

# The management of the Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe : perceptions of the indigenous communities on their involvement and use of traditional conservation practices

Makuvaza, S.

# Citation

Makuvaza, S. (2016, October 25). *The management of the Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe : perceptions of the indigenous communities on their involvement and use of traditional conservation practices. Archaeological Studies Leiden University.* Leiden University Press (LUP), Leiden. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/43736

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License:	<u>Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the</u> <u>Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden</u>
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/43736

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



# Universiteit Leiden



The handle <u>http://hdl.handle.net/1887/43736</u> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Makuvaza, S.

**Title:** The management of the Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe : perceptions of the indigenous communities on their involvement and use of traditional conservation practices **Issue Date**: 2016-10-25

### References

- Abrahams, G. 1989. A review of the South African heritage legislation 1987. In F. H. Cleere (ed.), Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World (One World Archaeology 9). 207-218. London: Unwin Hyman.
- ACHPR. 2006. Indigenous Peoples in Africa: The Forgotten Peoples? (The African Commission's Work on Indigenous Peoples in Africa). Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.
- ACHPR. 2007. Advisory Opinion of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights on the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Banjul: African Union.
- Adams, W. and Hulme, D. 2001. Conservation and community: Changing narratives, policies and practices in African conservation. In D. Hulme and M, Murphree (eds), *African Wildlife and Livelihoods: The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation.* 9-23. Oxford: James Curray.
- Adams, W. M. 2004. Against Extinction: The Story of Conservation. London: Earthscan.
- Ajayi, J. F. A. (ed). 1998. General History of Africa V1: Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s. California: University of California Press.
- Alexander, J. 1991. The unsettled land: The politics of land redistribution in Matabeleland, 1980-1990. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4: 581-610.
- Allen, H. and Phillips, C. 2010. Maintaining the dialogue: Archaeology, cultural heritage and indigenous communities. In C. Phillips and H. Allen (eds), *Bridging the Divide: Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 21st Century* (One World Archaeology 60). 17-48. California: Left Coast Press.
- Anaya, S. F. 1996. *Indigenous Peoples in International Law* (2nd Edn.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Andrews, T. D. and Buggey, S. 2008. Authenticity in Aboriginal cultural landscapes. *Journal of Preservation Technology* 39. (2-3): 63-71.
- Armstrong, A. L. 1929. Rhodesian cave expedition 1929. Prehistoric Society of East Anglia 5: 144.

- Armstrong, A. L. 1931. Rhodesian archaeological expedition (1929): Excavation in Bambata cave and researchers on prehistoric sites in Southern Rhodesia. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 61: 239-276.
- Arnold, G. and Jones, N. 1919. Notes on the Bushman cave at Bambata, Matopos. *Proceedings of the Rhodesian Association for the Advancement of Science* 17: 5-19.
- Aschwanden, H. 1989. *Karanga Mythology*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Ashton, E. H. 1981. *Report on the Socio-Historical Survey of Matopos*. Bulawayo: Natural History Museum.
- Atalay, S. 2006a. Guest editor's remarks: Decolonising archaeology. *American Indian Quarterly 30* (3-4): 269-279.
- Atalay, S. 2006b. Indigenous archaeology as decolonizing practice. *American Indian Quarterly 30* (3-4): 280-310.
- Balint, P. J. and Mashinya, J. 2006. The decline of a model community-based conservation project: Governance, capacity and devolution in Mahenye, Zimbabwe. *Geoforum* 37: 805-815.
- Banderin, F. 2009. Preface. In N. Mitchell, M. Rössler and P. Tricaud (eds), World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Handbook for Conservation and Management. 3-4. Paris: World Heritage Centre.
- Banergee, S. B. 2000. Whose land is it anyway? national interest, indigenous stakeholders, and colonial discourses: The case of the Jabiluka uranium mine. *Organisation and Environment*, Vol. 13, No. 1: 3-38.
- Barry, R. and Mundy, P. 1998. Population dynamics of two species of hyraxies in the Matobo National Park, Zimbabwe. *African Journal of Ecology*, Vol. 36, Issue, 3: 221-233.
- Beach, D. N. 1980. The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850: An Outline of Shona History. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Beach, D. N. 1983. Oral history and archaeology in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwean Prehistory 19: 8-11.
- Beach, D. N. 1986. *War and Politics in Zimbabwe* 1840-1900. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Becker, P. 1962. Path of Blood: *The Rise and Conquests of Mzilikazi, Founder of the Matabele Tribe of Southern Africa.* London: Longmans.

Belcher, G. 2014. Values in World Heritage Sites. In C. Sandis (ed.), *Cultural Heritage Ethics: Between Theory and Practice*. 181-196. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.

Bender, B. 1999. Subverting the western gaze: Mapping alternative worlds. In P. J. Ucko and R. Layton (eds), *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping Your Landscape.* 31-43. London: Routledge.

Berkes, F., Colding, J. and Folke, C. 2000. Rediscovery of traditional ecological knowledge as adaptive management. *Ecological Applications, Vol. 10,* No. 5: 1251-1262.

Berkes, P. 1999. Sacred Ecology: *Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management.* Philadelphia: Taylor and Francis.

Bernard, P. S. 2003. Ecological implications of water spirit beliefs in southern Africa: *The need to protect knowledge, nature and resources rights*. USDA Forest Service Proceedings, RMRS-P-27.

Berniell-Lee, G., Calafell, F., Bosch, E., Heyer, E., Sica L., Mouquiama-Daouda, P., van der Veen L., Hombert, J. M., Quintana-Murci, L. and Comas, D. 2009. Genetic and demographic implications of the Bantu expansion: Insights from human paternal lineages. *Molecular Biology and Evolution 26* (7): 1581-1589.

Bhattacherjee, A. 2012. Social Science Research: Principles, Methods and Practices (2nd Edn). Zurich: Jacobs Foundation.

Bhebe, N. M. B. 1989. Benjamin Burombo: African Politics in Zimbabwe 1947-1958. Harare: The College Press.

Bhebe, N. M. B. 1979. *Traditional Religion in Western Zimbabwe, 1859-1923*. Britain: Longman.

Blaser, M., Feit, H. A. and McRae, G. (eds). 2004. In the Way of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalization. London: Zed Books.

Boaten, B. A. 1998. Traditional conservation practices: Ghana's example. *Research Review* (*NS*) Vol. 14, No. 1: 42-51.

Boswell, R. 2008. Challenges to Identifying and Managing Intangible Cultural Heritage in Mauritius, Zanzibar and Seychelles. Dakar: CODESRIA. Bousman, C. B. 1998. The chronological evidence for the introduction of domestic stock into Southern Africa. *African Archaeological Review*, Vol. 15, No. 2: 133-150.

Bozongwana, W. 1983. *Ndebele Religion and Customs*. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Bradshaw, E., Bryant, K. and Cohen, T. 2012. Why Cultural Heritage Matters: A Resource Guide for Integrating Cultural Heritage Management into Communities Work at Rio Tinto. University of Queensland, Australia: Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining.

Breen, C. 2007. Advocacy, international development and World Heritage Sites in subsaharan Africa. *World Archaeology* Vol. 39(3): 355-370.

Brooks, A. S., Gelburd, D. E. and Yellen, J. E. 1984.
Food production and culture change among the !Kung San: Implications for prehistoric research. In J. D. Clark and S. A. Brandt (eds), *From Hunters to Farmers: The Causes and Consequences of Food Production in Africa.* 293-310. Berkely: University of California Press.

Bwasiri, E. J. 2008. The Management of Indigenous Living Heritage in Archaeological World Heritage Sites: A Case Study of Mongomi Wa Kolo Rock Painting Site, Central Tanzania. Master of Arts Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Chakaipa, S. 2010. Local government institutions and elections. In J. de Visser, N. Steytler and N. Machingauta (eds), Local Government Reform in Zimbabwe: A Policy Dialogue. 31-68. University of the Western Cape: Community Law Centre.

