs around Chibvumani National Monument. Therefore, no sampling method was used because the participants were chosen by the local community. This balanced representation helped to capture all the differences in opinion with regards to how the site was currently managed. The participants' selection was also done by the respective Chiefs.

These group discussions were important since certain data that I could not get from literature review or semi-structured interviews came out during these three focus group meetings (see appendix for the set of questions asked during the three focus group discussions).

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Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used because they are the only method which makes practices available given the time limit to incorporate observation into a data collection. The interviews make narratives of practices available which otherwise would not be accessible (Ucko 1998, 156) Semi-structured interviews allow the use of follow up questions on interesting and unexpected subjects that may arise during the interview. First, I used open ended questions, followed by confrontational questions to gather as much information as possible from the interviewees. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with senior NMMZ staff, senior staff at Mamutse Primary School and the former head of this school. Regional Directors and curators were interviewed to gather more information on the classification system and the *adopt a site programme* of NMMZ. However, some of the selected interviewees preferred questionnaires to interviews; hence I prepared a set of questionnaires for some of the directors and senior staff of NMMZ.

Questionnaires

Three sets of questionnaires were developed as follows. The first set was developed for senior NMMZ officials who opted questionnaires over interviews. All the questionnaires distributed in this category were returned; therefore, hundred percent response was achieved. The second set of questions was developed for heritage practitioners irrespective of occupation, gender and age. The third set was developed for officials responsible for heritage education in NMMZ. Of five questionnaires distributed in the five regions of NMMZ only three were returned, therefore sixty percent response was realised. All questionnaires were divided into two sections: the first section was dedicated towards the system of classification whilst the second section was meant to capture the understanding and views of the *adopt a site programme*. All the questions asked were crafted thematically and descriptively.

Theoretical Framework

The study is based on the decolonial theory which consists of analytic and practical options confronting and delinking from the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo 2007, 450). However, it is also related to the post-colonial theory which, however, was left out due to some of its shortcomings which shall be discussed in this subchapter.

The decolonial theory is a more practical approach to the management of heritage as compared to the post-colonial theory. Post-colonial theory has been widely criticised for being too academic, theoretical, esoteric and has over dependency on text making it too complex to apply in the context of African heritage management (Abrahamsen 2003, 189). The decolonial theory engages in shifting the Western focussed hierarchical power matrices of the contemporary development model and focusses on incorporating the voices of the subaltern and the marginalised. The post-colonial theory is hinged on the expert's hegemony in the management of heritage overriding the voice of the subaltern. In the Zimbabwean context this is in reference to the local communities who have been marginalised during the colonial period. Heritage presentation and interpretation has been manipulated by the state for political and economic gains whilst the subaltern was marginalised.

Given the above stated shortcoming of the post-colonial theory, the study has adopted the decolonial theory. Collaborative heritage/archaeology in the frame of the decolonial theory was adopted to enable the voiceless to be heard. Rolando Vazquez, for example, argues for wider recognition of the way in which social struggles challenge and define 'the oppressive grammars of power' (Bhambra 2015). In this way, he suggests, the conceptual vocabularies of the academy can be displaced and re-signified with meanings that emerge from 'political practices, alternative forms of justice, and other ways of living. The decolonial theory acknowledges that communities have not only been displaced but they have also lost their knowledges (heritage).

Therefore, the theory advocates for recovery and re-articulation of that lost heritage through collaborative archaeology.

NMMZ Regional Management Structures

Zimbabwe is archaeologically divided by NMMZ into five regions. In this regard, each region has been given responsibility and specialises on its own collections different from each other. In order to understand the classification system and its effects on the low ranked sites across the country, the study draw inferences from all the five regions.
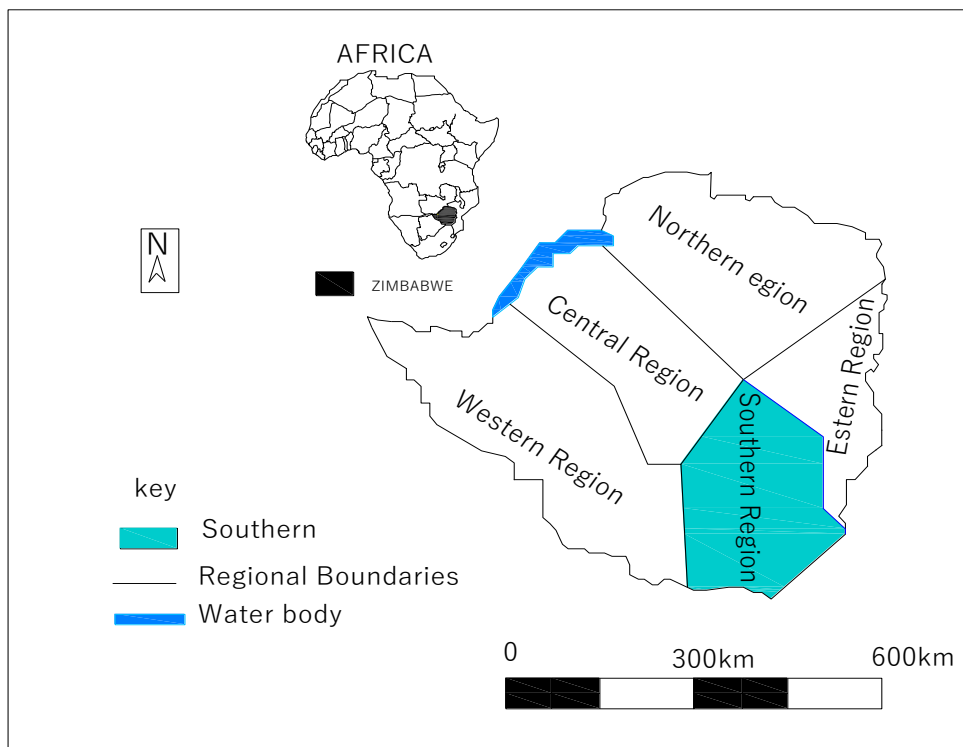

Fig 2: NMMZ Museological Regions (Source: Biggie Chikwiramakomo, 2019)

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Central Region

The central Region is geographically located in the middle section of Zimbabwe known politically as Midlands province. The Central Region's main museum is known as Zimbabwe Military Museum (ZMM) in Gweru Zimbabwe, the third largest city of the country. The Central Region specialises in the military collection of Zimbabwe's history. The Zimbabwe Military Museum holds the country's acquisitions on National Army and Aviation collections. Most importantly, the Central Region's collections at ZMM consist of armoured military vehicles and rifles, among others. More so, there is an interpretation of Zimbabwe's military history of First Chimurenga[1] and Second Chimurenga on display. However, the African collections are less portrayed as compared to the narration and interpretation of former British colonisers. In this particular situation, the White settlers' history is displayed perfectly. One could be tempted to say that most of NMMZ 's activities in many museums are still embedded in the British colonial era despite the country's attainment of liberation in 1980.

Western Region

The Western Region's unique acquisitions deal with national natural history collections. The museum is located in Bulawayo, the second largest city of the country. The Bulawayo Natural Museum houses over 75,000 natural history objects. It is probably one of the biggest collections in Southern Africa. Apart from that, the Western Region is also known for its biggest replicas, such as one of largest mounted elephants in the world. The Western Region has also an Archaeology Department that is responsible for the management of archaeological sites and collections in the western parts of Zimbabwe

Southern Region

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[1] Chimurenga mean "revolutionary struggle" in local language Shona.

The region is located 27 km away from the city of Masvingo (See fig 5). It is where my study areas Ndongo Site and Chibvumani National Monument are situated. The NMMZ regional offices are to be found at Great Zimbabwe. Great Zimbabwe monument was proclaimed a World Heritage Site in 1986. It is one of Southern Africa's largest man-made construction of pre-colonial settlement. The region has a site museum dedicated to the exhibition of the archaeology of Great Zimbabwe. The region specialises in the conservation of Zimbabwe culture architecture. It is the leading region in the conservation of dry-stone architecture.

Northern Region

The region is dominated by Harare, the capital city of the Nothern Region. There, the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences, formerly known as Queen Victoria Museum, is located. The museum was opened in 1903, built in honour of Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Over the years, the museum's agenda has undergone substantial changes. Prior to the country's gaining independence from Britain in 1980, natural history was the museum's research focus, mainly in the fields of palaeontology, mammalogy, ornithology and ichthyology. Moreover, the museum played an integral part on exhibiting Zimbabwean' prehistory and ethnology, also covering rock art. Currently, the museum's collection concentrates on Stone Age and Iron Age studies, studies of the culture and history of the people of Zimbabwe, conservation of rock art and the preservation and management of historical monuments.

Eastern Region

NMMZ has its regional offices at Mutare, the provincial capital. The offices are housed in the so called Mutare Museum. It was established by a White Museum Society in the 1950s. The building was officially opened by Sir Alfred Beit on 13 September, 1964. During that period, the museum had displays on antiquities, transport, botany and geology. Later on, additional

displays of ethnographic and archaeological objects were exhibited in the Beit Gallery. Up to date, little change has been implemented in most of the exhibitions and galleries. Currently its permanent exhibitions specialise on transport collections. Apart from that, the Eastern Region has also an archaeology unit responsible for monitoring and managing heritage places on the eastern side of the country.

The operation and management of Mutare Museum and many other museums in Zimbabwe are closely intertwined with the phenomenon of European Colonialism. In this vein, museums were created as a result of colonial experience and expertise. As such, they share a common history in terms of their collection policies, heritage management and display procedures. One could label some of these museums as by-products of European Imperialism. In that regard, they were created during the colonial era when Africans were subjected to various socio-political abuses. Not much has changed in the museums from that era to the present situation, as most of the exhibitions are still done using mostly English language; local communities are still not recognised by the exhibited .museum artefacts and its collections. On that note, all museums across the country are still specialising in the original ideas they were initially created for.

Location of the Study Area

Ndongo Site

Ndongo is located some 87 km southeast of Musikavanhu, just across the Save River in the Sangwe Communal Lands (Pwiti et al. 2017, 122). Located at 20º44´51″South and 32º08´53″East, Ndongo is a Zimbabwe culture site situated about 144 km south-east of the Great Zimbabwe National Monument in Chibememe village (Shenjere-Nyabezi 2017, 138).
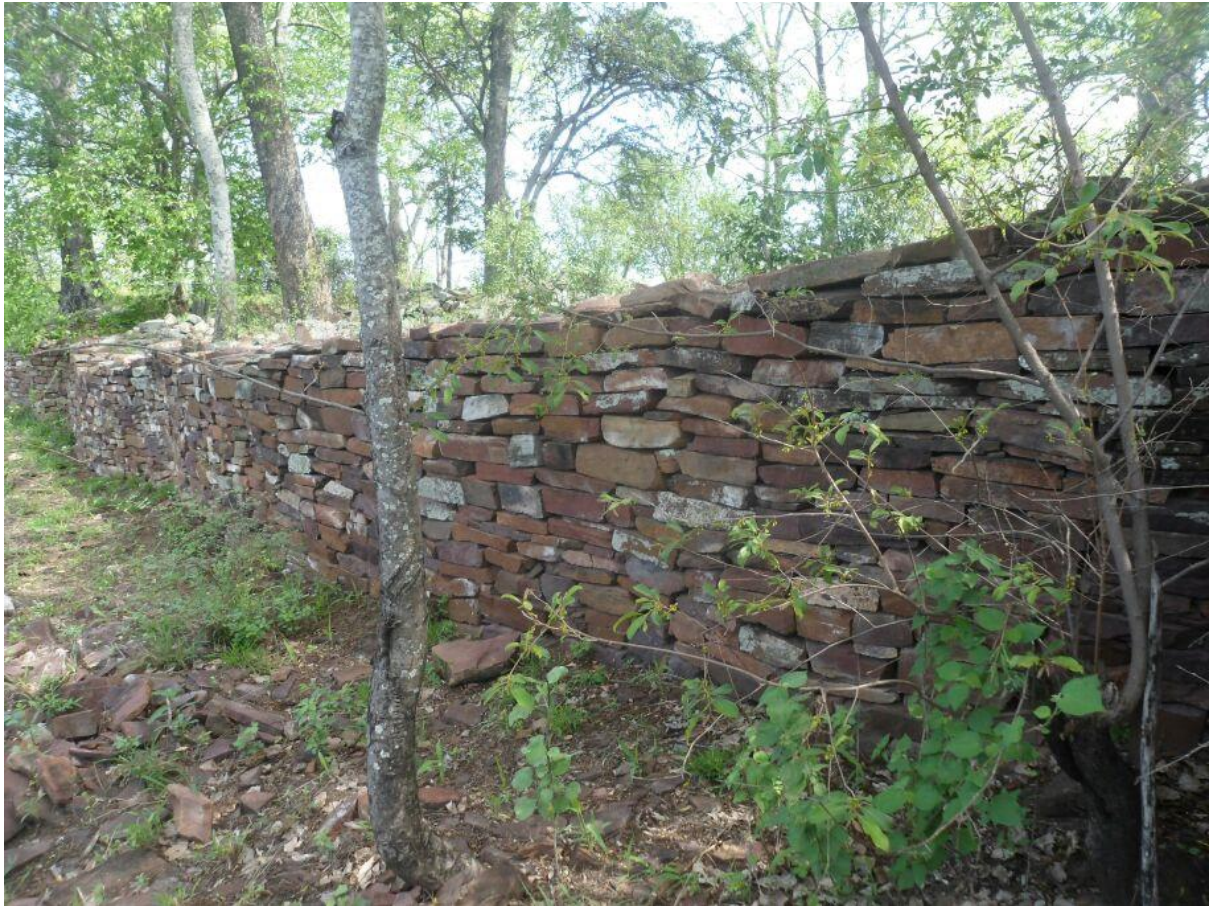
Fig 3: Ndongo Site (Source: Nyararai Mundopa)

It falls under Chief Gudo's territory and the people around are known as the Sangwe. Based on excavations, Plan Shenjere is of the opinion that the site of Ndongo began to develop at a much earlier date than traditionally ascribed to the Zimbabwe culture (Shenjere 2011, 78).

Ndongo site is an average sized oval shaped stone enclosure with six compartments. The local community describe these compartments as representing a house with different partitions (Chibememe 2018, pers comm). They describe one of the enclosures as used by the ruler's first wife (*vahosi*). In the center of the enclosure is a huge high mound of soil thought to have been the sentinel's place. Whilst the bulk of Zimbabwe Culture sites are built with granite, Ndongo site's walls are made from sandstone, the main type of stone found in the area, as confirmed by geological investigations (Musindo 2006, 1; Shenjere 2011, 156) Locals refer to the place

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where the site is located as *ndowoyo* referring to the fertile black soils found in the area(Shenjere-Nyabezi 2017, 138)

Plan Shenjere-Nyabezi describes that the dry-stone walls form a circular enclosure with freestanding walls where the highest segment rises to about 2 metres. She noted that the walls at Ndongo site could have originally have been constructed as free-standing with two outer faces but were subsequently backfilled and became retaining walls with enclosures partitioned into compartments and freestanding walls to demarcate space (Shenjere-Nyabezi 2017, 138). There are few granite rocks which were used as grinding stones, possibly imported from far-off places because, as said, granite is not common in the area.
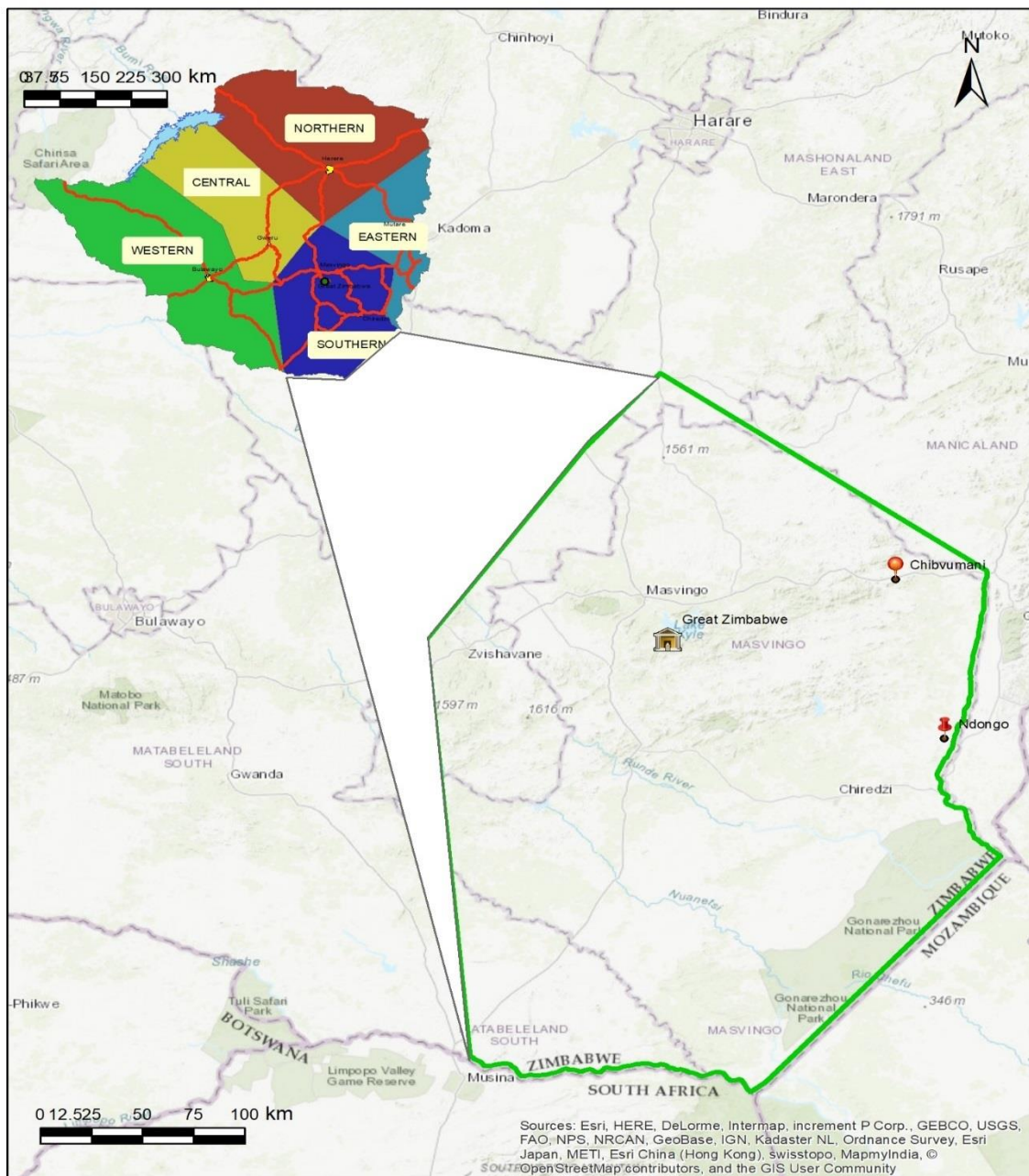
Fig 4: Map showing the study area (Source: Justine Magadzike, 2018)

Description and setting of Chibvumani

Chibvumani is located in the Bikita District, about 120 km along the Masvingo- Mutare road. It is one of the over three hundred Zimbabwe culture sites in the country. According to Munyaradzi Mawere et al., it is probably the second largest dry stone wall after Great Zimbabwe in the Southern Region (Mawere et al. 2012, 10). The two sites have a number of

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similarities including the cleft rock of the hill complex and walls that are perpendicular and open to the sky. The site has subterranean crevices, corridors and shelters which makes Chibvumani an exciting place compared to other Zimbabwe Culture sites.