Chatiza, K. 2010. Can local government steer socio-economic transformation in Zimbabwe: Analysing historical trends and gazing into the future. In J. de Visser, N. Steytler and N. Machingauta (eds), *Local Government Reform in Zimbabwe: A Policy Dialogue*. 1-25. University of the Western Cape: Community Law Centre.

Chenje, M. and Johnson, P. (eds). 1996. Water in Southern Africa. Maseru: SADC.

Chibi, T., Kandori, C. and Makone, B. F. 2005. *Mzingwane Catchment Outline Plan Report. Bulawayo*: Zimbabwe National Water Authority.

Chikuhwa, J. W. 2006. Zimbabwe at the Crossroads. Bloomington: Author House. Chikuhwa, J. W. 2013. Zimbabwe: *The End of the First Republic*. Bloomington: Author House.

Child, H. 1968. *The History of amaNdebele.* Ministry of Internal Affairs. Rhodesia Government.

Chipunza, K. 2005. Protection of immovable cultural heritage in Zimbabwe: An evaluation. In W. Ndoro and G. Pwiti (eds), Legal frameworks for the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Africa (ICCROM Conservation Studies 5). 42-45. Rome: ICCROM.

Chirikure, S. 2014. Power imbalance and unequal benefit at UNESCO World Heritage Sites? *Africa Review of Books*, Vol. 10.

Chirikure, S., Manyanga, M., Pollard, A.M., Bandama, F., Mahachi, G., and Pikirayi, I. 2014. Zimbabwe culture before Mapungubwe: *New evidence from Mapela Hill south western Zimbabwe*. PLoS ONE, Vol. 9, Issue 9: 1-18.

Chitando, E. 2006. African Instituted Churches in Southern Africa: Paragons of Regional Integration. *African Journal of International Affairs,* Vol, 7, Nos. (1-2): 117-132.

Chiuta, T. M., Johnson, P. and Hirji, R. 2002. Water and the economy. In R. Hirji, P. Johnson, P. Maro and T. M. Chiuta (eds), *Defining and Mainstreaming Environmental Sustainability* in Water Resources Management in Southern Africa. 21-52. Maseru: SADC.

Chiwaura, H. 2005. The development of formal legislation and the recognition of traditional customary law in Zimbabwe's heritage management. In W. Ndoro and G. Pwiti (eds), *Legal Frameworks for the Protection* of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Africa (ICCROM Conservation Studies 5). 18-21. Rome: ICCROM.

Chiweshe, N. 2007. Black eagles and hyraxesthe two flagship species in the conservation of wildlife in the Matobo Hills, Zimbabwe. Ostrich, 78 (2): 381-386.

Clarke, M. F. 2010. *Lozikeyi Dlodlo Queen of the Ndebele*. Bulawayo: Amagugu Publishers.

Cobo, J. M. 1986. Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous populations. UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7 and Add. 1-4. [online]. Available from http://www.un.org/esa/ socdev/unpfii/en/second.html [Accessed January 2013].

Cockcroft, I. G. 1972. The Mlimo (Mwari) Cult. Native Affairs Department Annual: 10 (4).

- Collett, D. P. 1992. *The Archaeological Heritage* of Zimbabwe: A Masterplan for Resource Conservation and Development. Harare: National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe.
- Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C., Ferguson, T. J., Lippert, D., McGuire, R. H., Nicholas, G. P., Watkins, J. E. and Zimmerman, L. J. 2010. The premise and promise of indigenous archaeology. *American Antiquity*, Vol. 75, No. 2: 228-238.

Cooke, C. K. 1963. Report on excavations at Pomongwe and Tshangula caves, Matopo Hills, Southern Rhodesia. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 18: 73-151.

- Cooke, C. K. 1965. *The Matopo Hills and a View of the World*. Salisbury: Government Printer.
- Cooke, C. K. 1986. *The Matopo Hills*. Harare: National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe.
- Cooke, C. K. and Robinson, K. R. 1954. Excavations at Amadzimba cave, located in the Matopo Hills, Southern Rhodesia. Occasional Papers of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia 2: 699-728.
- Cooke, C. K., Summers, R. and Robinson, K. R. 1966. Rhodesian prehistory re-examined: Part I: the Stone Age. *Arnoldia*, No. 12, Vol. 2: 1-8.
- Creamer, H. 1990. Aboriginal perceptions of the past: The implications for cultural resource management in Australia. In P. Gathercole and D. Lowenthal (eds), *The Politics of the Past* (One World Archaeology 12). 130-138. London: Routledge.
- Da Silva, J. A. 1993. African Independent Churches Origin and Development. *Anthropos:* 393-402.
- Daneel, M. L. 1970. *The God of Matopo Hills*. Hague: Mouton.

Danzinger Commission. 1949. Report of the commission appointed to enquire into the occupation of certain crown land known as Matopo National Park by certain Matabele natives. Salisbury: Institute of African Affairs.

Deacon, H. and Smeets, R. 2013. Authenticity, value and community involvement in heritage management under the World Heritage and Intangible Heritage Conventions. *Heritage and Society*, Vol. 6, No. 2: 129-143.

Deacon, J. 1993. Management guidelines for rock art sites in two wilderness areas in the Western Cape. Stellenbosch: Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. Deacon, J. 2006. Sharing resources: Issues in regional archaeological conservation strategies in southern Africa. In N. Agnew and J. Bridgland (eds), Of the Past, For the Future: Integrating Archaeology and Conservation. 306-311. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Denbow, J. R. 2009. Prehistoric herders and foragers of the Kalahari: The evidence for 1, 500 years of interaction. In C Schrire (ed.), *Past* and Present in Hunter-Gatherer Studies. 175-94. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press.

Disko, S. and Tugendhat, H. 2014. Report: International Expert Workshop on the World Heritage Convention and Indigenous Peoples (20-21 September 2012). Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.

Ekblom, A., Gillson, L., Risberg, J., Holmgren, K. and Chidoub, Z. 2012. Rainfall variability and vegetation dynamics of the lower Limpopo Valley, Southern Africa, 500 AD to present. *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology*, Palaeoecology 363-634: 69-78.

Eldredge, E. A. 1992. Sources of conflict in Southern Africa, C. 1800-30: The 'Mfecane' reconsidered. *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 33, No. 1: 1-35.

Eldredge, N. (ed). 2002. Life on Earth: An Encyclopedia of Biodiversity, Ecology and Evolution. California: ABC-CLIO, Inc.

Ellert, H. 1993. *Rivers of Gold*. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Elliott, J., Kingsey, B. and Kwesha, D. 2006. Gathering evidence: The challenge of assessing sustainability after a resettlement programme in Zimbabwe. In J. Hill, A. Terry and W. Woodland (eds), *Sustainable Development: National Aspirations, Local Implementation.* 15-30. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Eppel, S. 2004. "Gukurahundi" the need for truth and reparation. In B. Raftopoulos and T. Savage (eds), *Zimbabwe Injustice and Political Reconciliation*. 43-62. Harare: Weaver Press.

Fisher, J. L. 2010. Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: *The Decolonisation of White Identity in Zimbabwe*. Canberra: ANU É Press.

Flick, U. 2009. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (4th edition). London: SAGE Publications.

Folke, C. and Colding, J. 2001. Traditional conservation practices. *Encyclopedia of Biodiversity*, Vol. 5: 681-694. Fothergill, R. J. 1953. *The Monuments of Southern Rhodesia. Bulawayo*: The Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics.