Walls are built from biotite granite blocks quarried from the surrounding bedrocks outcrops with walls varying in height between 1 to 3 meters. The walls bear marks of preadaptation at a later period. This suggests that the site was probably occupied after the demise of Great Zimbabwe. Gertrude Caton-Thompson noted that the granite blocks had been used twice suggesting that occupants of Chibvumani had a constant touch with the site or probably it was an offshoot of Great Zimbabwe, meaning it was contemporaneous.

Caton-Thompson also unearthed four sherds of undecorated rough brown pottery pointing out that the occupants of Chibvumani lived from agriculture. (Caton-Thompson 1929,158). Moreover, bones of sheep at the site indicated that the people of Chibvumani also kept domesticated animals.

Commodities found at Chibvumani National Monument show that there was trade like at most Zimbabwe Culture sites. These trade commodities like glass beads in archaeological context help to reveal that Chibvumani was not isolated from other communities. (Caton-Thompson 1929,160) 86 glass beads uncovered at Chibvumani show no differentiation to those that were found at Great Zimbabwe. Moreover, perforated pottery objects discovered at Chibvumani appear to be similar to a wooden magic bowl which was found in a cave 10 miles from Great Zimbabwe. In this vein, it can be noted that Chibvumani had a lot of similarities with Zimbabwe Culture sites.

Chibvumani was a residential place for the king. It was constructed with a commanding view of surrounding valleys between high granite masses of neighbouring hills (Caton-Thompson 1929, 151-154). This is similar to Great Zimbabwe where the king resided at the hill, and also typical of other Zimbabwe culture sites. The location was such that intruders would be easily

detected from the summit of the hill. Most importantly its occupants did not take risks and they

fortified the walls of the site. Entrances were also built in a particular way of detailed planning.

Fig 5: Chibvumani National Monument (Source: Nyararai Mundopa)

Chapter 2 - History and Historiography of the Management of Dry-stone Structures in Zimbabwe

Pre-colonial History of Chibvumani

This chapter will present the chronological historiography of Chibvumani National Monument and Ndongo Site to bring out how the current state of conservation and presentation of these sites came into being from a historical perspective; considering that both sites underwent the relatively same management system which brought different outcomes. Both sites have had consented efforts towards conservation from local communities, however they have experienced different results. The chapter will bring out how history has played a pivotal role in the current state of conservation as well as how a state led management system may lead to complex conservation challenges.

Most parts of the history of Chibvumani remains anonymous. One sees close resemblance to Great Zimbabwe but, still, the site offers poor archaeological research, as well as limited oral and written records.

The sketchy existing source evidence supports the opinion that Chibvumani was probably constructed soon after the demise of Great Zimbabwe in the 15th century. Caton-Thompson asserts that there were two distinct periods of occupation, the first dating to the 15th century and an unidentified later period that included the construction of new walls, terraces and the levelling up of earlier surfaces in the enclosures (Caton-Thompson, 1931,42-43).

Archaeological evidence revealed that Chibvumani was part of the Zimbabwe culture, and occupied sequentially by different rulers (Chirikure et al 2012,12). It was centre of power,

influence and dominance (Chirikure 2007, 79 ;Seitzinger et al. 2012, 790).Caton Thompson noted that the presence of numerous hearths and the site's monumental structure seem to suggest that the area was occupied for a long period before its final collapse. But, assessing the above-mentioned views and archaeological debates one can safely say that the history of Chibvumani still has a particular void with regards to its chronological development prior to its demise.

Much of the information about Chibvumani comes from the VaDuma tribe who came from Mozambique and settled in the area in the 16th century. According to Mtetwa, the leader of the VaDuma people from Uteve, present day Mozambique, was Chikosha, who left Uteve sometime between the death of his father 16th century((Mtetwa and R. 1973, 10; Mtetwa 1973, 10). They travelled through the present Hera country and crossed the Devure - Chivaka confluence and settled at Chibvumani (Headman Mamutse 2018, pers comm). In this regard, Chibvumani was recognized as a resting place for the VaDuma people after a long journey. VaDuma are a Shona - speaking people who still live in Bikita and most parts of Masvingo Province and they are the traditional custodians of the study area. As a result, this thesis is of valuable importance on revealing the nature of social relations that have affected the conservation of the Chibvumani National Monument between the VaDuma people and the NMMZ management.

Moreover, Mtetwa noted that at Chibvumani, when the ancestors of the present inhabitants (Duma) arrived, they found the stone structures already built, but they used them for their own purposes (Mtetwa 1973, 13). For instance, in the 17th – 19th centuries, Chibvumani has been believed to have served diverse and varied purposes for the VaDuma people. The Chibvumani Hill played a crucial role around the 1860s, the years when the VaDuma were repetitively attacked by the Nguni from the Eastern part of Zimbabwe. Gerald Mazarire noted that Nguni

invaded VaDuma for food, cattle and clothing (Mazarire 2005, 13). The VaDuma also suffered from Ndebele raiders from the Western part of Zimbabwe who used to take away food as well (Chief Budzi 2018, pers comm). Chibvumani Hill caves and groves served as hiding and shielding places for safety. The VaDuma used to hide reserve food, rapoko (millet), in the Chibvumani caves which would save them during and after the Nguni raids. It is also believed that there is an underground tunnel which cuts across to the other side of the nearby mountain, which served as a refuge getaway in times of adversary. Therefore, it can be asserted that people used to hide in the Chibvumani hill caves and grooves for safety.

Headman Bikita added that there was a practical purpose of the hill which necessitated its conservation. The hill served as a sign to alert the locals to the onset of the rainy season (locals claim that sometimes they hear a loud mysterious sound from the hill in the morning). This was understood as an alarm for the community to start land preparation for the farming season. Moreover, present day locals also believe that their forefathers used to hide treasures such as gold and other precious minerals at Chibvumani. In addition, the VaDuma used to conduct rainmaking and thanksgiving ceremonies to their ancestors on the hill (Headman Bikita 2018, pers comm). Chibvumani is part of several hills that are respected by the VaDuma, which also includes the Chinyamagona This particular hill is revered as the hiding place for charms (*makona*) belonging to Pfupajena, a well-respected general warrior of the VaDuma. Locals also believe that mischief at the site can cause one to disappear.

In view of the above, one can note that the VaDuma were not the builders of Chibvumani National Monuments. Arguably they settled at Chibvumani to preserve and complement the efforts of those who built the site through good use.

Colonial History of Chibvumani 1890-1980

In the 19th century, the VaDuma received not much attention from historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, missionaries, and travellers. Mtetwa stated that historians of African states in Southern Zambezia concentrated on the Mwenemutapa, Rozvi empires and the Ndebele state; their bibliographies are long(Mtetwa 1973, 2). The early missionaries working among the VaDuma in Bikita, for example, of the Dutch Reformed and Roman Catholic Churches, left nothing published in English about the VaDuma and Chibvumani. Most of the travellers visited Great Zimbabwe and the bulk of the VaDuma country was by-passed. The Chibvumani area was out of the way of such great hunter- travellers like F.C. Selous who cared to write some history of the people with whom he came into contact, though he did so for his own ends. This blame can also be extended with regard to the geology of the country, As the VaDuma occupied the inaccessible mountainous parts of Bikita. Moreover, Mtetwa stated that Bikita had nothing except ivory tusks in the way of wealth to offer to fortune seekers (Mtetwa 1973, 2). Although previous researchers shunned the research area, in this study the local communities form Mamutse, Bikita and Budzi area play an important role in understanding social relations at Chibvumani.

During the colonial era much of the information for the study area was focused on historical views of the whites for the VaDuma people. The VaDuma lost their land through the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 which removed them from agricultural fertile lands into 'reserves' which were thinly populated and less habitable parts of the country. According to Chief Herbert Budzi, Headman Masuka, one of the village heads who resided close to Chibvumani, and his people were removed from Runhengu to Gokwe during the Land Apportionment Act. The Jiri and Singadi families were also removed from Bikita during the process of the Land Apportionment Act to Gokwe (Chief Budzi 2018, pers comm). Indigenous people were now restricted to interact with the site as a result of being moved into 'reserves' and most of the

land was turned into commercial land, meaning land intended for profit. (Makuvaza 2014, 7967)

Whilst most researchers were shunning the Bikita area, Great Zimbabwe National Monuments and other sites were undergoing a series of unsystematic excavations and plunder. The bulk of excavations were destructive, notably Richard Hall's vegetation clearance of the Great Enclosure at the Great Zimbabwe Monuments between 1902 and 1904 which was done under the guise of conservation (Fontein 2006b). Heritage sites during this time did not suffer from the plunder for treasure only, but also from unprecedented excavations and uninformed conservation practices. The development of cultural heritage between 1902 and 1904 can be directly linked to the developments that were taking place in the settler society (Ndoro and Pwiti 2001, 22). The potential for gold deposits at heritage sites necessitated the creation of Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Company. This is evidence to allude to the notion that heritage management was a way of treasure hunting not necessarily out of need to preserve heritage. The continuous plundering of Zimbabwe Culture sites was officially halted after the passing of the Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance in 1902, but in reality it was an ongoing process (Sinamai 2013, 102). Despite this legislation, in practice the plunder continued because there was no organisation to ensure the protection of heritage. As noted by Pwiti and Ndoro the passing on of ordinance was exclusively to cover up for criticism that had gained momentum from the academic circles for vandalism to cultural heritage by the Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Company(Ndoro and Pwiti 2001, 149).

It was within this context that Caton Thompson excavated Chibvumani in 1929 for comparative dating with Great Zimbabwe and architectural purposes (Caton-Thompson 1931, 150). But the plunder of dry-stone walled sites in search for treasure continued until 1936, when a new legislation was passed which was meant to provide and enhance the preservation

of ruins for aesthetic, historical, archaeological or scientific interests (Sinamai 2013). The Monument and Relics Act of 1936 led to the creation of an institution for the management of heritage in Zimbabwe (Rhodesian government 1936). The act gave birth to the Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics (Monuments Commission). By this act, Chibvumani, like any other site, was supposed to be protected (Sinamai 2003, 42), but instead it unleashed the snowball effect to problems that the site is currently facing because it was considered to be of local value. The act advocated for the creation of a list of sites that were considered to be of national significance.

The list would comprise of monuments worthy of regular visits, maintenance and excavations for further research because they were monumental and aesthetically pleasing. The new act ushered in the earliest traits of the ranking system, as it stated the most significant sites to be elevated to a national monuments list (Ndoro 2001, 12). This led to the excavation of sites like Victoria Falls, Great Zimbabwe, Khami and World's View. The Monuments Commission gave also priority to such monuments that were commemorating European history. As noted by Mupira that regardless of the short history of the colonial occupation of Zimbabwe, there was a huge number of colonial heritages, as compared to African heritage. Following the Monument and Relics Act of 1936, Chibvumani was declared "National Monument number 115" by a government gazette in 1966 (Mawere et al. 2012,10)

Since its creation in 1936 the Monuments Commission produced a sizeable number of publications following rampant excavations at various sites. This was arguably commendable but the consumers of this knowledge were at that time a white minority who had access to these heritage sites. The function of sites as religious shrines ceased to exist because of the distance barrier that was created by the new land policy. This distance from the traditional religious places created a conductive environment to the warm reception of Western Religion. It should be noted as well that most of the publications at this time were mostly about sites with perceived

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significant values. This was because little to no research, publications, conservation and development for 'smaller' sites was conducted during this period. Therefore, in addition to colonizing agricultural land, the monuments were also colonized and restricted by colonial state rule.

In 1972, a new act was introduced to replace the 1936 Monument and Relics Act. The National Museums and Monuments Act ushered in the merging of the National Monuments Commission and all the museums across the country. The new act saw the creation of five administrative regions with a mandate to present and preserve heritage in respective jurisdictions (Murambiwa 1991, 40). Chibvumani, due to its physical location, fell under the jurisdiction of the Southern Region. One might think that the ideology introduced new concepts of systematic monument inspection to enhance heritage protection (Chipunza 2009b, 43). On the contrary, the new system further jeopardized the less significant sites like Chibvumani to receive minimal conservation attention as compared to sites that were ranked high in the classification system.

Post-colonial history of Chibvumani National Monument 1980-1990

The notable shift in ideological thinking came with the birth of a new nation state in 1980 which was renamed Zimbabwe from Rhodesia. The new name was adopted from the prominent archaeological site 'Great Zimbabwe' (Ndoro 2001, 23). The new Zimbabwe as a state was led by a political party that adopted the Great enclosure and conical tower, features of Great Zimbabwe, and the nations' flag as well as the currency featured symbols from the same site (Matenga 1998, 27).

However, the heritage management sector did not witness a radical break with the colonial practice and change as one could have expected to readdress and redefine the Eurocentric heritage management concepts that had taken dominion. Entangled in the euphoria of gaining political freedom, heritage managers were too slow to appreciate that 'decolonization' was a

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process that called for the commitment to untangle the long rope that had tied Zimbabwean heritage for a century, a process that intended to reorient the ideologies that were informing heritage management during the 'dark age', including the eradicating emphasis on monumentality and to unravel heritage policies that had been intertwined with the colonial practice of scientific archaeology (Bruchac 2014, 2069) Unfortunately, the management of sites in Zimbabwe continued to be an elitist subject only, for a privy academia, and its benefits to the Zimbabwean society were still to be demonstrated.

Still, one can note that after independence there was an inclination towards Zimbabwe Culture sites. Sadly, the inclination was heavily biased towards the most architecturally aesthetic sites like Great Zimbabwe and Khami among others, whilst the smaller sites suffered in oblivion (Sinamai 2013, 50). As noted by Gilbert Pwiti, preservation, presentation and conservation of sites became a national priority., But, when Zimbabwean politicians discussed cultural heritage conservation and preservation, they gave special reference to Great Zimbabwe, the national shrine (Pwiti 1996, 156).

After independence, the new African heritage managers were informed by the international legal frameworks like the UNESCO through the 1972 World Heritage Convention which put emphasis on the tangible values of sites more than the intangible inherent in them. The ideology of universalising heritage as promulgated by WHC of 1972 was the cause for monumentality emphasis as it was embedded in its documents (Blake 2002, 46). As a result, the Great Zimbabwe Site was listed as a World Heritage Site under criteria one, three and six. These characteristics were inherent in the tangible aspects of the site, totally leaving out the intangible aspects and input from the local communities ("Great Zimbabwe National Monument - UNESCO World Heritage Centre," 2019). This was set as a kind of precedent for sites like

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Chibvumani which were later subjected to the same management system of prioritising the tangible aspects at the expense of indigenous communities and intangible values.

The political and economic independence of Zimbabwe and the listing of Great Zimbabwe as a World Heritage Site in 1986 did, therefore, not bring the much awaited and expected interaction and possible use of the site for traditional religious purposes by local communities, which remained a dream still far from being realized. The new developments saw the local communities continue to be marginalized. A case in point is that of Mbuya Sophia Muchini, an indigenous religious leader who wanted to stay at Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site for religious purposes (Pwiti 1996, 154). She was forcibly barricaded from using the site as a traditional/religious site because it was purported to be conserved, preserved and presented for research and scientific values. It may be argued that Mbuya Sophia Muchini was too quick to embrace the need for decolonization of heritage in Zimbabwe which she was sadly denied by the heritage experts on behalf of the state. But still, there has been continuous suffocation of attempts by local communities to use Great Zimbabwe as traditional/religious center by putting emphasis on monumentality over the intangible value that the site has.