Fripp, C. E. and Hiller, V. W. (eds). 1949. *Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Frost, P. G. H. and Bond, I. 2007. The CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe; payments for wildlife services. *Ecological Economics* 65: 776-787.

Gaffney, C., Hughes, G. and Gater, J. 2005. Geophysical surveys at king Lobengula's palace KoBulawayo, Zimbabwe. Archaeological Prospection, 12: 31–49.

Gandiwa, E., Heitkönig, I, M. A., Lokhorst, A.M., Prins, H. H. T. and Leeuwis, C. 2013. CAMPFIRE and human-wildlife conflicts in local communities bordering northern Gonarezhou National Park, Zimbabwe. *Ecology and Society* 18(4): 7. [online] URL: http:// www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol18/iss4/art7/ [Accessed February 2016].

Gargett, V. 1990. *The Black Eagle*. Johannesburg: Acorn Books.

Garlake, P. 1987. *The Painted Caves: An Introduction to the PreHistoric Art of Zimbabwe*. Harare: Modus Publications.

Gelfand, M. (ed). 1968. Gubulawayo and Beyond. Letters and Journals of the Early Jesuit Missionaries to Zambesia 1879-1887. London: Geoffrey Chapman.

George, P. N. and Hollwell, J. J. 2007. Ethical challenges to a postcolonial archaeology. In Y. Hamilakas and P. Duke (eds), *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics*. 59-82. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press.

Geza, S. 1986. The role of resettlement in social development in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Social Development in Africa* 1: 35-42.

Gibbs, P., Phillips, H. and Russel, N. 2010. Blue and Old Gold: *The History of the British South Africa Police* 1889-1990. Pinetown: 30° South Publishers (PTY) Limited.

Gilbert, J. and Couillard, V. 2011. International law and land rights in Africa: The shift from states' territorial possessions to indigenous peoples' ownership rights. In R. Home (ed.), *Essays in African Land Law.* 47-68. Pretoria: Pretoria University Press.

- Grobler, J. H. 1976. The Rhodes Matopo National Park: A case for survival. Letter to the Director of National Parks and Wildlife Management, Ref. 713/9/2/76. Bulawayo: National Parks and Wildlife Management.
- Grobler, J. H. and Wilson, V. J. 1972. Food for the leopard *Panthera pardus* (Linn.) in the Rhodes Matopo National Park, Rhodesia. Arnoldia 5(35): 1-10.
- Guvamatanga, G. 2014. Community share ownership pays dividends. *The Patriot-Celebrating Being Zimbabwean Newspaper* [online]. Available from <a href="http://www.the">http://www.the</a> co.zw/old-posts/community-share-scheme-paysdividends/ [Accessed January 2015].
- Hachipola, S. M. 1998. *A Survey of the Minority Languages of Zimbabwe*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Halaar, M. and Olthof, W. 1994. Rural local government and development planning with experiences from Buhera district, Zimbabwe (Working Paper Series No. 181). The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.
- Hall, M. 1993. The archaeology of colonial settlement in southern Africa. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 22: 177-200.
- Hausman, A. J. 1984. Holocene human evolution in southern Africa. In J. D. Clark and S. A. Brandt (eds), From Hunters to Farmers: The Causes and Consequences of Food Production in Africa. 261-271. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hedberg, I. and Staugard, F. 1989. *Traditional Medicine in Botswana*. Stockholm: Ipelegeng Publishers.
- Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador. 2008. Intangible Cultural Heritage Program. Canada: St. John's NL.
- Hubbard, P. and Mguni, S. 2007. Further reports of termites and formlings in the rock art of the Matopos, south western Zimbabwe. The Digging Stick, Vol. 24 (2): 5-8.
- Huffman, T. N. 1974. The linguistic affinities of the Iron Age in Rhodesia. *Arnoldia* No. 7, Vol. 7: 1-12.
- Huffman, T. N. 1982. Archaeology and ethnohistory of the African iron Age. *Ann. Rev. Anthropol.* 11: 133-150.

- Huffman, T. N. 1996a. Archaeological evidence for climatic change during the last 2000 years in southern Africa. *Quaternary International* 33: 55-60.
- Huffman, T. N. 1996b. Snakes and Crocodiles: Power and Symbolism in Ancient Zimbabwe. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Huffman, T. N. 2000. Mapungubwe and the origins of the Zimbabwe culture. In M. Leslie and T. Maggs (eds), African Naissance: *The Limpopo Valley 1000 Years Ago*. 14-29. South African Archaeological Society, Goodwin Series 8.
- Huffman, T. N. 2005. The stylistic origin of Bambata and the spread of mixed farming in southern Africa. *Southern African Humanities*, Vol. 17: 57-79.
- Huffman, T. N. 2007. *Handbook to the Iron Age: The Archaeology of Pre-Colonial Farming* Societies in Southern Africa. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Huffman, T. N. 2008. Climate change during the Iron Age in the Shashe-Limpopo basin, southern Africa. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35, 2032–2047.
- Hughes, G. 1995. An Archaeological Assessment and Research Proposal for Old-Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Parts 2 and 3: Technical Report and Detailed Project Proposal. Bulawayo: Natural History Museum, Zimbabwe.
- Hughes, G. 2000. KoBulawayo, Zimbabwe. Archaeological Excavation, April–May 2000: Interim Report, Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit, Project No. 332.10. Bulawayo: Natural History Museum, Zimbabwe.
- Hughes, G. and Muringaniza, J. S. 2003. Kings and Ancestors: Interpreting the Past at KoBulawayo, Zimbabwe. In P. Mitchell, A. Haour and J. Hobart (eds), Researching Africa's Past: New Contributions from British Archaeologists. 124– 32: Monograph 57. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology.
- Igoe, J. 2006. Becoming indigenous peoples: Difference, inequality, and the globalization of East African identity politics. *African Affairs*, 105/420: 399-420.
- ILO. 1957. Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957 (No. 107), Convention Concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries. Geneva: International Labour Office.

- ILO. 2003. ILO *Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples*, 1989 [No. 169]: A Manual. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Inaba, N. 2005. The Ise shrine and the Gion festival: Case studies on the values and authenticity of Japanese intangible living religious heritage. In H. Stovel, N. Stanely-Price and R. Killick (eds), Conservation of Living Religious Heritage (ICCROM Conservation Studies 3). 44-57. Rome: ICCROM.
- Irrigation Department. 1949. Matopo National Park: Native settlement. Salisbury: Irrigation Department.
- Jimoh, S. O., Ikyaagba, E. T., Alarape, A. A., Abioha, E. E. and Adeyemi, A. A. 2012. The role of traditional laws and taboos in wildlife conservation in the Oban hill sector of Cross River National Park (CRNP), Nigeria. *J. Hum Ecol*, 39 (3): 209-219.
- Joffroy, T. (ed). 2005. *Traditional Conservation Practices in Africa* (ICCROM Conservation Studies 2). Rome: Italy.
- Jones, N. 1926. *The Stone Age in Rhodesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jopela, A. P. 2010. Traditional Custodianship of Rock Art Sites in Southern Africa: A Case Study from Central Mozambique. Master of Arts Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.
- Jopela, A. P. 2011. Traditional custodianship: A useful framework for heritage management in Southern Africa? *Conservation and Management* of Archaeological Sites, Vol. 13, No. 2-3: 103-122.
- Joy, C. 2011. *The Politics of Heritage Management in Mali. From UNESCO to Djenné*. California: Left Coast Press.
- Katsamudanga, S. 2003. The dilemma of preserving intangible heritage in Zimbabwe. Paper presented at the 14th ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Conference. Victoria Falls: Zimbabwe.
- Kausar, D. R. 2014. Tracing the relevance of Barobudur for socio-economic development through tourism. In J. Kaminski, A. M. Benson and D. Arnold (eds), *Contemporary Issues in Cultural Heritage Tourism:* 200-2018.

- Kayambazintu, D., Matose, F., Kajembe, G. and Nemarundwe, N. 2005. Institutional arrangement governing natural resources management of the Miombo woodland. In G. Kowero, B. M. Campbell and U.R. Sumaila (eds) *Policies and Governance Structures in Woodlands of Southern Africa.* 45-64. Jarkata: Center for International Forestry Research.
- Keough, E. B. 2011. Heritage in peril: A critique of UNESCO's World Heritage Program. *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, Vol. 10, Issue 3: 593-615.
- Kiene, T. 2011. The Legal Protection of Traditional Knowledge in the Pharmaceutical Field: An Intercultural Problem on the International Agenda. Münster: Waxmann Verlag GmbH.
- Kigongo, R. and Reid, A. 2007. Local communities, politics and the management of the Kasubi Tombs, Uganda. *World Archaeology*, Vol. 39, No. 3: 371-384.
- Killick, D. 2009. Cairo-Cape: The spread of metallurgy through eastern and southern Africa. *Journal of World Prehistory*, Vol. 22, No. 4: 399-414.
- King, L. 1948. A theory of bornhadits. The *Geographical Journal*. Vol. 112, No. 1/3: 83-87.
- King, P. S. 1959. *Missions in Southern Rhodesia*. Cape Town: Citadel Press.
- Kinsey, B. H. 1983. Forever gained: Resettlement and land policy in the context of national development in Zimbabwe. In J. D. Y. Peel and T.O. Ranger (eds), *Past and Present in Zimbabwe*. 92-113: Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Klein, R. G. 1983. The Stone Age prehistory of southern Africa. Ann. Rev. Anthropol. 12: 25-48.
- Klein, R. G. 1984. The prehistory of Stone Age herders in South Africa. In J. D. Clark and S. A. Brandt (eds), From Hunters to Farmers: The Causes and Consequences of Food Production in Africa. 281-290. Berkely: University of California Press.
- Kramer, E. 1998. A clash of economies: Early centralisation efforts in colonial Zimbabwe, 1929-1935. *Zambezia* XXV (i): 83-98.
- Kreps, C. 2012. Intangible threads: Curating the living heritage of Dayak Ikat weaving. In M. L. Stefano, P. Davis and G. Corsane (eds), *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*. 177-194. UK: Boydell Press.

- Laher, R. 2014. The past is never just in the past: indigenous peoples and framework for confrontation and redress. In R. Laher and K. Sing'Oei (eds), Indigenous People in Africa: *Contestations, Empowerment and Group Rights.* 149-165. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.
- Lane, P. 2014. Being "Indigenous" and beig "Colonised" in Africa: Contrasting experiences and their implications for a postcolonial archaeology. In N. Ferris, R. Harrison and M.V. Wilcox (eds), *Rethinking Colonial Pasts Through Archaeology*. 423-444. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Layton, R. and Ucko, P. J. 1999. Introduction: Gazing on the landscape and encouraging the environment. In P. J. Ucko and R. Layton (eds), *Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping Your Landscape*. 1-30. London: Routledge.
- Lee, R. B. and Hitchcock, R. K. 2001. African hunter-gatherers: Survival, history and the politics of identity. *African Study Monographs*, *Suppl.* 26: 257-280.
- Lightfoot, C. J. (n.d). *The history and natural resources of the Matopo Hills*. Bulawayo: National Parks and Wildlife Management.
- Lightfoot, C. J. 1980a. The ecology of the Matopo Hills under existing and potential systems of land use. Bulawayo: Natural History Museum.
- Lightfoot, C. J. 1980b. The National Park in terms of Rhodes' Will and Estates. Bulawayo: Natural History Museum.
- Lindgren, B. 2002. Power, education and identity in post-colonial Zimbabwe: The fate of King Lobengula of Matabeleland. *African Sociological Review* 6(1): 46-67.
- Lloyd, M. (ed). 1979. Journey to Gubulawayo. Letters of Frs. H. Depelchin and C. Croonenberghs, S. J. 1879, 1880, 1881. Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia.
- Logan, B. I and Moseley, W. G. 2002. The political ecology of poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). *Geoforum* 33: 1-14.
- Logan, W. 2014. Heritage rights-avoidance and reinforcement. *Heritage and Soceity*, Vol. 7, No. 2: 156-167.

- Lombard, M. 2013. Hunter-gatherers in southern Africa before 20, 000 years ago. In P. Mitchell and L. Paul (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology*. 367-386. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Love, D., Uhlenbrook, S., Nyabeze, W., Owen, R. J. S., Twomlow, S., Savenije, H., Woltering, L. and van der Zaag, P. 2005. Analysis of hydrological change for IWRM planning: Case study of the Mzingwane River, Limpopo Basin, Zimbabwe. 6th Waternet-WARFSA Symposium. Ezulwini: Swaziland.
- Lowry, D. 2004. The granite of the ancient north: Race, nation and empire at Cecil Rhodes' mountain mausoleum and Rhodes House, Oxford. In R. Wrigley and M. Craske (eds), Pantheons: *Transformations of a Monumental Idea*. 193-220. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Lynch, G. 2011. Becoming indigenous in the pursuit of justice: The African commission on human and people's rights and the Endorois. *African Affairs*, Vol. 111, Issue 442: 24-45.
- Machiridza, L. 2008. Developing the Rozvi archaeological identity in south western Zimbabwe. *Journal of the Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe*, No. 28: 21-31.
- Mahachi, G. and Kamuhangire. E. 2008. Administrative arrangements for heritage resources management in sub-Saharan Africa. In W. Ndoro, A. Mumma and G. Abungu (eds), *Cultural Heritage and Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa* (ICCROM Conservation Studies 8). 45-51. Rome: ICCROM.
- Mahachi, G. and Ndoro, W. 1997. The Sociopolitical context of southern African Iron Age studies with special reference to Great Zimbabwe, In G. Pwiti (ed.), *Caves, Monuments and Texts: Zimbabwean Archaeology Today* (Studies in African Archaeology 14). 89-104. Uppsala University: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History.
- Makahamadze, T., Grand, N. and, N. and Tavuyanago, B. 2009. The role of traditional leaders in fostering democracy, justice and human rights in Zimbabwe. *The African Anthropologist*, Vol. 16, Nos. 1-2: 33-47.
- Makumbe, J. 2010. Local authorities and traditional leadership. In J. de Visser, N. Steytler and N. Machingauta (eds), *Local Government Reform in Zimbabwe: A Policy Dialogue*, 87-99. University of the Western Cape: Community Law Centre.

Makuvaza, S. 2007. The colonial legacy in Zimbabwe: community involvement in heritage management and preservation, and some social and economic implications. *Journal of the Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe* 27: 59-68.

- Makuvaza, S. 2008. Why Njelele, a rainmaking shrine in the Matobo world heritage area, Zimbabwe, has not been proclaimed a national monument. *Heritage Management*, Vol. 1, Issue 2: 163-180.
- Makuvaza, S. 2010. Managing the Victoria Falls World Heritage Site: Problems, Stakeholders Views and Possible Solutions. Msc. dissertation, School of Biology and Environmental Science. Ireland: University College Dublin.

Makuvaza, S. 2012. Who owns the Special Area at Victoria Falls World Heritage Site? Political, organizational and governmental interests. *The Historic Environment*, Vol. 3, No. 1: 42-63.