Whilst local communities were being denied their right to interact with their heritage at Great Zimbabwe, smaller sites like Chibvumani were also not spared from these developments. The era was marred by a hegemonic 'authorized heritage discourse'(AHD) which Laura Jane Smith explains to be dominated by knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts which privileges monumentality and site significance tied to time depth and nation building (L. Smith 2006, 10). AHD is also embedded in the idea that experts have the sole ability and knowledge about heritage hence no need for input from local communities, whilst it is also enshrined in the concept of preserve as found ethos which does not give room to preserve heritage as living tradition with the help of local communities. But it is the use of these sites that makes them heritage and not mere conservation for existence.

In comparison to the Zimbabwean case, the Swahili towns of Tanzania were subjected to the same concept of monumentality which dominated the idea of 'conservation'. This was irrespective of intangible values attached, age and importance to the local people (Ichumbaki 2016, 46). In Tanzania, the sites that were perceived to be significant, like mosques or big monuments, enjoyed protection and conservation privileges whilst those that were considered 'less significant' by heritage experts were left at the mercy of nature. Sadly, the classification and selective ideology implemented there gave birth to the misconception that the built heritage of the Swahili towns had historical connections only with the Arabs traders, thereby outdistancing the contributions of local communities in the development of this heritage (Ichumbaki 2016, 46). Such a rational of alienating local communities from their heritage came from the colonial dogma which portrayed Africans as people without history before the advent of colonialism (Stahl 2005, 9).

Chibvumani 1990 – present

When Zimbabwe gained independence, it made frantic efforts to gap the socioeconomic disparities that had been brought by the colonial master. Such efforts were seen in the heavy investment towards improvement of health and education delivery to the people, heavily subsidised through parastatals. This also greatly increased the government's annual expenditure ("Structural Adjustment and Zimbabwe's Poor - Independent Evaluation Group (IEG) -" 2012). Large state expenditure crowded out private investment and created a hyperinflationary environment, while scarcity of imported goods made investment difficult and thwarted growth. The population was growing at a faster rate than the creation of new jobs, widening the differences in income levels. A number of private companies that were bought by the government were operating far beyond par as compared to others in most African countries at that time (Sibanda and Makwata 2017, 6). The economic situation was worsened by the drought

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of the 1991 to 1992 season recorded as the worst drought in living memory, significantly reducing agricultural output and effectively reducing public revenue (Maphosa 1994, 1).

To bring the fiscal deficit under control, the government proposed a policy agenda that formed a basis for the Economic and Structural Adjustment Program 1991. The fiscal reforms hinged on reducing the size of the civil service and subsidies to parastatals including the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe. In light of this, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe engaged a heritage expert, David Collett, to advise the institution to map the way forward given the financial resource challenges present. Collett's report suggested a drastic change in the management of heritage sites. The report highlighted that there was need to decolonise the heritage management system in Zimbabwe, thus increasing the involvement of local communities in the management of heritage, especially the young generation (Pwiti.1997, 82). These were preliminary efforts to untangle the colonial influence by encouraging greater influence in the collaboration with indigenous peoples, a reconsideration of foundational knowledge of heritage(Bruchac 2014, 2017). However, the basis of decoloniality, with regards to the involvement of local communities in the management of heritage, was skewed by the economic value that was being prioritised by the 'Resource and Conservation Plan drafted by Collett in response to the need for NMMZ to be self-sufficient. Arguably, the local communities' involvement came into being partly, because NMMZ was failing to singlehandedly conserve all the Zimbabwe Culture sites of "class two" and "class three" due to diminishing government support. Collett's report justifies the sacrifice that was brought to the intangible values of some sites as follows,

> It can be argued that making NMMZ into a viable organisation will lead to a conflict with other values associated with heritage, e.g. educational and cultural values. Given the present economic climate this potential conflict pales into insignificance compared with possible consequences of continued dependency

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on government funding … Plan formulation will be confined to the development

and conservation of specific heritage sites and administrative infrastructure of

to manage the heritage(Collett 1992b, 7)

In response to the above description, a classification of heritage sites based on their potential capacity to bring revenue to NMMZ was developed. This classification was a build-up to the inceptive attempts that had been made by the Monument and Relics Act of 1936. The classification details will be offered in the ensuing chapter.

Ndongo Site 1890- 1990

Unlike the aforementioned Chibvumani National Monument, Ndongo Site is a relatively new site in terms of technical interventions by heritage experts. It was only in 2006 that the local communities reported about its existence to NMMZ when local communities sought expert advice on how to conduct restorations and improve the presentation of the site. Prior to the report, the site was not in the NMMZ list of known sites (Musindo 2006, 1). Since the pre-colonial era, the site had been preserved and impressively kept intact by the local communities, using myths and taboos. An account given by Gladman Chibememe informed me that, during the pre-colonial era, Ndongo and its surrounding area had been protected and conserved by indigenous knowledge systems.

 Ndongo Site was preserved under the jurisdiction of Chief Gudo Tagurana who reigned during the period 1924 to 1936 within the Sangwe communal lands. Gudo managed to protect most of the sacred nature and cultural sites from modern agrarian development brought by the Western government ruling at that time. Despite attempts of the British imperialists to divide the area into tribal trust lands (reserves), Chief Gudo, a charismatic local ruler, stood up to preserve the heritage that was under his jurisdiction. This was in spite of the ruthless forces that were exerted by the colonial powers to alienate communities from their heritage and

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desecrate it by scientific ideologies. Chief Gudo managed to resist the invasion of the white settlers because of an intelligent strategy used to protect his chieftainship. He assigned closely trusted elder members of the royal family to the position of village headmen. The village headmen took custody of the most important religious sacred sites. When the white settlers came to the village, they resisted and protected in unison the sacred and religious sites. The local communities were all fighting to protect the heritage which they considered to be their own.

Although a part of his kingdom was taken, Chief Gudo managed to protect most of the important religious sites from being taken over. Thus, sites like Ndongo have remained in the custody of the local community up to date. (Chibememe 2019, pers comm). Chief Gudo also implemented a rotational method of fishing from the pools. The rotational method accorded the community members equal access to the natural resources in the area. As a result of resilience and intelligence displayed by Chief Gudo against the colonial rule, many sites in the area were then revered as sacred by the local communities even up to now.

Contrary to the colonial ideologies of labelling African ways of conserving-built heritage as primitive, the 'outdated' and 'mythological' local communities at Ndongo have managed to preserve, conserve and present the site intact (Schmidt 2013). Ideally, before the incoming of colonialism, sites like Ndongo and Chibvumani were under the jurisdiction of an intangible set of ethos spelled out by local custodians who maintained them not only for their physical fabric, but for spiritual and religious values (Chirikure, Mukwende, and Taruvinga 2016, 2). Unfortunately, this laid-back kind of management was misconstrued to mean a negligent kind of approach according to Western standards. The western management framework puts emphasis on the fabric, for example, with regard to the Stonehenge and Callanish heritage sites

which have been solely listed based on historic and monumentality values contrary to the African setup which values spirituality more than the fabric.

Smith posits that practically heritage is a process that constructs cultural values and meanings; "not so much as a 'thing'" but as "a multi-layered performance" which "embodies acts of remembrance while negotiating and structuring a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present" (L. Smith 2012, 13) Taboos have been effective in making the indigenous people revere Ndongo monuments as their spiritual/religious centres. Ndongo is a unique case of local communities who have been on the forefront to conserve preserve and present their heritage. According to Shenjere-Nyabezi and also from my interviews conducted at Ndongo, the main reasons which have fostered the conservation of Ndongo by local communities chiefly are that elderly local people revere the site because they don't know the builders of the walls, their ancestors found the walls in their ruinous state and they helped to conserve them.

Chapter 3

Systems and processes of managing Zimbabwe sites

This chapter draws on looking into detail at the management processes that have been put in place by NMMZ to conserve, preserve and present Zimbabwe Culture sites. The chapter lays a basis on the understanding of how National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe has developed systems to help improve the conservation of the vast heritage in Zimbabwe. Effects of these management systems are discussed in the ensuing chapters.

Site Classification System

The NMMZ Act 25:11 recognises all types of heritage monuments as important, and having equal weight before the law. In accordance with the NMMZ Act, a monument is defined as any ancient area of land which can be of historical, archaeological or any other scientific value. In addition to that, a National Monument refers to a monument which has been elevated and enacted to the National Monuments list in terms of the NMMZ Act and is considered to be of national significance. (National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe Act, Chapter 25: 2001) . When a site is reported or discovered, NMMZ officials inspects and assess the significance to ascertain the necessary management needs of the site. Those sites that are deemed important accorded a national monument status. After attaining a national monument status, sites are classified depending on their significance to the nation. It is noteworthy that assessment of heritage significance to the nation is privy only to heritage experts. Assessment

and recommendation of sites for elevation is done at regional level. As noted by Ashton Sinamai, the regional board hardly consult local communities with regards to the nomination process of sites within their vicinity. Rather they are asked to sign consent documents which they hardly understand. The regional expert's assessment is recommended by the Regional Board to the Executive Director. The Executive Director presents the recommendations to the National Board of Directors and finally to the Minister of Home Affairs. In principle, all the board of directors and the minister do not have an input in the nomination and elevation of sites to the national monuments list (Sinamai 2018b). Contrary to the explanation forwarded by Ashton Sinamai, Kundishora Chipunza highlighted that the initial classification idea came from the Preservation, Restoration and Related Sites Fund. The fund established the basis for the classification of sites in Zimbabwe. The classification was introduced in the early 1990s following Collett's 1992 report on the management of Zimbabwe Culture sites (see chapter 1). This classification system was brought about for ease of monuments inspections and management.

The system classifies sites into three categories. It caters only for sites that have been declared as national monuments.

"Class one" monuments are well developed, enjoy significant visitorship, have resident custodians, a site museum, easy access by road, brochures, comprehensive research publications, and are invariably world heritage sites, for example, the Khami and Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Sites. Sites in "class one" have a working management plan and communication with site custodians should be done fortnightly. Monument inspection is conducted quarterly, thereby ensuring the conservation state of these sites. They are public sites and they have tour guides. These sites are also earmarked for tourism and economic returns.

Sites in "class two" are not easily accessible, lack significant visitorship, lack an interpretation center and resident custodians, for example, Chamavara, Kagumbudzi, Chibvumani National

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Monuments, and the Zinjanja heritage sites. Monuments inspections should be conducted twice a year. They are not open to the public and might have conservation challenges which make them susceptible to further deterioration, if opened for public visitorship. "Class three" sites have no custodians at all, are not easily accessible, receive very few visitors and have no visitor facilities. Examples in this class are Dambarare and Fort Mahaka. Monument inspections should be done once every year. Some of them are too fragile to be visited, therefore access is not promoted. According to Kundishora Chipunza, "first class" has 36 sites, "second class" has 28 sites, whilst "third class" has 78 sites (Chipunza 2009, 44).. This gives a total of 0.79% out of the 18,000 sites recorded by 2008 (Sinamai 2018, 42).

There are sites that have none of the above-mentioned characteristics of class 1, 2, or 3, which I presume constitute "class four". NMMZ has no such category. As a modus operandi, class four sites receive no inspection as they are presumed to be non-existent.

I noted that four regions of NMMZ, namely the Southern, Western, Central and Northern, follow the aforementioned system of classification. However, the Eastern region has a slightly different system of classification from the rest. The classification system for the Eastern Region has an addition of three classes to the official list of three. Effectively they have six classes in total. The list is as follows,

"Class four" constitute sites that are earmarked for proclamation as national monuments by the region.

"Class five" has known monuments that are not currently earmarked for proclamation as national monuments but might be considered in the near future.

"Class six" is comprised of sites that are recorded, but unconfirmed. The class is inclusive of newly reported sites as well as sites to be surveyed each year.

I noted that the addition of three classes by the Eastern Region works best to curb deterioration of unclassified monuments into obscurity.

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In addition to the classification of national monuments, Ashton Sinamai noted that there is a ranking of monuments that have been ascribed to the world heritage list. This ranking of world heritage sites is not recognised by the NMMZ Act. In comparison, to control the ranking of world heritage sites, South Africa enacted the World Heritage Convention Act 49(1999). The act creates a basis of ensuring an equitable distribution of resources among sites with the world heritage status. In addition to that, the World Heritage Convention Act 49(1999) made the World Heritage Convention legally binding as, in principle, conventions are not legally binding. It is upon the member states to make them legally binding, and South Africa has successfully made the convention a legal statute. The act has also been used to ensure that heritage is not used for political gains. As, in Zimbabwe, the World Heritage Convention is not legally binding and resources are not equally distributed, this has created a disparity in the conservation status of sites on the World Heritage list. Sites like Khami have regrettably deteriorated after the inscription to the list. The classification system shall be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

The *Adopt a site programme*

In the mid-1990s, the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe introduced a programme called *adopt-a-site-programme* to incorporate local communities in the management of heritage in lower classes. The programme was meant to alleviate human and financial shortage that had struck the institution. The programme was also meant to enhance pupils' understanding of the past in order to embrace and understand the future. According to James Nemerai, the *adopt a site programme* has been a management policy seeking to involve local communities in the management of their heritage: a policy which seeks to give back heritage to its owners and makes it still possible to achieve conservation, preservation and education goals envisaged.

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Why Adopt a site programme?

The *Adopt a site programme* was meant to enhance the custodianship and improve the conservation of sites. It was also meant to attract local communities' attention to the need to conserve heritage in their vicinity, as noted by James Nemerai that "Heritage is for the people and people should conserve their heritage". The *Adopt a site programme* seeks to offer insights to heritage managers and local populations on the management of their heritage sites (Nemerai 1995, 5–7) Prior to this, the government relegated the low classes sites from its budget (see chapter 2), hence the need to find alternative measures to help conserve heritage.

Pilot projects of the *Adopt a site programme* was implemented at Majiri National Monument, followed by Chibvumani in the Southern Region. The programme was initially designed, because the region was facing challenges with site custodians who were underperforming. The management and mitigation efforts were hampered by the distance between Majiri National Monument and the Southern Region office. In addition, the ill behaviour of site custodians fouled the already strained relationship of NMMZ and local communities. Hence, it was proving too difficult to justify the need for custodians who had proved to be incompetent for the task (Nemerai 1995, 8).

As indicated earlier, NMMZ was undergoing financial and human resource scarcity during the mid-1990s. Therefore, an alternative to the management of smaller sites was inevitable. In addition, small sites were incapable of generating funds to meet the "government cost recovery programme." Hence the need for an economically sound alternative management system was given. Engaging local communities was found to be this sound alternative. As noted by Chip Colwell-Chanthaphohn, the transformation of local communities from objects of study to participants of the study of their own past has contributed to change in the archaeological agenda (Bruchac 2014, 274)

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How does *Adopt a site programme* work?

Adopt a site programme as created by NMMZ had not explicit terms of reference. According to Chipunza, the *adopt a site programme* implementation depended on "the willing buyer-willing seller" principle. Thus, it depended on the community that was willing to adopt a site and also on personnel from NMMZ who were willing to sell the idea. Local communities were meant to appreciate cultural heritage within their vicinity is that they become custodians of heritage (Nemerai 1995, 5). NMMZ would act as a supervisory body and local communities are afforded an opportunity to interact with sites that are in their vicinity. National Museums periodically visit these sites to make sure that the implementation of the agreement is still compatible with the NMMZ act. Therefore, the programme is implemented based on the formal agreement entered into by the interested parties. Management responsibility is given to the community as well, whilst NMMZ acts as an advisory body.

Types of *Adopt a site programme*

NMMZ has two different methods of site adoption, although not explicitly spelled out in the terms of reference for the programme: one that is initiated by communities, which can be termed "bottom to top" approach. Some local communities willingly offered to adopt sites. Efforts have been noted were local communities adopted sites, especially such that had an influence in them, not as monuments but living heritage: for example, the case of Ndongo archaeological site and the Crocodile Painting cave in Glen Norah, Harare, where the Apostolic Sect offered to adopt the site for religious purposes. The Crocodile Painting site is revered as a religious shrine and the sect conserves and preserve the site to keep it 'holy'. In this kind of approach local communities initiate the adoption and would make consented effort for resource mobilization towards the conservation of the site.

The second method of adoption is initiated by NMMZ for local schools to manage and conserve heritage within their vicinity. Also, it is mainly meant for the schools to use those sites as a heritage education resource whilst conserve the site. It can be termed a "top to bottom" approach. NMMZ realised the potential value of heritage to education and also its national significance. That is why, officially, it handed over the maintenance responsibility of historical and archaeological sites to willing schools (Mutare *adopt a site program* file). In turn, NMMZ would offer professional management assistance to schools, to help preserve and maintain this heritage. NMMZ noted that it was expensive for most schools to visit Great Zimbabwe. Hence, management knowledge and interaction with heritage in their vicinity would accord them valuable heritage education (Mutare *adopt a site program* file). It was envisaged that the programme would help develop students to become responsible citizens of Zimbabwe. It was also noted that *Adopt a site program* would help in the appreciation of heritage and will reduce cases of vandalism. It was an opportunity that would empower school authorities to enforce the NMMZ Act chapter 25:11. NMMZ would provide all the information that schools require on how to manage a site. This programme was also meant to revive and improve the relations between NMMZ and local communities of sites in lower classes, which usually are in most remote parts of the country and in need of conservation efforts. (Chipunza, pers comm). The Majiri National Monument's adoption by Chandipwisa Primary School was the pilot project. To understand the role that is played by the local schools, one example will be dealt with in more detail: the Mamutse primary school with regard to the Chibvumani national monuments. With this case study I aim at revealing and tackling, some of the loopholes and challenges of *adopt a site programme*

NMMZ was to give the school a token of appreciation for preserving and conserving the site, whilst a package of remuneration was to be included in the bond agreement. Administratively, the programme was to be managed by the local community leaders, pupils,

NMMZ personnel, Ministry of Education and School Authority. Emphasis was placed on the educational benefits of the programme more than the economic benefits. The school was establishing an attendance register for pupils to maintenance and educational work at the site. The school was also supposed to create a site adoption file for correspondence. The education and maintenance at the Museum were supposed to design an integrated action plan for the school that included education and maintenance.

Chapter 4:

State led management system in case study 1:

Chibvumani National Monument vs community led

management system in case study 2: Ndongo Site

This chapter sets out the differences between a government led management system that has been put in place at Chibvumani National Monument and a community led system at Ndongo site. The description unearths the effects and challenges that are associated with top down management system that is in place at Chibvumani National Monument. The narrative will also analyse the impact of conflicting pieces of legislation that have been enacted to protect the Chibvumani National Monument. To understand the conservation challenges that Chibvumani is facing today and a chronicle of the management efforts will be discussed. The chronicle stretches from the genesis, pre-colonial to the current state

Zimbabwe Culture sites during pre-colonial time were protected by a series of taboos and traditional restrictions (Ndoro 2001,18). Chibvumani was not exceptional. Ushe stated that Chibvumani was also protected by various myths and taboos (Ushe 2019 pers comm). Some of these traditional systems are still in place at the site.

Heritage management at Chibvumani Colonial Phase - 1890-1980

One of the earliest records of conservation efforts towards Chibvumani has been mentioned by Gertrude Caton-Thompson, namely that the Native Commissioner at Bikita safeguarded the Chibvumani ruins from human and vegetation destruction. In 1929, Caton Thompson

excavated Chibvumani among other sites close to Great Zimbabwe, mainly because it was strategically positioned along significant trade routes of the Save river and golden reefs of Manicaland and to establish the relationship of the provincial sites with the Great Zimbabwe Monuments. The excavations were meant to investigate and add to the body of knowledge and not with regard to the conservation of the site. The research produced a site map which informs about restorations conducted at the site since then, especially after the 2009 vandalism (see fig 6 below). The map shows the walls of Chibvumani National Monument as they were in 1929.
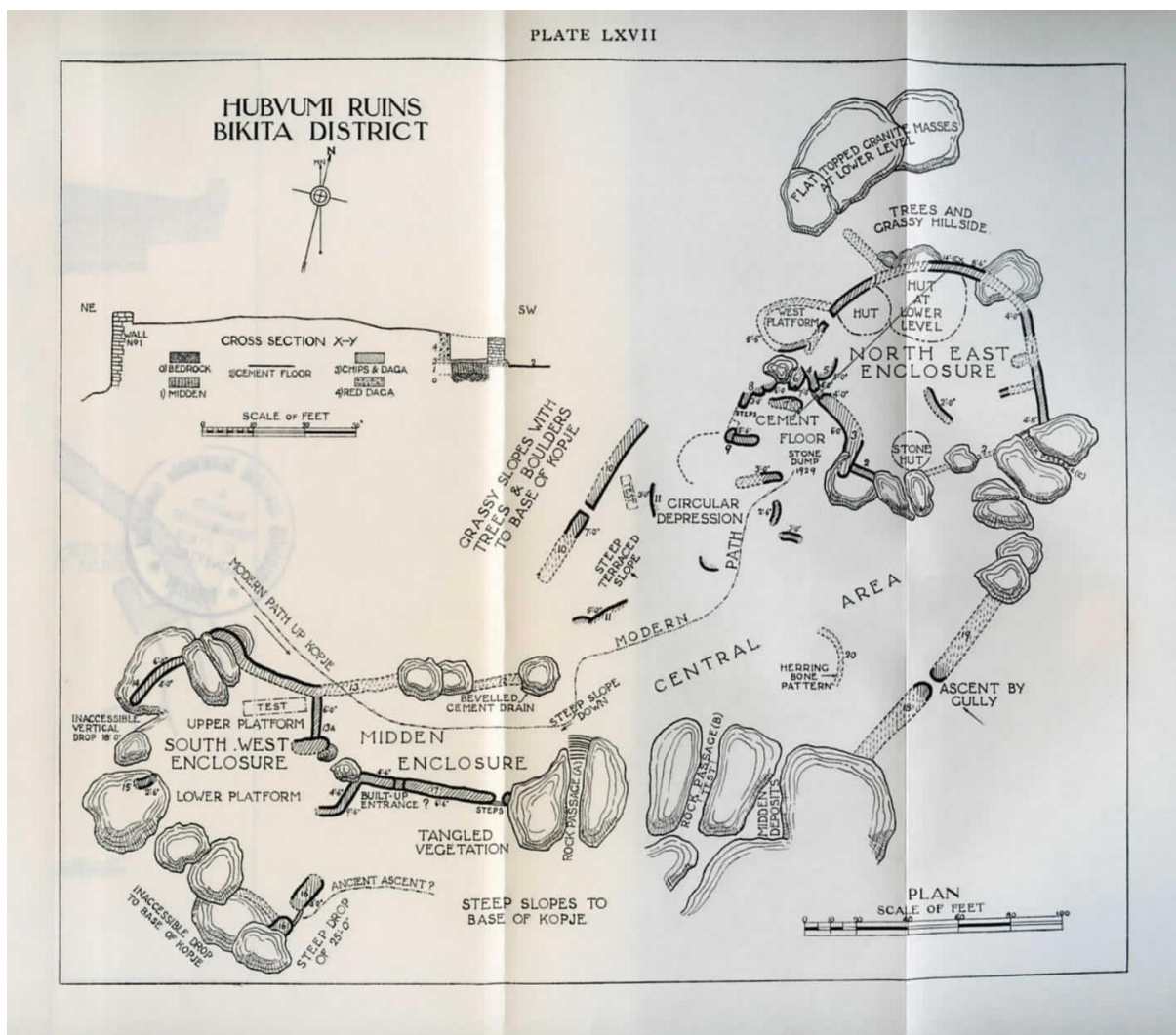

Fig 6: Chibvumani National Monument Site Map (Source: Gertrude Caton Thompson, 1931)

Heritage management at Chibvumani (Post-Colonial 1980 to Present)

When Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980, not much in terms of conservation intervention affected Chibvumani National Monument until the early 1990s. In 1991, a proposal was made to appoint a custodian to improve the conservation and provide guided tours to visitors, as was the case with Kubiku National Monument. The idea was brought by NMMZ and discussed with the local traditional leaders who expressed misgivings to the idea. (Nemerai 2019, pers comm)

The most notable development was the classification system which was introduced by NMMZ in response to the economic woes that the country was undergoing during that period (see chapter 1) Under the NMMZ classification system, Chibvumani falls into class two Meaning that it lacks an interpretive centre, records poor visitorship annually, and also lack a site custodian. (Chipunza 2009, 44). The NMMZ Act 1972 stipulated that all heritage sites should be properly recorded and documented. In response to that, in the 1990s there was a significant development in terms of documentation at the site. Onismo Nehowa, the then regional surveyor managed to produce a detailed map for Chibvumani National Monuments which has been adopted as the basic working document by heritage managers (NMMZ 2014, restoration report). The numbering system of the dry-stone walls was introduced to ensure that after a collapse or any damage to the restoration could be easily carried out. Moreover, his report was also important as it provides a record of the nature of the intervention and its effectiveness at the Chibvumani National Monument.

Historical background and implementation of an *adopt a site programme* at Chibvumani National Monument

In 1995, a restoration exercise for collapsed wall number 22 was conducted at Chibvumani. The restoration seemingly was the first to be conducted at the site since independent Zimbabwe. Upon arrival, NMMZ officials approached Mamutse Primary School Authorities and were advised to seek advice from the local traditional leaders. Due to time constraints, NMMZ officials initiated the restoration process without approval of the local traditional leaders. Arguably, one can conclude that NMMZ officials were operating from a position of assumed prominence of archaeological knowledge above all other ways of seeing/knowing the past. In supposed retaliation to the disrespect shown by the NMMZ officials only two casual labourers to clear vegetation overgrowth at the site responded to the call that had been made. Resultantly, local communities suffered from a feeling of alienation from the heritage they once perceived as their own. To some extent this depravity can be attributed to the misunderstanding of the definition or importance of local communities in the eyes of the heritage practitioners in relation to heritage sites. In this instance, the officials viewed indigenous people as source of low cost labour and they were expected to toil as assistants for state archaeologists and heritage managers rather than as sources of knowledge of the past(Chirikure and Pwiti 2008, 467)

Given an already antagonistic environment and tense relations between the local community and NMMZ officials, an *adopt a site programme* was introduced at Mamutse Primary School. Ironically, the programme was introduced by a mere letter from the Director of NMMZ Southern Region. It is noteworthy that Mamutse Primary School authorities took the initiative of consulting the local communities before putting themselves to task. In addition, the Bikita District Administration Office was ignorant of the new development taking place at the site.

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The traditional leaders were also worried about the new development of giving maintenance responsibility to Mamutse Primary School.

The programme entailed the active participation of local communities in the management of heritage sites within their vicinity (Mawere et al. 2012, 1). NMMZ later signed an informal agreement/contract with Mamutse Primary School to adopt Chibvumani National Monument. The school was given the responsibility to help clearing vegetation, cleaning the site and to report any physical damage to the NMMZ or anything that would seemingly threaten the integrity of the site (Memo Ref D/ 2, (b)/wcm, E4 File). Mawere et al noted that the programme was more of an experimental idea which was not implemented into a policy by NMMZ. Unavailability of a working policy or explicit guidelines contributed to the challenges that have rocked the implementation of the programme at Chibvumani. The approach of NMMZ towards community engagement can be seen as a top down approach, where local communities are considered as a source labour in heritage rather than consumers of the past (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008: 466). The local communities were retaliating to the superficial engagement that was being used by NMMZ.

Additionally, the idea of singling out the local school as the custodian of the site in isolation from the rest of the community fuelled divisions among heritage managers and the local communities (Mawere et al. 2013,191) The plan was that the school would preserve the site on behalf of the community. NMMZ was to provide Mamutse Primary School with tools to help with vegetation clearance at the site and the school would be accorded a monthly visit to Great Zimbabwe as an incentive. NMMZ was to provide transport for the Great Zimbabwe visit and information about the site was to be availed to the school for the benefit of both the school and the public. In turn, the school was also supposed to use the site as a heritage resource.

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Moreover, training of tour guides at Chibvumani was supposed to happen, but it failed as a result of the unavailability of funds. In the inception years Mamutse Primary School received exercise books from NMMZ and, as part of the deal, it managed to clear vegetation around Chibvumani National Monuments. However, the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education introduced 'new' transport regulations which restricted ferrying school children in an open lorry and this killed the idea at its infancy because NMMZ relied on its lorry as the mode of transport. More so, Heritage Education officers could not frequently visit Chibvumani and Mamutse Primary School as per agreement, due to financial constraints.

Following the implementation of *Adopt a site programme*, a collection of oral tradition from the local communities was conducted in May 1999. The programme was initiated with borrowed principles of the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe. Campfire is a community initiative, designed to benefit rural communities (Mutandwa and Gadzirayi 2007, 1), which stipulated that local communities should benefit from proceeds of heritage within their vicinity. The programme was meant to create a sense of ownership in schools unlike maintaining sites in return for a token from NMMZ. The addition of CAMPFIRE principles to the *adopt a site programme* acted as incentive to the local schools. In 2011, Mamutse Primary School in partnership with NMMZ built a model of Chibvumani National Monument. The model was meant to lure travellers along the Masvingo/ Mutare Highway to visit Chibvumani National Monument. It is commendable that Mamutse managed to source funds from the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) Culture Fund to construct the model (Mawere et al. 2013, 192). Arguably the introduction of the CAMPFIRE principles made an impact on the school and they considered the site as their own.

Determining boundary and erection of fence

In a bid to improve conservation and protection of Chibvumani, NMMZ embarked on the move to fence Chibvumani National monument. Preliminary research conducted by the surveyor indicated that the boundary as given by the Gazette of 1966 was cutting through fields of some members of the local community. Even though the project was not fruitful, there is need for thorough consultation with the local communities before new developments are made. This can fuel the volatile relations between NMMZ and local communities.

Restorations at Chibvumani National Monuments

The importance of sacred places has resulted in increasing contests on the custodianship of sacred sites (Manyanga 2003; Ndoro 2005). This has been evidenced at Zimbabwe Culture sites such as Great Zimbabwe and Manyanga Sites, leading to a competition concerning claims for custodianship. Similarly, on 26 June 2009, a local community member, Donald Chirochangu, vandalized Chibvumani National Monument (NMMZ file E4. Chibvumani Documentary). According to one of my interviews with a community member who wanted to remain anonymous, Donald had a passion for reviving the collapsed walls because no one was concerned with the conservation of the site. (Anonymous 2018, pers comm). Although it was alleged that Donald Chirochangu was a mentally challenged person, the destruction of the site could also point to the fact that it was a form of counter heritage practice which also has happened at some other Zimbabwe culture sites. The conducted (unsystematic) restoration of the site on its collapsed section caused a further collapse of the unstable walls. (see fig 7 and 8) (Mawere et al. 2012,12; Mawere et al. 2013,190). In the year 2000, a proposal was made to construct an interpretive centre/ museum at Chibvumani National Monument. The idea came in response to the government's policy of Rural Development. Chibvumani was chosen because of its potential to draw visitors from the Bikita District with special emphasis to school

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parties. The location of Chibvumani, close to the Mutare - Masvingo highway was also considered advantageous. The museum was supposed to add value to the site.

Restoration of the vandalized and collapsed walls at Chibvumani

As practice before major restoration, a heritage site should be recorded and documented. In this regard, the NMMZ, Southern region, engaged Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) to produce a documentary on the pre-restoration and the actual restoration as well. According to the 2010 restoration report, the documentary was supposed to cover the restoration process of Chibvumani as well as the myths and legends that are associated with the site according to the local communities. The programme was meant to be viewed on the national channel during a programme called "Around Zimbabwe". The idea behind the initiative was to conscientise local communities about the restoration process. In addition, it was meant to foster community involvement in the management of sites.

National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe conducted the restoration of the site following the destruction of the section of the wall that had been vandalized. The NMMZ, Southern Region, took advantage of the mishap and went on a move to restore not only walls that had been vandalized but together with them also those that were in need of urgent restoration due to natural agents. This was the first major restoration of Chibvumani to be conducted by the Southern Region. Local communities were invited to help the NMMZ members during the restoration. A number of walls were restored including wall 26 which was suffering from progressive collapsing due to vandalism and wall 28 whose collapse had been triggered most probably by the vegetation and trees that were growing above it. (fig. 7 and 8)

Fig 7: Before vandalism (source: Restoration Report, E4 File)

Fig 8: After vandalism (Source: restoration Report, E4 File)

Currently, Mamutse Primary School is partially active on the implementation of the *Adopt a site programme* as a result of various challenges: the tight schedule of the New Curriculum; Teachers find it difficult for pupils to move to the site; lack of transport to carry pupils to the site because it is 3,5km away from the site; lack of commitment by the NMMZ to fulfil some of its objectives.

Directional signage at Chibvumani National Monuments

Signage is very important in heritage presentation and it gives direction and some basic information to visitors when they come to an archaeological, historical or any other heritage site. According to one report, there had been recommendations on the need to put up directional signage for Chibvumani from the main road since 1987. In response to this need, the NMMZ, Southern Region, took advantage of the manpower available during the restoration process to construct durable signage made from farm bricks (see fig 9 below). This was because the metallic directional signage that was previously at the site had been vandalized. Two directional signages were put up, the first was erected opposite Mamutse Primary School and the second was placed about 500 meters where the dusty road which leads to the site, branches from the old tarred road.

Fig 9: Signage at Chibvumani National Monument (Source: Nyararai Mundopa)

Legislations of heritage preservation and management in Zimbabwe

A close read of the legislation had shown that Chibvumani National Monuments could be preserved and managed using several acts of parliament and this also applies to various other heritage sites scattered across Zimbabwe: Chief Budzi for example, with the National Museums and Monuments Act (Chapter 25:11), Environmental Management Act (Chapter 20:27), Tourism Act (Chapter 14:20), Forestry Act (Chapter 19:05), Rural District Council (RDCS) Act (Chapter 29:13), Traditional Leaders Act (Chapter 29:17) Parks and Wildlife Act (Chapter 29:14) Two acts shall be discussed in detail, that is the National Museums and Monuments Act (NMMZ Act) and the Traditional Leaders Act (TLA 1998), with regards to the preservation

and management of Chibvumani National Monument. This is because the two legislations have had a direct impact on the well-being of the site. In the scrutiny of TLA, one can note that traditional leaders are referred to as the legal custodians of most lands in Zimbabwe. As a result, they help the government on enforcing various laws in preserving and managing of land including heritage sites under their jurisdictions. In this regard, traditional authorities (chiefs, headman and village headman) help to promote or uphold cultural values among members of the community in their respective areas. More importantly, traditional authorities in Zimbabwe have also various responsibilities guarding any unauthorized settlement or use of any land including heritage sites like Chibvumani. Lastly, Traditional Act authorities stipulated traditional authorities to have an integral role in all the rituals and various ceremonies across the country including various rainmaking ceremonies.