- Makuvaza, S. 2014. From colonialism to independence: the management of cultural heritage in Zimbabwe. In Smith, C. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. 7965-7973. New York: Springer.
- Makuvaza, S. and Burrett, R. 2011. Old Bulawayo (KoBulawayo)-the failure of heritage renewed: Public and state discourses. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 13, Nos. 2-3: 189-211.
- Makuvaza, S. and Hubbard, P. 2012. Obtituary: Edward Sibindi. *Jour*nal of the Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe 30: 2-7.
- Makuvaza, S. and Makuvaza, V. 2012. Empty promises and false hopes: The case of the Matobo Hills cultural world heritage landscape, south western Zimbabwe. *Heritage and Society*, Vol. 5, No. 1: 9-34.
- Makuvaza, S. and Makuvaza, V. 2013. The challenges of managing an archaeological site in a declining economy: The case of Khami World Heritage Site in Zimbabwe. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, No. 3-4, 281-97.
- Mangiza, M. N. D. 1986. Local government and planning in Zimbabwe: An examination of recent changes, with special reference to the provincial regional level. *Third World Planning Review* 8(2): 153-175.
- Manhokwe, L. 2010. Top Down or Bottom Up? District Development Planning in Mudzi District, Zimbabwe. Masters of Arts in Development Studies Thesis. The Hague: International Institute of Social Studies.

- Manyanga, M. 2007. Resilient Landscapes: Socio-Environmental Dynamics in the Shashi-Limpopo Basin, Southern Zimbabwe C. AD 800 to the present (Studies in African Archaeology 11). Uppsala: Department of Archaeology.
- Mapara, J. 2009. Indigenous knowledge systems in Zimbabwe: Juxtaposing postcolonial theory. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1: 139-155.
- Mararike, C. G. 2001. Africa's Heritage: Our Rallying Point: The Case of Zimbabwe's Land Issue. Harare: Best Practices Books.
- Marobela, M. N. 2010. The state, mining and the community: The case of Basarwa of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana. *Labour*, *Capital and Soceity*, Vol. 43, No. 1: 137-154.
- Marshall, Y. 2002. What is community archaeology? *World Archaeology*, 34(2): 211-219.
- Masaka, D. and Chemhuru, M. 2011. Moral dimensions of some Shona taboos (zviera). *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 13, No. 3: 132-148.
- Matenga, E. 2011. The Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe: Archaeological Heritage, Religion and Politics in Post Colonial Zimbabwe and the Return of Cultural Property (Studies in Global Archaeology 16). Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University.
- Matsa, M. and Masimbiti, T. 2014. The Community Share Ownership Trust initiative as a rural development solution in Zimbabwe: The Tongongara experience in Shurugwi district. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 4, No. 8(1): 151-163.
- Maxwell, D. 1999. Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: A Social History of the Hwesa People c. 1870s-1990s. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Maylam, P. 2005. *The Cult of Rhodes. Remembering an Imperialist in Africa.* Cape Town. David Philip Publishers.
- McCartney, M., Butterworth, J., Moriarty, P. and Owen, R. 1998. Comparison of the hydrology of two contrasting headwater catchments in Zimbabwe. In K. Kovar, U. Tappeiner, N.
  E. Peters and R. G. Graig (eds), *Hydrology, Water Resources and Ecology in Headwaters* (Proceedings of the Headwater '98 Conference held at Meran/Merano, Italy). 515-522. IAHS Publi. No. 248.

- McCaskill, D and Rutherford, J. 2005. Indigenous peoples of South-East Asia: Poverty, identity and resistance. In R. Eversole, J. McNeish and A. Cimadamore (eds), *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty: International Perspectives*. 126-157. London: Zed Books.
- McGhee, R. 2008. Aboriginalism and the problems of indigenous archaeology. *American Antiquity* 7(4): 579-597.
- McGregor, J. 2003. The Victoria Falls 1900-1940: Landscape tourism and the geographical imagination. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29 (3): 717-737.
- McNeish, J. A. and Eversole, R. 2005. Introduction: Indigenous peoples and poverty. In R. Eversole, J. A. McNeish and A. D. Cinamadore (eds), *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty: An International Perspective*. 1-26. London: Zed Books.
- McNiven, I. J. and Russel, L. 2005. Appropriated Pasts: *Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology*. California: AltaMira Press.
- Meskell, L. 2010. Human rights and heritage ethics. *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol, 83, No. 4: 839-860.
- Meskell, L. 2012. The Nature of Heritage: The New South Africa. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Mitchell, N. J. 2008. Considering authenticity of cultural landscapes. *Journal of Preservation Technology* 39, 2-3: 25-31.
- Mitchell, P. 1997. Book review: Late Pleistocene and Holocene Hunter-Gatherers of the Matopos: An Archaeological Study of Change and Continuity in Zimbabwe. *The African Archaeological Review*, Vol. 14, No. 4: 257-262.
- Mitchell, P. 2002. *The Archaeology of Southern Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mitchell, P. 2013. Southern African huntergatherers of the last 25,000 years. In P. Mitchell and P. Lane (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology*. 473-488. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miura, K. 2005. Conservation of "living heritage site" a contradiction in terms? A case study of Angkor World Heritage Site. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 7: 3-8.

- Moser S., Glazier, D., Phillips, J. E., el Nemr, L. N., Mousa, M. S., Aiesh, R. N., Richardson, S., Conner, A. and Seymour, M. 2002. Transforming archaeology through practice: Strategies for collaborative archaeology and the community archaeology project at Quseir, Egypt. *World Archaeology*, Vol. 34, No. 2: 220-248.
- Mouiche, I. 2011. Democratisation and political participation of Mbororo in western Cameroon. *Africa Spectrum*, 46 (2): 71-97.
- Moyo, S. 2013. Land reform and redistribution in Zimbabwe since 1980. In Moyo, S. and Chambati, W. (eds) *Land and Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe. Beyond White-Settler Capitalism.* 29-78. Dakar: Senegal.
- Moyo, S., O'Keefe, P. and Sill, M. 1993. *The Southern African Environment*. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.
- Msindo, E. 2010. Social and political responses to colonialism on the margins: Community, chieftaincy and ethnicity in Bulilima-Mangwe, Zimbabwe, 1890-1930. In P. Limb, N. A. Etherington and P. Midgley (eds), *Grappling With the Beast: Indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism*, 1840-1930. 115-156. Leiden: Koninklijke, Brill NV.
- Msindo, E. 2012. Ethnicity in Zimbabwe: *Transformations in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies*, 1860-1990. New York: University of Rochester Press.
- Mudege, N. N. 2008. Ethnography of Knowledge: *The Production of Knowledge in Mupfurudzi Resettlement Scheme*, Zimbabwe. Leiden: Koninklijke NV.
- Mukamuri, B. B., Campbell, B. M. and Kowero, G. 2008. Local organisations and natural resource management in the face of economic hardships: A case study from Zimbabwe. In G. Kowero, B. M. Campbell and U. R. Sumaila (eds), *Policies and Governance Structures in Woodlands of Southern Africa.* 28-44. Jakarta: Center for International Forestry Research.
- Mumma, A. 2003. Legal aspects of cultural landscape protection in Africa. *Cultural Landscapes: The Challenges of Conservation* (World Heritage Papers 7). 156-157. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.
- Mumma, A. 2004. Community-based legal systems and the management of World Heritage Sites. In E. de Merode, R. Smeets and C. Westrik (eds), *Managing a Sustainable Future for the World Heritage* (World Heritage Papers 13). 43-44. Paris: Unesco World Heritage Center.

Munjeri, D. 2005. Legislation and practices: Implications and the way forward. In W. Ndoro and G. Pwiti (eds), *Legal Frameworks for the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Africa* (ICCROM Conservation Studies 5). 2-4. Rome: ICCROM.