The NMMZ Act has the mandate of conserving, preserving and presenting all heritage in Zimbabwe It is enforced by heritage experts who are employed by the central government. The existence of these two acts which seemingly manage one aspect of Zimbabwe main resource, heritage, has resulted in a dual leadership system that is not compatible. Thus, a review and amendment of these two should be crafted in a manner in which takes into account sources of conflict deriving from that. Moreover, there is a need for augmented management of heritage in respect of Zimbabwe' s varied and diverse cultural religious and traditional values.

In comparison with the management of Chibvumani National Monument Ndongo Site conservation has been the responsibility of the local communities. The following subchapter will present the management system that the local communities have put in place to help conserve the cultural landscape and the biodiversity for tourism.

CHIEHA programme and conservation efforts of Ndongo national monuments

Given the challenges that a site under the management of state body is facing, it is important to bring out how the management of Ndongo has been developed by the local communities. At the centre of this analysis, the study will bring out how a community led heritage management has brought about an organised system not only for the site but of a holistic conservation of the biodiversity. The subchapter will attempt to look at the initiatives made by the local communities to foster capacity building to ensure a continued all-inclusive conservation of the landscape for bio cultural heritage.

In 1998 Chibememe community established an organisation for community-based conservation and development called Chibememe Earth Healing Association (CHIEHA). The project was a brainchild of a local community member called, Gladman Chibememe. This organisation was created after the realisation that there was excessive environmental decline and depletion of natural resources in the area. The organisation's aim was to promote sustainable use of biodiversity as well as equitable sharing of proceeds to all the members of the community and eventually open the area for tourism. Apart from that, the organisation took a holistic approach of biodiversity conservation. Its primary concern was of preservation, presentation, revitalisation of the flora, fauna, and archaeological architecture, including Ndongo Archaeological Site. Moreover, this programme was also fashioned for the preservation and promotion of the indigenous knowledge system found in Chibememe and surrounding areas. As a result of that programme, Ndongo Archaeological site was accorded more value by the local communities because it was part of their biodiversity. Given the above situation it can be noted that Ndongo plays an invaluable role as a cultural property to the locals.

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Justification of CHIEHA in biodiversity and heritage conservation

Zimbabwe's south eastern parts of Masvingo predominantly experience very dry spells and severe droughts. Moreover, the area is characterised by harsh climatic conditions for human living because of sporadic rains and uncertain weather patterns. For sustenance, local communities have engaged in environmentally unsustainable activities like commercial brick moulding and harvesting firewood for sale. As a result of excessive cutting forests for firewood the area experienced depletion of Chibememe mainland forests, land degradation and serious erosions in the area. In summation to above challenges the community came up with an initiative that was meant to curb environmental damages and revive also the steady loss of indigenous knowledge systems in the area. This community project was aimed on fostering community participation and holistic conservation of natural and cultural resources in the area. CHIEHA used a participatory approach on its management and programming. Its programme took cognisance of the local traditional leaders who played important roles in the revitalisation of intangible cultural heritage in the area. CHIEHA was an innovative programme designed for the reintroduction and conservation of intangible heritage in the area. Moreover, this programme was also justified as part of the solution in addressing the human-wildlife conflict. The local community also came with ideas of conserving natural resources, partnership building and networking. Traditional knowledge systems were used in the conservation of agricultural biodiversity, culture, and wildlife resources in the Sangwe area by building on local knowledge, culture, capacity, and institutions, CHIEHA has created a fusion of traditional and modern conservation ethics in heritage management.

Cultural heritage values attached to Ndongo Archaeological Site and its contemporary use

The local communities used the Ndongo Archaeological Site for traditional religious rituals like rain making ceremonies. However, in recent years, there has not been any religious ceremony conducted at the site but they still have revered the site as sacred Cite Shenjere-Nyabezi. Although there has not been a rain making ceremony conducted in recent years, it can be noted that the site was of paramount importance for various cultural values attached to it. Apart from the above-mentioned historical values, Ndongo Archaeological Site was used by various contemporary communities such as members of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) and the Apostolic Faith Church (AFC). The religious sects revere the site as a place of power in which they find enriching spiritual contentment, whenever they conduct their prayers there. The groups conducted night prayers at the site and were pleased with the idea of protecting it from other destructive mechanisms without realising that they have been the problem themselves. (Shenjere 2011,162) Shenjere-Nyabezi asserted that they destroyed the site during the process of looking for firewood during their night prayers whilst some of them climbed on walls thereby destroying them. The contemporary religious groups have been conscientise by the traditional leaders on the need to sustainably use the site. With the help of the local management committee, they were sensitised on how to use the site sustainably (Chibememe N,2018 pers comm). The synchronisation and synergy among the interested parties have made the sustainable use of the site manageable. At the point of writing, there was no antagonism between the local communities and the local traditional leadership with regards to preserving and conserving the site.

The origins and development of heritage research at Ndongo Archaeological Site

The origins and development of academic research at Ndongo was largely attributed to CHIEHA. In 2006, local communities reported the existence of Ndongo to NMMZ, and that attracted the attention of scholars and researchers. Since then, Ndongo Archaeological Site was

successfully excavated by a team led by Shenjere in 2008. The research programme was for a Ph.D. thesis on "Animal Resource Exploitation Patterns Through Time." (Shenjere 2011, 152). Moreover, another research work is on its way. The Archaeology Unit of the University of Zimbabwe intends to conduct further excavations and research activities at the site (Pwiti et al 2017, 121). The excavations have been conducted with the support of the community, which is contrary to some other heritage sites that are still not open for research, like in the Musikavanhu area where there is an antagonism between the communities and researchers. (Pwiti et al. 2017,122)

Conservation and Maintenance at Ndongo Archaeological site

There are various mechanisms for conservation and preservation of the site. For example, conducting night prayers by the Zion church have now been prohibited by the local traditional leaders. In addition, the area has also been sanctioned against cattle grazing, because there was the fear that they could destabilize the dry-stone walls. Cultivation and setting up veld fires was also prohibited, because it would destroy the natural habitat for wild animals and the biodiversity. Moreover, cutting down trees for domestic use has been forbidden in the area. A deterrent fine was set and offenders would be sentenced by the local leadership under Chief Gudo. Henceforth, the local communities at Ndongo has also organised timed heritage maintenance and also organised routine schedules to clear vegetation and monitor the stability of walls at the site. According to Chibememe, routine maintenance was done by volunteers who hoped that returns would be realised when the site will be opened for eco-tourism. (Chibememe N, 2018, pers comm). In comparison of Ndongo Archaeological Site to Chibvumani National Monuments it could be noted that the ASAP has some loopholes which could be rectified by the system used at Ndongo.

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Heritage capacity building on Ndongo Archaeological Site and future plans

The Sangwe people of Ndongo Archaeological Site have believed in community empowerment on preservation and management of heritage sites. Through the CHIEHA programme Norman Chibememe participated in Khami youth camps. The goal of the youth camp was to restore the crumbling World Heritage Sites and to equip tertiary college students with practical knowledge with regards to dry stone wall structures restoration as well signs of structural problems. It was an opportunity for participants to put theoretical knowledge of dry-stone wall management into practice. Local communities through CHIEHA initiated the idea that one of their members participates in the programme to ensure the continuous passing of knowledge to them as well. Chibememe's participation in the youth camp arguably could have also influenced the participation of an individual from the Nambya Cultural Society in Hwange at the 10th International Youth Volunteers Camp Khami World Heritage Site in 2009, who was chosen because he lives close to Bumbusi National Monument. This was done in anticipation that he will go and sensitise and conscientise the local communities about the need to conserve and preserve heritage within their vicinity. The participant from Chibememe, as a committee member, will also continuously monitor the site, make informed reports to NMMZ, and also note any need for conservation mitigation. The apprenticeship enabled the local communities to be equipped with the need for timed periodic monument inspection. He now understands the different types of structural problems because of his participation in the Khami youth camp. The initiative of the community was to understand the technicalities of drystone architecture conservation.

CHIEHA committee for biodiversity protection and heritage management at Ndongo Archaeological Site

In support of the resuscitation of biodiversity in their area, CHIEHA community has numerous working committees for various projects. In this regard, there was an operational board of trustees which comprised of traditional leaders, community members, local authorities, government ministries, Non-Governmental Organisations, and schools. CHIEHA nominated a local board of trustees responsible for policy development, guidance in funding and resource mobilisation. Apart from the above, there was an executive committee which comprised of elected members of the community responsible for the for the day to day running of the CHIEHA programmes. Specific projects of CHIEHA are supervised by subcommittees, who worked with the coordinator and report to the Executive Committee. For instance, the committee that oversees the management of Ndongo Site is the Environmental, Cultural Information and Energy committee. The committees are formed and dissolved organically. Coordination of various projects has been implemented on a voluntary or on part-time basis. Any member of the community would be appointed to be a committee member and retain responsibility for organising, managing and coordinating all the activities for the site. The committee comprises of Norman Chibememe, coordinator; the subcommittee chairperson Paul Mutausi; Marria Maposa, secretary; vice secretary Hwati Manjira; security personnel Ndiwe Mapazu; Richard Muvenji Mubhongo, treasurer; Mirria Maposa, committee member and Paul Manjira, doubling as a committee member and village head. It is plausible to note that Thus, CHIEHA has an organised system of local communities responsible for the management of biodiversity and heritage sites such as Ndongo Site.

Restoration of Ndongo Archaeological site through CHIEHA programme

Ndongo was considered a part of the biodiversity initiative of the CHIEHA trust, because it is revered as a sacred religious centre. The site had suffered a lot of collapses due to the mentioned continuous use by churches as well as natural deterioration due to lack of maintenance since the time it was abandoned by the original occupants. To curb the continued deterioration of the site, the local community under the leadership of Gladman Chibememe, who was the brains behind the CHIEHA initiative sought funding from United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The funding was to help to finance the restoration project. The grant they got from UNDP was meant to help in the restoration of some collapsed walls at Ndongo. After securing funding, the Chibememe community leadership approached NMMZ with the idea of restoring Ndongo Chief Budzi which unfortunately, at that time, NMMZ had not recorded as an existing site in its records. The restoration of the Ndongo site, however, became part of a bigger project which involved the rehabilitation and the restoration of the Ndongo ruins and associated sites of cultural and historical significance (UNDP 2007) to create awareness of the need to conserve nature and culture protection of the land from accelerated degradation and woodlands management. NMMZ assisted the CHIEHA trust with technical knowledge with regards to the restoration. With the help of the local communities, NMMZ archaeologists and stone masons, a significant part of Ndongo Archaeological Site was restored. The local communities furnished the participants with food and accommodation as well as labour during the restoration process. At the time of writing of this thesis, the community under research has still been sourcing out funding in order to finish the restoration process and make the site presentable for tourists.

Use of Ndongo Archaeological site after restorations in Heritage Studies

In 2017, Zimbabwe government introduced a new curriculum in the education system. One of the main pillars of this new curriculum was the introduction of Heritage Studies. Prior to this, heritage studies were available to tertiary education only. Instead of relying on big sites like Great Zimbabwe national Monuments, it was proposed that Ndongo Archaeological site and other similar sites be used as a heritage studies resource. Moreover, the local communities also agreed with the idea that the site could be useful for educational purposes for their children. Therefore, there was no resistance of local communities and school authorities. the initiative was well appreciated because it was a holistic approach towards cultural heritage management. In summation of the above, it is justifiable to say that local schools proposed to use Ndongo archaeological site for heritage education and the site could be useful for these purposes in future after necessary restorations and proper interpretations.

Local communities' partnership for heritage management at Ndongo National Monuments

CHIEHA has partnerships with non-governmental organizations on heritage preservation and presentation. As a result of the bond between local community and some Non-governmental organisations funding had been channelled towards various biodiversity projects and heritage conservation in the area. Partnerships have been boosted by various agencies, in particular the United Nations Development Programme and the Canadian International Development Agency. Such kind of initiative also has helped in building a strong bond between local communities and also Zimbabwe government ministries: for example, the link that was created with the Ministry of Environment and Tourism. The CHIEHA programme was managed by 17 households from Chibememe village. However, it was not confined to a single village, in that neighbouring villages such as Sangwe, Ndowoyo, Matema, and Musikavanhu were also

included. Additionally, the CHIEHA programme has built and operates a Cultural Information Centre. The cultural centre has served as a focal point for heritage festivals, outreach, research and restoration of the cultural heritage site (see fig. 10). CHIEHA organised environmental awareness campaigns and activities like drama performances about the conservation ethics of the Sangwe people. Moreover, traditional dances and performances convey and conscientize the need for conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity. The information centre has served as the medium for communication with regard to conservation and management interventions of Ndongo Archaeological Site.

Fig 10: CHIEHA Culture Centre (Source: Gladman Chibememe)

Conclusion

The chapter has presented the binaries set by the heritage management system in Zimbabwe. The review of the system has shown that state led management system alienates local communities and prioritises conservation of the fabric, whilst community led management uses the local traditional leaders and the community at large in the conservation of heritage. The community led management system at Ndongo has shown that these communities have the capability to establish a holistic management of heritage in their vicinity in comparison with the state led management system at the Chibvumani National Monument. Therefore, local communities should not be alienated in the management of heritage, because they often understand heritage better than the experts.

Chapter 5:

Data Presentation and Analysis

In this chapter, the data collected during the fieldwork conducted at Chibvumani National Monument and Ndongo Site is discussed and analysed. Data collected from interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions will be summarised following three themes: classification of sites, *adopt a site programme*, and collaborative archaeology. Direct observations that the researcher made will also be presented. I use pseudonyms to protect the identity of participants whom I interviewed during this research; real names will only be used when quoting government officials.

During the study, I interviewed different groups of people and distributed a number of questionnaires in order to understand the concept of heritage classification in National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ). With the help of these interviews and questionnaires data were collected to gather views and opinions about how heritage practitioners understand the basics of the sites classification system and can work with this concept as a management tool. The classification system has been worked out and administered by the National Museums and Monuments Act Chapter 25:11 of 1972, revised in 1992. The NMMZ act states that national monument means a monument which has been declared as possessing national significance. However, it should be noted that when the act was first put into law in 1972, the concept of "heritage" was yet to be adopted. Therefore, the term "monument" will be used to refer to all various types of heritage. When sites are reported, NMMZ curators conduct a significance assessment representing various heritage categories through time and space. If a site is considered to be of national significance it is then nominated

for elevation to the National Monuments list. This system further classifies national monuments into 'three classes' (see chapter 2)

As a result of my interviews certain problems and dichotomies were identified concerning this classification system. Happinos Marufu, a Senior Curator working for NMMZ in the Northern Region argued that the system has been 'long forgotten' and very few people understand it. He explained that the system has "four classes" and the extra fourth class comprises of generally less significant sites. Munyaradzi Sagiya, a curator based in the Southern Region of NMMZ similarly explained that there are three classes (Sagiya 2019, pers comm), In which the "third class" comprises of few national monuments and the rest are ancient monuments which are not on the national monuments list. He also added that there is a huge disparity between what the system entails and what is being done. The difference is caused by the acute shortage of resources, that is, human, financial and vehicles. Therefore, regions end up applying a selective approach on a need basis for site inspections. He explained that the problem emanates from inheriting a colonial system of managing sites.

Tawanda Mukwende, a senior curator in the Southern Region, highlighted that the classification system was divided into two basic categories. The first level is a specific higher level of protection and privileges for sites with a national significance. The second level comprises of all other sites that fall under the general definition of heritage under the NMMZ Act chapter 25.11of 1999(Mukwende2019, pers comm).

The questionnaires revealed that most of the heritage practitioners who have served in this field of activity for five years or for a shorter period do not understand the classification system. Most questions either were left blank or vague information was given. For example, one respondent noted that "It is either I do not know the system or it is because the NMMZ's policy

is not clear about the classification system.". This is arguably a clear confirmation to the ambiguity of the classification system used by NMMZ.

Dissonance in the application of the classification system

There was no consensus in the responses regarding the details of the classification system. The respondents gave varied answers regarding the number of classes and, most importantly, there is no agreement on what is constituted in the various classes. The differences in the answers can be attributed to the absence of a clear and working classification policy. More so, such an "absence" of classification policy can be attributed to the discord that was also shown by the differences in dates of conception of the programme which ranged from 1936 to 1990s. The differences inherently came from the regional variations: Therefore, views and decisions with regards to sites classification are influenced by the local practice of the region. Specialisation and local practices have caused compartmentalisation of regions with recognisable differences from the general institutional practice. A case in point is that of the Western Region, as explained by Ashton Sinamai, that it has the responsibility of researching on natural heritage throughout Zimbabwe and, therefore, archaeology and any related business are considered as a particular burden for the region (Sinamai 2018, 134). Additionally, the same system was used during the colonial period. Thus, this system has some kind of negative colonial connotations, which calls for a change along the lines of decolonising the whole system.

Colonial aspects of the classification system

Another problematic aspect of the classifications system is to what extent it is flexible and can be used under present conditions, particularly with its colonial past. Munyaradzi Sagiya noted that the classification system has not been reviewed since its inception in 1972. However, he indicated that he wasn't sure whether the new NMMZ Act draft has addressed the classification system (Sagiya 2019, pers comm). According to some opinions, there is a clear failure by the

government to move away from the colonial management system, hence the growing need to decolonize the system. On the contrary, Kundishora Chipunza was of the opinion that there was no need to review the classification system because there has not been a significant rise in the number of new sites reported and proclaimed. The notable difference has just been the addition of liberation war heritage to the system.

In understanding people's perception about historical continuities, I asked the curators about the differences between colonial and post-colonial definition of heritage. Some curators from the Southern and Nothern Region, argued that the colonial period prioritized archaeology, academic, architectural and colonial memorial values, whilst in the post-colonial period a more holistic engagement with ethnographic objects and intangible heritage values was adopted. In addition to this, Tawanda Mukwende highlighted that post-colonial heritage is concerned with immediate past history, for example, liberation war heritage which more people can associate with. Munyaradzi Sagiya further explained the differences by pointing out that during the colonial era, the government had keen interest in heritage management. The heritage interpretation, conservation and preservation issues would emerge and be discussed in parliamentary debates. However, in the post-colonial era there is a huge gap between heritage practitioners, politicians, policy makers, NGOs, and other players in the heritage industry. Heritage took an elitist approach and is now confined to a certain scholarship which is divorced from the politics of the day. Currently, this is affecting funding towards heritage in comparison with the colonial era because the government and NGOs are not forthcoming. In addition, colonial heritage management was based on the concepts from Europe in terms of management style, whilst the post-colonial heritage uses the African perspective to the management of heritage. These indigenous perspectives which now influence the heritage practice form part of decolonial strategies. For example, in case of Great Zimbabwe Monuments, some directors,

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including Ken Mufuka, expressed and effected to a certain extent the need to involve local communities in the management of sites.

Towards a decolonisation strategy

Aiming to find out how the curators understand the concept of heritage management in light of the developments that have taken place since the colonial period to date I noted that almost all curators understand and appreciate the difference between the two theoretical binaries, that is the colonial and post-colonial heritage management. However, there is a huge difference between the theoretical understanding and the practical application of the theory as shall be presented later in this chapter. The state actors are still perpetrating marginalisation of local communities from their heritage. It can be concluded that state actors are on both ends of the binaries, theoretically they have evolved to the more practical side of heritage but practically they are still trailing behind.

The classification system registered some successes since its inception in the colonial era and even beyond, as noted by Kundishora Chipunza. It has facilitated the nomination and elevation of 205 national monuments to the national monuments list in comparison to 160 monuments which glorified the colonial master's achievements. He further pointed out that the system also acts as a visitor filtering mechanism. For example, visitors are not allowed to go to Fort Mahaka in Mutoko, because it is very fragile. Therefore, classification is a human traffic monitoring management mechanism to direct visitors where we want them to go. Common to the views of all the interviewees and questionnaire respondents was the fact that classification is necessary for ease of management. However, the system should be reorganized in a manner that involves all the heritage and affiliated professionals. It was also noted that, if sites are appropriately classified, it would help in terms of the allocation of resources, management, prioritization of national development programs and tourism development programs because of the values

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attached to these sites. In rectifying the flawed nomination process, I have noted that the new NMMZ Act draft[2] stipulates that any person or organisation may submit a nomination to the Board for a place to be declared as national monument. Whilst this is commendable, the institution has only partially liberalised the nomination process. This is because heritage managers/ curators still have the mandate to assess significance of sites and have the final say. In addition to this the fate of smaller sites has not been addressed by the new Act Draft; this leaves a lot to be desired.

On the other hand, most curators expressed concern over the challenges that came with the classification system and stated that it causes compartmentalization of sites and it affects the perception of significance to sites that are ranked low. Sites in class three and four are given little to no conservation attention, therefore enhancing their destruction and deterioration, but those which are of cultural importance are given high conservation priority. He added that low ranked sites are relegated to the periphery and get exposed to a host of conservation challenges. He noted that there is need to rethink how the classification system works. Questions about the "voice of the voiceless" should be addressed. He further argued that, to date, the Authorised Heritage Discourse act is the sole adjudicated managerial act of heritage and this is a very bad practice of managing a resource (Smith 2006,6). There is no democracy in how heritage is managed, the system is narrow, exclusive in nature and discriminatory.

In relation to the above, Tawanda Mukwende noted that the classification system causes unfair channelling of resources towards the sites of national significance and overshadowing sites of less significance. It also causes a nearly invisible ranking system among the most significant sites. For example, Khami had been neglected for so long whilst Great Zimbabwe National

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[2] The current NMMZ Act was reviewed and a new Act draft was crafted around 2013 and 2016. The new act is awaiting parliamentary adoption before being passed into law at the time of writing.

Monument received most of the research and conservation efforts (Sinamai 2018, 44). In addition, Kundishora Chipunza acknowledged that the system is flawed because it has largely been influenced by the tourism product whilst factors on the preservation and conservation of these sites has not been taken into consideration. In addition, issues about cultural equity need to be addressed. Chipunza emphasized that "I appreciate the diversity of heritage but you preserve the diversity by being sensitive to the needs of the heritage makers. Some things might not be important to heritage managers but might be very important to heritage producers." He argued that the nomination process was very academic and based on the curatorial choices. To rectify that, it should be advertised in newspapers to facilitate public hearing so that people might agree or at least contribute and be made aware on the need to nominate sites to the monuments list. This, I argue, constitutes another decolonial strategy.

Moving beyond the status quo

In order to help improve the conservation of smaller sites, human capital and funding to conduct development programmes should be channelled towards such. In addition, there is need to review the NMMZ Act and specify who should be responsible for national monuments and who is responsible for smaller sites. This is so because currently curators are overwhelmed by the national monuments. Therefore, smaller sites eventually become neglected. Tawanda Mukwende pointed out that there is need for a policy which gives guidance instead of getting knowledge through experience as is shown by the current system. Kundishora Chipunza asserted that conservation of smaller sites will be more feasible when Zimbabwe is reengaged into the international community and improves its economy. He postulated that the reengagement will give NMMZ more opportunities to get financial support from the international community towards conservation of heritage. He also argued that, even in absence

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of a document, the traditional management system can conserve low ranked sites because they had been conserved even before colonialism.

I noted that there is need to create a conducive environment for community engagement through decolonising the management system. Godhi Bvocho stressed that community development should be also centred around low ranked sites to become fully developed. He added that NMMZ should allow private partnerships in heritage management, particularly for the low ranked sites.

Addressing the issue on what should be done to improve the conservation of low ranked sites Happinos Marufu highlighted that, the basic step towards conserving them is documentation, that is, keeping a record about that site. There is need to improve public awareness through campaigns and rolling out programs which involve and benefit the local communities.

I have also noted that the major problem with the classification of sites in Zimbabwe is the problem of concentrating on the monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites. One challenge is that because Zimbabwe has a vast number of the Zimbabwe Culture sites, it is only concentrating on a few. In comparison with South Africa, there Mapungubwe National monument is being conserved and presented based on the fact that it is the cradle of social complexity, not necessarily based on its aesthetics. In size it is humble compared to Chibvumani but it has received World Heritage status. This practice of putting too much emphasis on the physical fabric and grand monumental aspects also has to be decolonised.

The *adopt a site programme*

The viability and success of any programme is generally hinged on how it is understood by participants. Therefore, I tried to find out how the *adopt a site programme* was understood by heritage professionals and students through the questionnaires and interviews. From the

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responses, it appears that the programme was understood differently. The NMMZ Chief Curator, Kundishora Chipunza and James Nemerai, former NMMZ Heritage Education Officer, gave a holistic narration of the programme mainly because they had participated during its inception. Kundishora Chipunza indicated that the *adopt a site programme* was introduced to answer the question of conservation and custodianship of sites in remote areas. It was meant to include the participation of local communities in managing them. Within its formulation from the outset, I would argue that the programme was tailor-made in such a way that it decolonised the hegemonic power of heritage practitioners. The conceptual framework of the *adopt a site programme* was that communities would have a very limited autonomy but were encouraged to use traditional practices on the conservation of the sites, noted Chipunza.

The programme was enshrined in the "willing buyer willing seller" principle, whereby it can only work if there is a willing community and a willing heritage manager to facilitate. Chipunza also explained that some communities might not see immediate benefits from the programme. During the inception of the programme there was a huge initial interest but some communities later realised that there was nothing materialising; therefore, they gave up. Therefore, the community should show an interest. However, some communities see benefits and have offered to *adopt a site* in their vicinity. Chipunza noted that Kubiku and the Chibvumani National Monuments can be qualified as success stories of the *adopt a site programme*.

Godhi Bvocho indicated that the Domboshava National Monument was adopted by the Harare High School. Chipunza explained that the programme was specifically for national monuments in "class two" in need of local management and conservation efforts. He went on to say that "class one sites need to be managed under strict UNESCO's World Heritage Convention Guidelines and therefore local communities cannot be given such a responsibility." Kundishora Chipunza further explained that communities are not supposed to initiate management systems outside the framework of the NMMZ Act, as it is an agreed state of affairs.

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With regards to the availability of a working policy, I received different responses. James Nemerai explained that the inception of the programme was experimental and no policy or terms of reference were drafted for it (Nemerai 2018, pers comm). In contrast, Kundishora Chipunza highlighted that there was no policy, but there were terms of reference used as guidelines from a board meeting held in the early 1990s. He promised to avail the document later. In response to the policy question, Munyaradzi Sagiya stated that there was a guiding document prepared by James Nemerai, he however noted that he was not sure if it was an official document. Similarly, most curators were giving varied answers, which were not satisfactory about the existence of a policy or terms of reference.

I noted that the composition of the regional NMMZ board of management is flawed, which Kundishora Chipunza was referring to. The board is mostly composed of retirees from a wide variety of professions and they do not have a comprehensive background of heritage management. Therefore, they also do not have the capacity of giving sound advice on critical heritage management questions. Arguably the terms of reference used as guideline lacked what the local communities were expecting with regards to community participation in the management of heritage.

Across all the five NMMZ regions, the *adopt a site programme* has no universal application. It was applied on a need as explained by Clapperton Gutu. Munyaradzi Sagiya who highlighted that if the programme is to be evaluated, a site-based evaluation should be done, because problems at one site are peculiar to that site. In his opinion, the Chibvumani National Monument has been celebrated as the success story of the *adopt a site programme*. Godhi Bvocho, in response to the same question, indicated that the concept has been applied invariably by NMMZ. Its implementation, for instance, depends on how curators advocate for

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it in their own region. In short, it lacks consistence around the country because it relies on the will of the curators.

Tawanda Mukwende pointed out that the programme was not practised consistently because it was an ad hoc programme and it was not clear on how sites and communities were to benefit. He added that he had never seen any work plan put forward about the *adopt a site programme* at national level, neither does one find it in policy pronunciations. In response to the above question, Happinos Marufu argued that the programme was well received theoretically, but its implementation faced challenges; that is, why it seems as if the practices had stopped or vary from one region to another, as in some places the programme it is still in practice. Reasons however differ from one region to another as, for instance, some communities cannot afford to run such a programme. The divisions within the communities are another reason, as some local communities do not subscribe to the maintenance of cultural heritage sites. As they castigate them as heritage that belongs to the African traditional religion, converts see them as part of the dark world they are trying to move away from, especially with regard to sites associated with intangible cultural heritage. In an interview, Senzeni Makhumalo highlighted that the Western Region did not practise the *adopt a site programme.* However, she acknowledged that during the monuments inspections they encourage schools in the vicinity of heritage sites to conduct routine maintenance and use the site as a heritage resource. Table 1 shows the distribution of schools that have participated in the *adopt a site programme* across the country.

Table 1: NMMZ Museological Regions (Source: Biggie Chikwiramakomo, 2019)

Name of Region	Name of Site	Name of Institution
Eastern Region	Nyahokwe National Monument	Nyajezi High School

	Ziwa National Monument	Magarati Primary School
	Muchuchu National Monument	Gotora Primary School
	Kagumbudzi National Monument	Matereki Primary School
Southern Region	Chibvumani National Monument	Mamutse Primary School
	Majiri National Monument	Chandipwisa Primary School
	Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site	Nemanwa Primary School
	Kubiku National Monument	Kubiku Primary School
Central Region	Impali Rock Art Site	Impali Primary School
	Chesvingo Ruins	Pakame High School
Northern Region	Domboshava Rock Art site	Harare High School
	Crocodile man's painting	Apostolic Sect

Kundishora Chipunza noted that the programme was meant for heritage communities with an interest in adopting the sites, especially when the site is in need of conservation. He further explained that even though the programme was meant for communities, it was more difficult

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for NMMZ to pay a community than a school. This explains why there were more schools than communities in the programme. Doing business with a school rather than with a community has worked very well. In response to the above question but speaking from a speculative understanding of the programme, Munyaradzi Sagiya pointed out that regions would use their discretion to assess sites, communities around and the school in the vicinity to determine who adopts. He also noted that the programme cultivated a sense of ownership, responsibility and partnership in the schools concerning the sites in their vicinity. He highlighted that the programme involved marginalised communities in the management of sites.

However, Kundishora Chipunza asserted that conceptually the idea was good, but it would only work in a functional economy. This is so because every responsibility goes with benefits, for example local communities would sell ware at the site and get some money. Tawanda Mukwende also cast some doubt on the effectiveness of the programme, noting that it is not possible to ask a community to adopt their heritage. If they were not related to the site, then adoption was not going to work. It also should be called "heritage stewardship" rather than *adopt a site programme*. Clapperton Gutu suggested that there should be increased sharing of preservation and conservation guidelines between National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe and the adopting society. On that note, Tawanda Mukwende recommended that there is need for a policy document that guides how the programme is supposed to work.

Kundishora Chipunza pointed out that as NMMZ has not been consistent in its replication and application, there is a need to improve the programme. He emphasised the need to understand and establish the community's expectations so that they do not tire out and burn out, especially when the economy suffers. Happinos Marufu noted that if a community is adopting a site, it must enjoy the benefits of owning and managing it. This implies that there should be infrastructure development and some investment on the site that would attract visitors and the

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community realise economic benefits. Munyaradzi Sagiya highlighted the need to review the current agreements, working conditions and environment because things change through time. There is a need to incorporate current heritage trends in the community and the nation at large. It does not make sense for NMMZ to continue being guided by frameworks introduced ten years ago which are now difficult to implement. There is a need to review relations between a community and the region, and to build on the reviewed relations for a better management of sites.

If the *adopt a site programme* is to be a programme for future of local communities' collaboration with heritage practitioners, then a rethink is inevitable. Kundishora Chipunza suggested that the *adopt a site programme* can borrow some ideas from the local community management of the Mijikenda Kayas in Kenya. There, local communities are conserving and presenting the site according to the standards set by the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services to accrue financial benefits from tourism. He also put forward the development of community-based tourism projects in Namibia, where local communities have adopted historical buildings (Ndlovu et al. 2011, 38). They have different names but the concept is the same.

Clapperton Gutu pinpointed that the *adopt a site programme* is a very important program that promotes sustainable heritage management. For example, the Nerumedzo Community in Bikita promotes the conservation of the Nerumedzo sacred forest using dos and don'ts and harvest insects that they eat and sell. Happinos Marufu emphasized the need to amend the legislation to create general community empowerment programs where communities feel a sense of ownership and can participate in site presentation and benefit from the cultural heritage site.

Historical background of Ndongo

To assess the impact of the classification system and the *adopt a site programme*, I gathered data on the Ndongo Site and the Chibvumani National Monument.

The local communities at Ndongo were interviewed to understand the source of motivation of their initial efforts to preserve, conserve and present the site without input from the state body responsible for managing heritage, NMMZ. A presentation of data I got from focus group discussions is going to be presented in this section:

The local communities around Ndongo acknowledged that they do not know who built the site. As highlighted by Village head Manjiri, '*hatinyatsikuziva hedu vakavaka asi chatinoziva ndechekuti panoyera*' (we do not know who built the site but all we know the place is sacred). He further explained that the mound in one of the enclosures was used by the watchmen whilst the rest of the enclosures were used by the leader. Village head Manjiri, highlighted that most of the walls had collapsed because of lack of care and maintenance and due to wild animals, which also caused some damages to the walls. One informant noted that the area is associated with disappearance of human beings. Informant 3 emphasised that it is prohibited to visit or pass through that area at night. Hence local communities were obliged to respect the rules and regulations for entering that place. Informants 1, 2 and 3 concurred that they could hear mysterious sounds which makes the site an outstanding place of sacredness.

Ndongo Site, a living Heritage

The local communities revere and use the site for a number of activities. One informant highlighted that they conduct rain making ceremonies at the site annually. Village Head Manjiri further explained that in African culture, particularly Shona people conduct spirit appeasing ceremonies to the gods before the rainy season in order to receive abundant rains. People gather at the Ndongo Site with traditional beer and conduct their rain making prayers annually. Chibememe highlighted that in 2018 they conducted a ceremony to celebrate the appointment

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of an interim chief awaiting the inauguration of the substantive chief at a later date at Ndongo Site. The ceremony is called *doro rematere* in Shona.