- Munjeri, D., Ndoro, W., Sibanda, C., Saouma-Ferero, G., Levi-Strauss, L. and Mbuyamba, L. (eds). 1995. African Cultural Heritage and the World Heritage Convention (First Global Strategy Meeting 11-13 October 1995). Harare: The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe.
- Mupira, P. 2013. Losing and repossessing land and ancestral landscapes: Archaeology and land reforms in the eastern highlands of Zimbabwe. In M. Relaki and D. Catapoli (eds) An Archaeology of Land Ownership (Routledge Studies in Archaeology), 192-217: New York: Routledge.
- Murimbika, M. and Moyo, B. 2008. Archaeology and donor aid in the 'developing world': The case for local heritage in Zimbabwe. In F. P. McManamon, A. Stout and J. A. Barnes (eds), *Managing Archaeological Resources: Global Context, National Programs, Local Actions (One World Archaeology 58*). 87-106. California: Left Coast Press.
- Murindagomo, F. 1990. CAMPFIRE Program (Dande Communal Lands)-Zimbabwe. In A. Kiss (ed.), *Living With Wildlife: Wildlife Resource Management with Local Participation in Africa* (World Bank Technical Paper Number 130). 123-139. Washington D.C: World Bank.
- Muringaniza, J. S. 2002. Heritage that hurts: The case of the grave of Cecil John Rhodes in the Matopos National Park, Zimbabwe. In C. Ffodge, J. Hubert and P. Turnbull (eds), *The Dead and their Possessions: The Repatriation in Principle, Policy and Practice* (One World Archaeology 43). 317-328. London: Routledge.
- Murray, C. A. 1946. Report on Survey of the Matopo National Park. Bulawayo: Natural History Museum.
- Murray, P. 2013. *Zimbabwe* (2nd Edn). Guilford, USA: The Globe Pequot Press.
- Musonda, S. 2005. Customary systems of heritage conservation: The Barotseland experience, Zambia. In W. Ndoro and G. Pwiti (eds), *Legal Frameworks for the Restoration of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Africa* (ICCROM Conservation Studies 5). 2-4. Rome: ICCROM.

- Naeem, A. 2013. The conflict of ideologies and ambiguities in conservation policy: A legacy of shared built heritage in Pakistan. In K. D. Silva and N. Chapagain (eds), Asian Heritage Management: Contexts, Concerns and Prospects. 87-104. Oxford/New York: Routledge.
- National Parks and Wildlife Management. 2000. *Rhodes Matopo National Park Management Plan.* Harare: Ministry of Environment and Tourism.
- Ndagala, D. K. and Zengu, N. 1989. From the raw to the cooked. Hadzabe perceptions of their past. In R. Layton (ed.), *Who needs the Past? Indigenous Values and Archaeology* (One World Archaeology 5). 51-46. London: Routledge.
- Ndahinda, F. M. 2011. Indigenousness in Africa: A Contested Legal Framework for Empowerment of "Marginalised" Communities. The Hague: T. M. C. Asser Press.
- Ndlovu, N. 2005. Incorporating Indigenous Management in Rock Art Sites. Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts. South Africa: Rhodes University.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2009a. *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on Hegemony, Memory and Historiography.* Amsterdam: Rozenburg Publishers.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2009b. Mapping cultural and colonial encounters, 1880s-1930s. In B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds), Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008. 39-74. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Ndoro, W. 2004. Traditional and customary heritage systems: Nostalgia or reality? The implications of managing heritage sites in Africa. In E. de Merode, R. Smeets and C. Westrik (eds), *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage* (World Heritage Papers 13). 81-84. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.
- Ndoro, W. 2005. *The Preservation of Great Zimbabwe: Your Monument Our Shrine* (ICCROM Conservation Studies 4). Rome: ICCROM.
- Ndoro, W., Mumma, A. and Abungu, G. (eds). 2008. Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa (ICCROM Conservation Studies 8). Rome: ICCROM.

Ndzimu-unami, E. 2012. *The Rebirth of Bukalanga: A Manifesto for the Liberation of a Great People with a Proud History Part 1*. Plumtree: Mapungubwe Newscorporation.

Newitt, M. 1995. *A History of Mozambique*. London: Hurst and Company.

- Ngara, T., Zhakata, W., Mugova, V., Makunike, B. and Musingarabwi, S. 1998. The Atmosphere. In M. Chenje, L. Sola and D. Paleczny (eds), *The State of Zimbabwe's Environment*. 101-137. Harare: Ministry of Mines, Environment and Tourism.
- Nicholas, G. 2008. Native peoples and archaeology (indigenous archaeology). In D. Pearsall (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, Vol. 3. 1660-1669. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Niezen, R. 2003. *The Origins of Indigenism. Human Rights and the Politics of Identity.* California: University of California Press.
- Night, P. 2003. *Conspiracy Theories in American History*. California: ABC-CLIO.
- Nkomazana, F. 2006. Rural churches in Botswana: A case study of Jakalasi 2 village. Scriptura 93: 352-369.
- Nobbs, E. 1920. Proposal report to establish a National Park in Matopos. Bulawayo: Natural History Museum.
- Nobbs, E. A. 1924. *Guide to the Matopos*. Cape Town: T. Maskew Miller.
- Northolt, S. A. 2008. *Fields of Fire: An Atlas of Ethnic Conflicts*. London: Stuart Nothold Communications Ltd.
- Nthoi, L. S. 2006. *Contesting Sacred Space: A Pilgrimage Study of the Mwali Cult of Southern Africa*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Nyamapfene, K. W. 1989. Adaptation to marginal land amongst peasant farmers of Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol. 15, No. 2: 384-389.
- Nyathi, P. and Ndiweni, B. 2005. A living religious shrine under siege: The Njelele shrine/King Mzilikazi's grave and conflicting demands on the Matopo Hills area of Zimbabwe. In H. Stovel, N. Stanely-Price and R. Killick (eds), *Conservation of Living Religious Heritage* (ICCROM Conservation Studies 3). 58-66. Rome: ICCROM.

- Oduro, T. 2006. Theological education and training: Challenges of African Instituted Church in Ghana. *Journal of African Instituted Church Theology*, Vol. 2, No. 1:1-15.
- Ohmagari, K. and Berkes, F. 1997. Transmission of indigenous knowledge and bush skills among the Western James Bay Cree women of subarctic Canada. *Human Ecology* 25: 197-222.
- Oliver, R. and Atmore, A. 2005. *Africa Since 1800* (5th Ed). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Omer-Cooper, J. D. 1966. *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*. London: Longman.
- Palgrave, K. C. 1977. *Trees of Southern Africa*. Cape Town: Struik Publishers.
- Palmer, E. 1977. *A Field Guide to the Trees of Southern Africa* (2nd edn.). Johannesburg: William Collins Sons and Co. Ltd.
- Palmer, E. and Pitman, N. 1972. *Trees of Southern Africa*, Vol. 3. Cape Town: Struik Publishers.
- Pelican, M. 2008. *Mbororo claims to regional citizenship and minority status in north-west Cameroon*. Africa. Volume 78, Issue 4: 540-560.
- Pelican, M. and Maruyana, J. 2015. The indigenous rights movement in Africa: Perspectives from Botswana and Cameroon. *African Study Monographs*, 36 (1): 49-74.
- Phillipson, D. W. 1985. *African Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phillipson, D. W. 2005. *African Archaeology* (3rd edn). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pikirayi, I. 1993. The Archaeological Identity of the Mutapa State: Towards an Historical Archaeology of Northern Zimbabwe (Studies in African Archaeology 6). Uppsala: Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis.
- Pikirayi, I. 1997. The pottery of the historical Mutapa state. *Zimbabwea* 5. 30-47.
- Pikirayi, I. 2001. *The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins* and Decline of Southern Zambezia States. California: AltaMira Press.
- Pikirayi, I. 2006. The demise of Great Zimbabwe, AD 1420-1550: an environmental re-appraisal. In A. Green and R. Leech (eds), *Cities in the World*, 1500-2000. 31-47. Leeds: Maney Publishing.