Community Archaeologies

To understand the reasons why the community took the initiative to contact NMMZ regarding the restoration of Ndongo, Norman Chibememe stated that during their community resources identification they managed to identify Ndongo as a potential asset for economic tourism. Chibememe narrated that they decided to make the Ndongo Site a tourism point called Makuchisezvi including Chisvo pool for fishing, boat cruising, wildlife viewing and CHIEHA mainland forest island. As part of the package traditional dance groups were included to provide entertainment to the visitors. "We wanted this itinerary to boost tourism and benefit the communities." Maria Maphosa asserted that the whole idea was centred on providing employment for the youth in the community to reduce social problems. The area suffers from rural urban migration and also associated people emigrating to neighbouring countries seeking jobs. Shadreck Mutenda highlighted that" Ndongo is similar to Great Zimbabwe, if restored and maintained it can get many visitors." Therefore, opening up of Ndongo was to boost economic growth and employment opportunities in that area. The whole programme was meant to help the community through heritage tourism. Additionally, the local communities also aim at getting land ownership through managing that site. Given the above situation, this then means that the government has to review some of its land policies and allocate the people of Ndongo their heritage place for ownership and management.

I noted that the community has mastered the concept of managing heritage as a cultural landscape. Instead of conserving Ndongo in isolation, they have incorporated the landscape as an integral part of human identity and life dynamics, reflecting the lived experiences of people and communities, their different values, and their particular cultural and intellectual

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backgrounds. The community has stepped up the management of heritage ahead of NMMZ which put emphasis of the conservation of sites irrespective of the landscape. Additionally, the local communities do not consider the physical size rather they value the intangible values attached to the site.

As a management mechanism, Norman Chibememe narrated that the community have management structure in place for the site. There is a committee comprised of members of the local community. Here are the names of the committee members and their positions as at August 2018: Coordinator Norman Chibememe, Sub Committee Chairperson Paul Mutausi, Vice Chairperson Jane Musvaidzwa, Secretary Marria Maposa, Vice Secretary HwatiManjira, Security Personnel, Ndiwe Mapazu, Treasurer Richard Muvenji Mubhongo, Committee Member 1 Mirria Maposa, Committee Member 2 Village Head Paul Manjira. The committee conducts meetings timeously and make resolutions on how best the site can be managed. Paul Mutausi, indicated that the community built a community centre where they conduct development meetings. He further explained that the community centre will be developed into a visitor centre where history of Ndongo will be exhibited. Maria Maphosa indicated that they intend to equip the community centre with income generating projects to create employment for the youth. Unfortunately, some of the equipment purchased by the community for projects was stolen, therefore there is need to improve security for the community centre.

Norman Chibememe noted that the community has bonded with NMMZ since 2006 when they reported the existence of the site. The bond has facilitated the restoration of some walls of the Ndongo Site. The bond has helped with further training in how Zimbabwe Culture sites are conserved when Norman Chibememe participated in the Khami Youth Camp project. In light of this, one can say NMMZ staff and the Ndongo community mutually understand each other towards heritage management. To further emphasise the importance of good relations, Village Head Manjiri narrated that Save Conservancy once constructed a traditional village in the

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community, but unfortunately the village was burnt down. He said, "We strongly think that the traditional village was burnt down because there was no proper communication between the community and Save Conservancy." The village was perceived to be a cosmetic benefit, whilst the community wanted meaningful economic benefits from the conservancy. Currently, Save Conservancy and local community relations are strained.

I have noted that the community has managed to put up a working committee specific for the management of the site. This is despite the fact that the site is unclassified, Ndongo is not a national monument, therefore does not qualify for any conservation and presentation efforts from NMMZ

State led Management System

In comparison to the Ndongo Site, the local communities at the Chibvumani National Monument attributed the construction of the site to their forefathers who came from the Great Zimbabwe Empire. Most of the informants agreed that the current VaDuma traditional leaders of the site did not construct any stone wall structures at the site. In addition, Chief Budzi headman Bikita pointed out that similarities of artistic structures, culture and the use of Chibvumani could largely be attached to the people of Zimbabwe. Headman Mamutse also concurred that the VaDuma people found in the Mamutse area were foreigners who sojourned from Uteve in Mozambique and came to settle at Chibvumani before the major separation of their migrations. Headman Bikita stated that VaDuma, great warrior son of Pfupajena Bikita Wesango, came to that place and settled at Bikita hill and used to protect Chibvumani as a special place for tracing Shona people culture and history.

Currently, the site is under Headman Bikita. The headman stated that before colonialism his people used to stay near the site before being moved to Bikita Mountain. The headman narrated that Chibvumani is associated with disappearance of people and animals because of mermaids.

I noted that the local communities regard Chibvumani as a sacred place for rainmaking ceremonies. Village Head Box added that there was a whirlwind which used to circle the area before the agricultural season, marking the beginning of a new season. Most participants also concurred that they could hear or see mysterious things at the site, therefore locals were forbidden to climb the mountain without following proper procedures.

With regards to the perception of the local communities on Mamutse Primary school's mandate on maintaining the Chibvumani National Monuments, all the participants expressed high level dissatisfaction. One middle-aged man said," These children desecrate our site, even the teachers do not understand how to respect the spirits living there." In addition, Village Headman Muchadeushe, condemned the idea that Mamutse Primary School "staff are related to the site, rather it is our responsibility to take care of our heritage." Their main argument was centred on the cultural values and nature of the use of the site by the local community. Village Head Bikita also noted that by giving the powers to decide on what could be happening at the site to a mere school NMMZ disempowered the traditional authority and even make bold decisions about use and preservation challenges. Village Head Box also cast doubt on the *adopting a site programme*, saying it hindered the use of the site for religious purposes. In this regard, anyone who tries to use the site is treated with suspicion; the school authority who manned the site would automatically qualify them as the ones who vandalise or desecrate the site.

Nimrod Ushe, one of the local community voluntary heritage managers noted that the site was currently facing conservation challenges, chief among them domestic animals roaming around the site. The local community used the site as a grazing area, hence domestic animals also caused instability to the walls and damage to this archaeological environment. In addition, he highlighted that the school is no longer conducting the routine vegetation clearance in

accordance with the *adopt a site programme* (see fig 11). In contrast, to help improve the conservation of the site, Village Head Muchadeushe suggested that the site should be fenced around in order to get rid of stray animals. In response to this suggestion, the group's opinions were divided. However, archival sources indicate that when the idea of fencing was initially proposed, the local communities resisted because the boundary of the site as it was gazetted in 1966 is now in some of the villagers' fields, therefore, it means that they will have to be relocated. Thus, if the site is to be fenced, there is a need for collaboration with the local communities to agree on how it is to be done at Chibvumani.
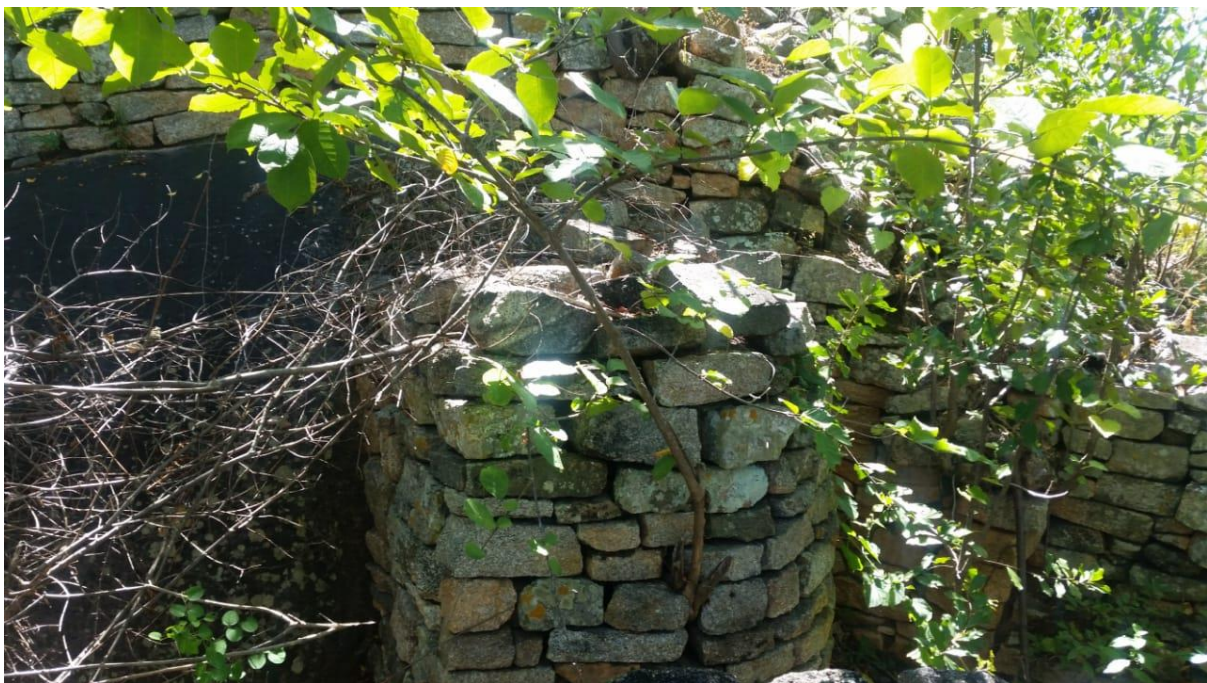
Fig 11: Vegetation overgrowth at Chibvumani (Source: Nyararai Mundopa)

Local community highlighted that matters regarding the management of the site is usually communicated with the school. However, when it comes to matters of public events like International Museums Day or Culture Week, that is, when the input from local communities is sought. One middle-aged man said," They want us when it suits them, they do not involve us on matters regarding the management of the site." He further explained that even during monuments inspections, NMMZ officials do not conduct consultations nor courtesy calls with

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local traditional leadership. The community is being taken for granted only to be recognised during special events.

During the focus group discussions most participants opposed to the idea of the *adopt a site programme* arguing that the school is three and a half kilometres away from the site, therefore the school does not offer enough protection to the site. In addition, I noted that there is a relatively new mine shaft close to the site (see fig 12 and 13). The mine belongs to some local community youths popularly known as makorokoza. Neither the school nor the local communities have reported the new development to NMMZ citing that they were not aware of the development despite that it falls within a 500 meters radius from the site. The shaft poses as a threat to the continued survival of the Chibvumani National Monuments. One informant indicated that mining is the only way they can get some financial benefits from the resources they have in the area because heritage has failed.

Fig 12: Mine shaft in relation to Chibvumani National Monument (source: Nyararai Mundopa)

Fig 13: Mine shaft close to Chibvumani National Monument (Source: Nyararai Mundopa)

Village head Bikita lamented that NMMZ recognises Chibvumani National Monument as heritage leaving out several other equally important sites worthy of recognition. He added Bikita mountain, a burial ground for chiefs, and Chinyamagona regarded as a sacred place, where Pfupajena, the general warrior of the VaDuma used to hide his charms (makona) in caves and pre-historic societies believed in the use of traditional medicines for fighting wars; therefore, Chinyamagona plays an important role in preserving traditional medicines. Nyarungwe Mountain is also considered a sacred place for rainmaking ceremonies. Local communities consider perennial wells as sacred, for example, Tsimere Defe, Bamboruwana, and Tsime raMarodzeni which saved the community during the 1947 and 1990 droughts, also beautiful pools like MakuviMaviri which are believed to be sacred and serve domestic animals during drought. For example, in the cave at Mazehwe at the foot of Zeka mountain, rainmaking ceremonies are held every five years by people under Headman Mamutse. Headman Mamutse stated that he used to conduct the ceremonies at Chibvumani but due to ownership wrangles he was barred from using the site for such. He also claims that his area of jurisdictions covers the Chibvumani National Monument. Dindikwa Hill near Zeka

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Township is also used for rainmaking ceremonies, known as marombo in Shona. There, the traditional beer is brewed from a mixture of all types of grain crops from the community and used for rainmaking rituals.

I noted that the local communities sometimes conduct rainmaking ceremonies at several hills surrounding Chibvumani Hills. This shows that local communities equally revere all the sites as sacred. In contrast, heritage managers have considered the Chibvumani National Monument worthy of preservation because of aesthetics and monumentality regardless of how the local communities valued their heritage, monumentality presents the country as grand, heroic and powerful (Sinamai 2018, 44). But here the concept of preserving the landscape/ biodiversity should be applied. Moreover, there is a need for thorough research and collaboration with the local communities to reconsider what constitutes heritage. Arguably, the *adopt a site programme* is a cosmetic practice of incorporating local communities in heritage practice, it does not consider the Chibvumani National Monument as a living heritage contrary to what heritage makers believe in.

Most importantly, there is animosity among traditional leaders living around the Chibvumani National Monument who claim ownership to the site. There are chiefs namely, Chief Budzi, Headman Mamutse and Headman Bikita who claim ownership, consider Chibvumani as a living heritage and financial benefits as well. For example, during the discussions, village head Mufundirwa stressed that his forefathers used to stay at the site, therefore, no other chief or headman can claim ownership of the site (Mufundirwa 2018, pers comm). Alternatively, NMMZ can set up a local community management committee like the one at Great Zimbabwe National Monument, the management committee comprising representative members of the three chieftainships who claim ownership to the site. This would create a level ground for all the local communities to participate in the management of the site.

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In addition, one of the local youths also condemned the institution for using local people as hired labour during restorations instead of employing permanent staff at the site. Moreover, NMMZ does not own some of its promises such as economic empower, hence people from the local community don't fully understand its position within the community. Local communities also condemned the idea of regarding the site as national monument without improvement for such, as visitor facilities, a site custodian and heritage documentation. NMMZ has done nothing to improve the site in terms of marketing and research work at the site. As a result, a lack of mutual understanding leads to resentment towards most of the NMMZ initiatives at the site.

I interviewed the Mamutse Primary School authority, a school in the vicinity of Chibvumani National Monument to establish their opinion on the relationship of the school and the local communities as well as to understand the successes and challenges recorded to date. The school is still maintaining the site as per initial agreement. However, there were facing challenges with regards to tools, because NMMZ has since stopped providing them as per agreement. The headmaster added that the school is still benefiting by exemption from paying entrance fees when they visit the Great Zimbabwe National Monument for field trips. He also indicated that he was in possession of the *adopt a site programme* agreement of the terms of reference between NMMZ and Mamutse Primary School. As a follow up to this claim, it turned out that the school did not have a copy of the terms of reference for the programme.

The headmaster highlighted that there had been challenges at the site chiefly with regard to the money realised from tour guiding services offered at the site by the school. He argued that money was the source of polarisation and tensions between the school and the local communities who wanted to benefit from tourism as well. In addition to this, he stated that the question of site ownership had caused a significant stir. Village heads and chiefs who live

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around the site fight with each other over the control of the Chibvumani National Monument. Animosity was emanating from controlling proceeds from the site. In addition, most of the local community members do not understand that the school is managing the site on their behalf, they expect direct benefits instead of benefits through their children. In response to allegations of profaning the site, he indicated that the school is clearing vegetation at the site in accordance with the instructions given by NMMZ.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a summary of the data gathered during this study. Data has been presented following a thematic framework. From the data collected, it appears that, on the one hand, smaller unclassified sites are threatened by the management system employed and, on the other hand, that NMMZ alienates local communities from their heritage. In curbing such problems, there is a need to review the classification system as well as the *adopt a site programme* with lessons learnt from the management of the Ndongo Site, which is community led and holistic.

Chapter 6:

Conclusion and Suggestions

The broader aim of the study was to examine the nature of social relations that have affected the conservation of lowly ranked sites like Chibvumani National Monument. In addition, it sought to assess if there is a link between the communities' current value of heritage sites and state of conservation. Ultimately, the study has been aimed to develop an alternative management tool of Zimbabwe type sites that takes into consideration their comparative uniqueness. This chapter, therefore, discusses the findings of the study in relation to the objectives and offers suggestions for the improvement of the present situation.

My research has established that the relationship between National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) and local communities has had a tendency to impact on the conservation of heritage sites across the country. The nature of the relationship has directly affected preservation outcomes, in particular at Ndongo Site and Chibvumani. The focus on the relationship adds to the conventional take which normally focuses on the technicalities, the organisation and external rationalities of management of the sites.

The nature of relations has not only affected the conservation of low ranked sites. This draws attention for renewed attention on an aspect of preservation that few scholars and analysts have discussed, although it affects sites of all classes and lists, even the most important national landmark: namely the Great Zimbabwe and Ziwa National Monument.

NMMZ's focus of heritage conservation is still architectural and does not adequately take into cognisance/account the intangible values of the site. In many ways it reflects what Smith called the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), a view of heritage that marginalizes dominated or

minority memory and heritages by side-lining intangible values. AHD is an expert, not a user's view, and it prioritizes scientific values and interests. In AHD experts stand as the sole or main spokespersons for "heritage" (L. Smith 2006, 29). However, as my work, among a few others, demonstrates, there is a need to find a balance between the management of intangible and monumental aspects of heritage of sites. This is for the very sake of heritage and heritage sites.

To some extent, NMMZ has failed to realise that there is a need for local communities to be continuously use the site which is part of their heritage. Evidence from Chibvumani National Monument has shown that if local communities are not given the platform to interact and use their heritage vandalism will ensure.

Local communities consider the sites as important for their political, social, religious and economic welfare. Thus, I argue for the need to decolonize the exclusionary system and allow local communities to use the site for their ritual practices. "Decolonial" approaches can contribute to a redress of the power imbalance between communities and heritage institutions by ensuring equality. It is also a long-term process which entails bureaucratic and psychological divesting of colonial power (La Salle 2010, 406). Efforts to stop the tradition can be equated to killing the living traditional conservation practices.

However, NMMZ introduced the *adopt a site program.* Unfortunately, there were no prior consultative meetings to establish the local communities' perception towards the programme or at least an outreach to inform them about the new Arguably this program runs a risk of failing in its infancy given the failures that have been witnessed with most of the pilot programs across the country. Given that the regions have some failed projects under the programme, chances are very high the whole programme will fall into the same pit unless some reforms are factored into the project.

The study suggests that the Local Traditional Leaders Act may be reliable partners in the management of heritage, basing on the findings of this research, all the three traditional leaders

around Chibvumani bemoaned their exclusion from the management of the site. They further explained that it was affecting the process of conducting rituals at the site and somehow fueling the ownership wrangles among them. The act recognises the local traditional leaders as the adjudicators of heritage due to their understanding and appreciation of culture and tradition. From a cultural point of view traditional leaders are the conduit to ancestral. However, the existence of LTLA acts as parallel to the government structures, in this instance the NMMZ Act, hence a conflict of interest between the two is given. It is acknowledged that NMMZ Act was the first to come into existence, while TLA came into effect in 1998, however considering that they are both striving to protect heritage there is need for integration or compromise by NMMZ heritage managers. This integration will facilitate the revision of the *adopt a site programme* that prioritises the values of local communities and traditional leaders. Therefore, there is urgent need for correlation and coordination between the two conflicting legislations to ensure the continued conservation and presentation of unclassified and sites in the low classes.

, I could find out that the local communities at Chibvumani National Monument feel excluded in the management of the site in their vicinity. Given such a scenario NMMZ is working with Mamutse Primary school, with the help of teachers and pupils. The school does not have resources but the villagers have the resources, time, and knowledge to conserve the site. Therefore, the study noted that failure to conserve heritage due to lack of resources does not hold water. In Zimbabwe, local traditional leaders are recognised as the legal custodians of heritage in communities according to the Traditional Leaders Act (Chapter 29:17) of 1998, therefore they should be incorporated in the conservation of heritage. At Chibvumani National Monument the traditional leaders expect to be recognised and incorporated in the management of the site, alongside not just the school and its hierarchy. They identify intimately with the site as leaders of local communities, arguably more so than school administrations and students.

In comparison with Chibvumani National Monument, the local communities at Ndongo Site have been able to preserve using local resources, knowledge and time at their disposal. These case studies have provided binaries for two management systems which have proved to be very different. The state-led system which is a top-to-bottom and has failed to conserve the site and the local communities have contested against the exclusions it perpetuates. The relations are further strained at Chibvumani National Monument where gold panners are mining in the vicinity of the site which is threatening the conservation of the site and yet there has not been any report done to NMMZ. Therefore, the conservation of the site is at stake. Some of the local communities interviewed highlighted that mining was the only way they can realise some economic benefits from the site. Coupled to this, the failure to recognise the three chieftaincies that are claiming ownership to the site has contributed to conservation challenges. Arguably the local communities are retaliating through destructive gold mining practices due to the alienation from the site by the introduction of *adopt a site program.*

Whereas, at Ndongo Site local communities have proved that collaborative archaeology can be efficient in the conservation of heritage. The model of Ndongo site has also brought the concept of conserving cultural landscape and biodiversity as an important aspect of a holistic conservation approach. The conservation of biodiversity is an essential part of cultural heritage. Cultural landscapes often harbor surprisingly high biodiversity and they are an essential part of our heritage. The local communities appreciate the need to conserve all kinds of heritage in their landscape, this becomes a point of departure from the current management system employed by NMMZ. Therefore, the relations between NMMZ and local communities have a huge bearing on the conservation of significant sites.

In sub-Saharan Africa, there are some local communities who have been brought into the management of heritage. What the local communities are demanding at Chibvumani is not

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something new, it can be seen in some part of Africa and beyond. For example, in Namibia the conservation of the historical buildings. There is precedence between government agencies and local communities in the conservation of heritage that has been set by the government of Namibia. The government through the Ministry of Environment and Tourism set policy for local communities to benefit from tourism. The policy enabled local communities to be considered as equal players in the tourism industry inclusive of planning. The policy paved way for the local community from communal areas to run tourism enterprises and form a joint venture with the private sector. It came about because of inequalities in the tourism industry whereby local communities were not involved in tourism planning on communities (Scheffler et al. 2017, 12-13)

A new management model

This study proposes a new management model for sites that have not prioritised in the current management system by NMMZ. The new model borrows from the case of Ndongo where the local community was actively involved in the management of the site. Local communities have developed an active management committee for the site which holistically incorporates conservation of the biodiversity and cultural landscape led by communities. The holistic approach includes the conservation of the natural and cultural resources contrary to the current management strategy employed by NMMZ. Therefore, the study advocates for a holistic approach in the conservation of all kinds of heritage that encompasses the landscape in its entirety. Henceforth, material conservation of cultural heritage should not be executed in isolation of natural heritage, rather a comprehensive approach with the help of indigenous knowledge from the local communities should be adopted. Conservation can be implemented with help of the traditional leaders' hierarchy already set in local communities. For example, the traditional management system has been effective in the distribution of drought relief food among the local communities.

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The local communities are also involved in capacity building to ensure informed continued conservation of Ndongo Site. The execution of this program therefore constitutes a decolonial strategy that is supported by such kind of collaborative archaeology. I thus argue that these collaborations can decolonize the practice of archaeology by involving local communities instead of them being passive partakers of heritage. Collaborative archaeology is grounded in a bottom-up principle with priority given to the local communities' participation and also addresses social uses of archaeology which speaks to the everyday needs of the community as is born out of collaborations. Collaborative archaeology has been defined as an expression of archaeological theory and practice where discipline divides indigenous knowledge values, knowledge and practices through collaborative community directed projects and related critical perspectives (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010, 229)

Collaborative archaeology is a new model which moves from traditional practices of objects and the past, to archaeology that focuses on the present and people. The model works through collaborative and community originated or directed projects (La Salle 2010, 403; Nicholas 2008: 1660). The new practice has many names but it is basically hinged on the concept of creating projects for the people and by the people informed by the heritage values of the local communities. It is an inclusive, community-based notion of cultural heritage, it investigates overlapping perceptions of landscape, memory and produces a new model of partnership (Jane and Rizvi 2010, 401–403) In comparison with other archaeological practices, collaborative archaeology is more accessible and facilitates local communities as producers of heritage not only consumers, it gives privilege to local people over heritage experts (Preucel and Cipolla 2008, 139; Chipangura 2018a). Collaborative archaeology seeks to readdress the legacy of colonial hegemony of Western knowledge production by the application of archaeological practices that are respective of local heritage values relative to the community (Nicholas and Watkins 2014, 3778). Archaeologist must note that there is no one size that fits all, they should

devise methods peculiar to the site in question in order to address these challenges. Therefore, decolonization must be viewed as a "long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic, and psychological divesting of colonial power" (Held 2019, 8). Just as there is no single colonial model that encompasses all of colonialism, there is no single Indigenous model and no single decolonizing approach. The study has established that there is need to devise a flexible policy that is fluid to fit the diverse communities that have to be incorporated into the management of heritage.

NMMZ can borrow some ideas from the South African system of sites classification system. The study acknowledges that South Africa uses a federal system whilst Zimbabwe uses a central system of government however it is still possible to borrow some ideas from their management system. According to the National Heritage Resource Act of 1999 has a three-tier system of management in which the management of heritage has been distributed among three management bodies namely national, provincial and local level. The national level is responsible for sites of national significance while provincial level comprises of heritage that is considered significant in the second grade. The third grade consists of heritage worthy of conservation in which the local board makes an assessment of the intrinsic comparative and contextual value of heritage. Assessment is conducted in relation to costs of its protection so that it receives appropriate conservation attention from authorities. National, Provincial and local bodies are responsible for identification and management of heritage in these classes respectively. Consultation in relation to the conservation of heritage is done following the three-tier system as well for ease of communication. The South African classification system eases management of heritage at national level. National level will attend to conservation challenges that would otherwise be too complicated for local and provincial bodies. As noted by Kundishora Chipunza that there is need to increase the representation of sites with regards to their comparative differences (Chipunza 2019, pers comm), therefore the decentralisation of

heritage management will help increase the desired attention to unclassified and sites that are ranked low.

As such this study concludes that there is need to devise site specific community collaboration plans. Collaboration that involve communities from the planning stage (bottom-up approach). There is need for collaboration between the heritage experts and the local communities if heritage is to be saved for posterity, as shown by the local communities at Ndongo during the 2006 restoration. (See fig. 14) local communities willingly participating in the restoration of their heritage.

Fig 14: Local communities helping restore Ndongo Site, 2006 (Source: Gladman Chibememe)

"It's not going to be easy but times are changing so let's move in that better direction".

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Interview guiding questions for NMMZ Senior management and heritage experts

Classification system

1. Can you explain how the NMMZ classification system of heritage sites works?

2. When did NMMZ introduce the classification policy?

3. What necessitated the classification of sites?

4. Who or what determines site's classification?

5. Has the classification policy been reviewed ever since and why?

6. What is the difference between the colonial and postcolonial period of valuing cultural heritage sites?

7. Is it necessary that sites should be classified?

8. What has been the effects/ challenges/ successes of the classification system?

9. What do you think should be done to improve the conservation of small sites (ranked low)?

B *Adopt a site programme*

1. Why was *Adopt a site programme* introduced?

2. Does NMMZ have a working policy document or terms of reference for the programme?

3. Is it being practised, consistently in all the regions in Zimbabwe? If no, why?

4. What has been the criteria to determine the applicability of adopt-a-site programme?

5. Who is allowed to adopt a site and which sites can be adopted?

6. How effective is Adopt-a-site programme as a way of promoting community involvement in sustainable heritage management?

7. What is your suggestion to sites that are managed under adopt a site programme?

8. What is the future of Adopt-a-site programme in Zimbabwe? Do you know of similar programs elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa and what are their success stories?

Appendix 2

Questionnaires for heritage practitioners and heritage education officers

My name is Nyararai Ellen Mundopa, a Postgraduate student studying for a Master of Arts in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy Management at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. I am conducting a research on the management of heritage sites in Zimbabwe by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ). The research is focusing particularly on its system of classifying heritage sites and the adopt-a-site program, thesis titled '*Researching, preserving and presenting variability: towards an augmented management of drystone-walled sites of the Zimbabwe culture'*. The NMMZ is the country's premier heritage organization established under an Act of Parliament, the National Museums and Monuments Acts (Chapter 25:11). I am kindly requesting that you make responses to the issues raised in this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. Your responses will not be used for any other purpose than this research. Through this survey, your responses will be helpful in enhancing NMMZ's sustainable management of heritage initiatives, which depend largely on how the nature of cultural values of sites are understood and the importance of community involvement. Thank you very much for your time and responses.

About the respondent:

A

1. Name of institution affiliated to …………………………………………………………

2. Gender of the respondent: ....……. Male ☐ Female ☐

3. Highest Educational Qualification attained? PhD ☐ Masters ☐

    Bachelor degree ☐ Diploma ☐ Certificate ☐ Other ☐

4. How many years have you been involved in heritage studies and/ or management? Less

    than 5years ☐   : 6 – 10 years ☐: 11 years and above ☐

    B. **The concept of heritage sites classification and** *adopt a site policy* **by NMMZ**

5. Do you know about the concept of heritage sites classification by NMMZ? Yes / No

6.   How did you know about this policy?

    i)Stakeholders meeting ☐   ii) local leaders ☐   iii) NMMZ Policy Document ☐

    iv)NMMZ officer ☐   v) Newspaper ☐   vi) Radio/tv ☐

7. When was the sites classification system established?

    _____

    _____

    _____

8. What criteria have been used to classify sites by NMMZ?

_____

_____

_____

9. Has it been reviewed ever since, please state the date? If the answer is No, may you explain the reasons why

_____

_____

_____

10. What are the strengths and problems associated with the criteria in question?

_____

_____

_____

11. May you explain the difference between the colonial and postcolonial period of valuing cultural heritage sites.

_____

_____

12. Is it necessary that sites should be classified?

_____

_____

_____

13. How has the policy helped/contributed in the management of a site that you know?

_____

_____

_____

14. In your opinion, is the concept of sites classification clear as a management tool in heritage

conservation

_____

_____

_____

Adopt a site programme

15. Do you know about Adopt-a-site-programme by NMMZ? Yes ☐   No ☐

If yes, how did you come to know about it?

i) Stakeholders meeting ☐   ii) local leader ☐   iii) NMMZ Policy Document☐

iv) NMMZ officer ☐   v)Newspaper☐   vi) Radio/tv ☐

16. What do you understand about the concept of Adopt-a-site programme by NMMZ?.ie How does it work, who can *adopt a site* and why?

_____

_____

_____

17. In your opinion, are sites managed under *adopt a site programme* effectively preserved and presented.

_____

_____

_____

18. Name the sites that are currently managed under *adopt a site programme* that you know.

_____

_____

19. If your answer is yes, why was it successful? If your answer is no, what do you think are the problems?

20. How effective is *Adopt a site programme* as a way of promoting community involvement in sustainable heritage management?

21. What is the future of *Adopt a site programme*? `

The information from you is going to be solely used for the purposes of this research.

Thank you very much for the will to help.

Appendix 3

Guiding Questions for the Chibvumani Clan Focus Group Discussion

1. In brief, what is the history of the clan and its relationship with Chibvumani National Monument

2. What is the extent of the current influence of the clan to the management of the Chibvumani National Monument.

3. How does the clan view the appointment of Mamutse Primary School as the custodian of Chibvumani National Monument.

4. In your own view, how do you expect the site to be managed by NMMZ.

Appendix 4

Guiding Questions for the Focus Group Discussion with the Ndongo Archaeological site.

1. In brief, what is the history of the clan and its relationship with Ndongo Archaeological Site.

2. 2.What is the perception/view of the clan to Ndongo Archaeological Site?

3.What drove the clan to initiate the restoration project? / What was the motive behind the restoration initiatives to Ndongo Archaeological Site.

4. Currently how is NMMZ helping/assisting in the conservation of the site.

5. Is NMMZ's efforts in the site's maintenance meeting your expectations?

 Yes/No

If No, what are your expectations?..................

Appendix 5

Guiding Questions for Mamutse Primary school authorities.

1. When and why in your opinion was Mamutse given the mandate to manage Chibvumani National Monument.

2. How does the school operate, are there terms of reference for the management of Chibvumani?

3. What are the issues that the school engages in with NMMZ?

5. What are the activities that are done by the local people that affect the conservation

and management of?

6. In your own opinion, how do you view the attitude/perception of the local people since Mamutse was given the management mandate of Chibvumani National Monument.

7. What have been the successes and failures of the *Adopt a site programme* since its inception?

Appendix 6

List of interviewees

Heritage Experts

Name	Affiliate Institution	Position	Date of Interview
Mr. K. Chipunza	NMMZ	Chief Curator	20-03-2019
Dr Tawanda Mukwende	NMMZ	Curator, Southern	28-03-2019
Mr M Sagiya	NMMZ	Curator, Southern	09-03-2019
Dr. N. Chipangura	NMMZ	Curator, Eastern	18-12-2018
Mr. Godhi Bvocho	NMMZ	Regional Director, Northern	29-03-2019
Dr. H. Marufu	NMMZ	Curator, Northern	07-03-2019
Ms. S. Makhumalo	NMMZ	Curator, Western	05-03-2019
Mr T. Pasipanodya	NMMZ	Assistant Curator, Central	07-03-2019
Mr C. Gutu	NMMZ	Curator, Central	
Mr. T. Fusirai	Mamutse Primary School	Headmaster	03-08-2018
Mr. S. Nyamangondo	NMMZ	Curatorial Assistant	07-02-2019

Professor S. Chirikure	University of Capetown	Lecturer	03-02-2019
Mr Chigiya	Ministry of Education	Education Officer	03-08-2018
Mr. J. Nemerai	NMMZ	Senior Heritage Education Officer	27-07-2018
Mr. J. Magadzike	NMMZ	Monument Surveyor	28-07-2018
Mr. T. Runganga	NMMZ	Assistant Curator, Western	13-03-2018
Mr. F. Chabata	NMMZ	Curator, Nothern	26-02-2018

Chibvumani National Monument Local Communities

Chief Budzi	Chibvumani local community	Village Chief	03-08-2018
Mr N. Ushe	Chibvumani local community	Freelance heritage practitioner	03-08-2018
Mr M Bikita	Chibvumani local community	Headman	03-08-2018

Mr J. Mamutse	Chibvumani local community	Headman	03-08-2018
Mr A. Majoni	Chibvumani local community	Headman	03-08-2018
Mr E. Bikita	Chibvumani local community	Headman	03-08-2018

Ndongo Site Local Communities

Chief Gudo	Ndongo local community	Chief	01-08-2018
Mr G. Chibememe	Ndongo local community	CHIEHA coordinator	22-03-2019
Mr N. Chibememe	Ndongo local community	CHIEHA leader	01-08-2018