- Pikirayi, I. 2011. Tradition, Archaeological Heritage Protection and Communities in the Limpopo Province of South Africa. Addis Ababa: OSSREA.
- Pikirayi, I. 2014. Theoretical directions in Zimbabwean archaeology. Paper presented at the 1st Annual Conference of Zimbabwe Association of Professional Archaeologists and Related Disciplines (ZAPARD), 12-14 December. Masvingo: Great Zimbabwe Conservation Center.
- Pwiti, G and Ndoro, W. 1999. The legacy of colonialism: Perceptions of the cultural heritage in southern Africa, with special reference to Zimbabwe. *African Archaeological Review*, Vol. 16, No. 3: 143-153.
- Pwiti, G. 1991. Trade and economies in southern Africa: The archaeological evidence. *Zimbabwea*, No. 3: 51-56.
- Pwiti, G. 1996. Continuity and Change: An Archaeological Study of Early Farming Communities in Northern Zimbabwe (Studies in African Archaeology 13). Uppsala: Department of Archaeology.
- Pwiti, G. 1997. Taking African cultural heritage management into the twenty-first century: Zimbabwe's master plan for cultural heritage management. *African Archaeological Review* 14: 81-3.
- Pwiti, G. and Mvenge, G. 1996. Archaeologists, Tourists and Rainmakers: Problems in the Management of Rock Art sites in Zimbabwe. A case study of Domboshava National Monument. In G. Pwiti and R. Soper (eds), Aspects of African Archaeology. 817-24. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Pwiti, G. and Ndoro, W. 2014. *The Archaeological Heritage of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ranger, T. 1996. Great spaces washed with sun. The Matopos and Uluru compared. In K. Qarian-Smith, L. Ganner and S. Nuttal (eds), *Text*, *Theory, Space, Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia*. 157-172. London: Routledge.
- Ranger, T. 1997. Taking hold of the land: Holy places and pilgrimages in twentieth-century Zimbabwe. *Past and Present*, No. 117: 158-194.
- Ranger, T. 1999. Voices from the Rocks: Nature Culture and History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe. Harare: Baobab.

- Ranger, T. 2001. Priestesses and environment in Zimbabwe. In A. Low and S. Tremayne (eds), *Women as Sacred Custodians of the Earth? Women, Spirituality and the Environment.* 95-106. New York: Begergham Books.
- Ranger, T. 2004. Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation: The struggle over the past in Zimbabwe. *Journal* of Southern African Studies 30. Number 2: 215-234.
- Ranger, T. 2012. *Malindadzimu* (with contributions by Hubbard, P., Burret, R. and Chennels, A.). Bulawayo: Khami Press.
- Ransford, O. 1968. *Bulawayo: Historical Battleground of Rhodesia.* Cape Town: Howard Timmins.
- Rasmussen, K. R. 1978. *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa*. London: Rex Collings.
- Reynolds, D. A. 1983. *An Introduction to Law.* Harare: The Government Printer.
- Robinson, K. R. 1959. *Khami Ruins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, K. R. 1961. Archaeological report in Rhodesian Schoolboys' Exploration Society Expedition to Buffalo Bend. Salisbury.
- Robinson, K. R. 1966. Bambata ware: Its position in the Rhodesian Iron Age in the light of recent evidence. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 21, No. 82: 81-85.
- Robinson, K. R. and Cooke, C. K. 1950. Some unusual elements in the Wilton industry in the Matopos area of Southern Rhodesia. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 19: 108-114.
- Rössler, M. 2003. Linking nature and culture: World heritage cultural landscapes. *Cultural Landscapes: The Challenges of Conservation*. 10-15. Paris: UNESCO.
- Ruwitah, A. 1997 Lost tribe, lost language? The invention of the false Remba identity, *Zimbabwea*, No. 5: 53-71.
- Sadr, K. 2005. Hunter-gatherers and herders of the Kalahari during the late Holecene. In P. Veth, M. Smith and P. Hiscock (eds), *Desert Peoples: Archaeological Perspectives*. 206-221. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Saugestad, S. 2004. The indigenous peoples of southern Africa: An overview. In R. K. Hitchcock and D. Vinding (eds), *Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Southern Africa*. 22-43. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.

- Sawyer, S. and Gomez, T. 2012. Indigenous identity and a language of rights. In S. Sawyer and T. Gomez (eds), *The Politics of Resource Extraction: Indigenous Peoples, Multinational Corporations and the State.* 9-32. England: Palgrave MaCMillan.
- Scarnecchia, T. 2011. Rationalizing "Gukurahundi": cold war and South African foreign relations with Zimbabwe, 1981-1983. Kronos No. 37, *Rethinking Cold War History in Southern Africa*: 87-103.
- Schrire, C. 1980. An inquiry into the evolutionary status and apparent identity of San huntergatherers. *Human Ecology*, Vol. 8, No. 1: 9-32.
- Segobye, A. K. 2005. Weaving fragments of the past for a united Africa: Reflections on the place of African archaeology in the development of the continent in the 21st century. South African *Archaeological Bulletin* 60 (182): 79-83.
- Segobye, A. K. 2006. Divided commons: The political economy of southern Africa's cultural heritage landscapes-observations of the central Kalahari Game Reserve, Botswana. *Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*, Vol. 2, No. 1: 52-72.
- Shephered, N. 2006. Local practice, global discipline. *Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*, Vol. 2, No. 1: 1-2.
- Shutt, A. K. and King, T. 2005. Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes centenary exhibition in Southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 3(2): 357-379.
- Silverman, H. 2011. Border wars: The ongoing temple dispute between Thailand and Cambodia and UNESCO's World Heritage List. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17 (1): 1-21.
- Silverman, H. and Ruggles, D. F. 2007. Cultural heritage and human rights. In H. Silverman and D. F. Ruggles (eds), *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights.* 3-20. New York: Springer.
- Simons, H. A. B. 1968. A Late Stone Age occupation in the Hillside area of Bulawayo. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 23, No. 90: 45-49.

- Sinclair, P. J. J., Thurstan, S. and Bassey, A. 1983. Introduction. In S. Thurstan, P. Sinclair, A. Bassey and A. Okpoko (eds), *The Archaeology* of Africa: Food Metals and Towns (One World Archaeology 20). 1-42. London: Routledge.
- Singleton, T. A. and Orser, C. E. (Jr). 2003. Descent communities: Linking people in the present to the past. In L. J. Zimmerman, K. D. Vitteli and J. Hollowell-Zimmer (eds), *Ethical Issues in Archaeology*. 143-152. California: AltaMira Press.
- Smith, L. T. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: ZedBooks Ltd.
- Smith, R. M. 1977. Movement patterns and feeding behaviour of leopard in the Rhodes Matopos National Park, Rhodesia. Arnoldia 8(13): 1-16.
- Sørensen, M. L. S. and Carman, J. (eds). 2009. *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Special Committee. 1949. *Report of a survey of the carrying capacity of the Matopo National Park.* Bulawayo: Natural History Museum.
- Stead, W. T. (ed). 1902. The Last Will and Testament of Cecil John Rhodes with Elucidating Notes to which are Added Some Chapters Describing the Political and Religious Ideas of the Testator. London: Norfolk Street, W.C.
- Stocker, M. 1979. The Rudd Concession: A reappraisal of an intricate controversy. *Zimbabwean History* X: 219-220.
- Stovel, H. 2005. Introduction. In H. Stovel, N. Stanely-Price and R. Killick (eds), *Conservation* of Living Religious Heritage (Papers from the ICCROM 2003 Forum on Living Religious Heritage: Conserving the Sacred) (ICCROM Conservation Studies 3). 1-11. Rome: ICCROM.
- Sullivan, S. 2004. Local involvement and traditional practices in the world heritage system. In E. de Merode, R. Smeets and C. Westrik (eds), *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage* (World Heritage Papers 13). 49-55. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.
- Summers, R and Cooke, C. K. 1959. An Archaeological Survey of Southern Rhodesia: Supplement to the Annual Report of the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics. Bulawayo: The Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics.

Summers, R. 1955. *Notes on a Tentative Correlation* of Southern African Stone Age cultures. London: Annual Report of the Institute of Archaeology.

Sylvain, R. 2002. Land, water, and truth: San identity and global indigenism. *American Anthropologist*, 104(4): 1,074–85.

Taylor, J. J. 2007. Celebrating San victory too soon? Reflections on the outcome of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve case. *Anthropology Today*, Vol 23, No. 5: 3-5.

Technical Committee. 2004. Management Plan for the Proposed Matobo Hills World Heritage Area. Harare: The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe.

Thebe, P. C. 2006. Intangible heritage management, does the World Heritage listing help? In N. Agnew and J. Bridgland (eds), *Of the Past, for the Future: Integrating Archaeology and Conservation:* 312–321. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Timberlake, J., Fagg, C. and Barnes, R. 1999. *Field Guide to the Acacias of Zimbabwe*. Harare: CBC Publishing.

Tredgold, R. (ed). 1956. The Matopos: *A Revised edition of A Guide to the Matopos* (E.A Nobbs 1924). Lusaka: The Federal Department of Printing and Stationery.

Twidale, C. R. 1981. Granitic inselbergs: Domed, block-strewn and castellated. *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 147, No 1: 54-71.

Twidale, C. R. 1982. The evolution of bornhardits: The nature of these dramatic landforms that rise abruptly from flat plains is now beginning to be more fully understood. *American Scientist*, Vol. 70, No. 3: 268-276.

Twidale, C. R. 1986. Granite platforms and low domes: Newly exposed compartments or degraded remnants? *Geografiska Annaler. Series A, Physical Geography*, Vol. 68, No. 4: 399-411.

Tyson, P. D. and Lindsay, J. A. 1992. The climate of the last 2000 years in Southern Africa. *Holecene* 2(3): 271-278.

Tyson, P. D., Karlen, W. Holmgren, K. and Heiss, G. A. 2000. The Little Ice Age and medieval warming in South Africa. *South African Journal of Science* 96: 121-126.

UNESCO. 2003. Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre. UNESCO. 2008. Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention: Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

United Nations. 2009. State of the World's Indigenous Peoples: Economic and Social Affairs. New York: United Nations Publications.

Urbina, S. 2002. *Legal Method and the Rule of Law.* The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

Vansina, J. 1995. New linguistic evidence and the Bantu expansion. *Journal of African History* 36 (2): 173-195.

van Doornum, B. 2008. Sheltered from change: hunter-gatherer occupation of Balerno Main Shelter, Shashe-Limpopo confluence area, South Africa. *Southern African Humanities*, Vol. 20: 249-284.

Vincent, V. and Thomas, R. G. 1961. An Agricultural Survey of Southern Rhodesia: Part I: Agro-Ecological Survey. Salisbury: Government Printer.

Vinnicombe, P. 1966. *The early recording and presentation of rock paintings in South Africa. Studies in Speleology* 1 (4): 153-162.

Wachira, G. M. 2012. Rights of indigenous peoples in Africa. In M. Ssenyonjo (ed.), *The African Regional Human Rights System: 30 years After the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.* 195-212. Leiden: Martnus Nijhoff Publishers.

Wadley, L. 1993. Late Pleistocene Later Stone Age south of the Limpopo River. *Journal of the World Prehistory*, Vol. 7, No. 3: 243-296.

Wadley, L. 2015. Those marvellous: the Middle Stone Age of Southern Africa. *Azania*, Vol. 50, No. 2: 155-226.

Walker, N. 1980. Later Stone Age research in the Matopos. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 131: 19-24.

Walker, N. 1983. The significance of an early date for pottery and sheep in Zimbabwe. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 38, No. 138: 88-92.

Walker, N. 1991. Excavations and re-examination of some Stone Age sites in the Matopos. *Zimbabwe* No. 3: 5-22.

- Walker, N. 1995. Late Pleistocene and Holocene Hunter-Gatherers of the Matopos. An Archaeological Study of Change and Continuity in Zimbabwe. Uppsala: Soceitas Archaeologica Upsaliensis.
- Walker, N. 1996. *The Painted Hills: Rock Art of the Matopos* (A Guidebook). Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Walker, N. and Thorp, C. 1997. Stone Age archaeology in Zimbabwe. In G. Pwiti (ed.), *Caves, Monuments and Text: Zimbabwean Archaeology Today* (Studies in African archaeology 14). 9-32. Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Ward, V. 1997. A century of change: Rock art deterioration in the Natal Drakensberg, South Africa. *Natal Museum Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 9: 75-97.
- Watkins, J. 2000. Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.
- Weinrich, A. K. H. 1973. *Black and White Elites in Rural Rhodesia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Weitzer, R. 1990. Transforming Settler States: Community Conflict and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wels, H. 2003. Private Wildlife Conservation in Zimbabwe: Joint Ventures and Reprocity. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Welz, M. 2013. Integrating Africa: Decolonization's Legacies, Sovereignty and the African Union. Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- Werbner, R. P. 1989. *Ritual Passage, Sacred Journey: The Form, Process and Organisation of Religious Movement*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Willems, J. H. W. 2014. The future of world heritage and the emergency of transnational heritage regimes. *Heritage and Society*, Vol. 7, No. 2: 105-120.
- Willems, J. H. W. and Comer, D. 2011. Africa, archaeology and world heritage. *Conservation* and Management of Archaeological Sites, Vol. 13, Nos. 2-1: 160-73.
- Woodhouse, H. C. 1969. Rock paintings of southern Africa. *African Arts*, Vol. 2, No. 3: 44-49.

- Zubieta, L. F. 2006. *The Rock Art of Mwana* waChentcherere II Rock Shelter, Malawi: A Site Specific Study of Girls' Initiation Rock Art. Leiden: African Studies Center.
- Zvobgo, C. J. M. 1996. *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe* 1890-1939. Gweru: Mambo Press.

#### **NEWSPAPERS**

The Chronicle, Zimbabwe

- 1995. Departments to share park proceeds. 11 November. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.
- 1995. Fewer locals now visit Matopo Park. 30 October. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.
- 1995. High fees at park cause concern. 22 August. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.
- 1995. Review park fees. 31 October. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.
- 1995. Support for single entry fee to Matopos. 21 October. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.
- 1998. Settlers agree to vacate estate. 15 September. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.
- 1999. Rock art paintings threatened. 6 September. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.

#### THE SUNDAY NEWS, ZIMBABWE

- 1998. Rhodes-a constant thorn in the side of the locals. 6 September. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.
- 1998. Settlers occupy Matopos estate. 18 July. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.
- 1998. Call to plough back Rhodes Estate profits. 13 September. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.
- 1998. "Warlord" lobbies to remove Rhodes' grave. 13 December. Bulawayo: Zimbabwe.

#### **INTERVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS**

Chief Malaki Masuku, Personal Interview, Mtwakazi, March 7, 2015.

Chief Mathe, Personal Interview, Silobi Townhsip, August 16, 2014.

Dube Livingstone, Group Discussion, Fumugwe Township, April 8, 2014.

Dube Sipho, Personal Interview, Tshapo Business Center, April 7, 2014.

Headman Ncube, Personal Interview, Ntunjambili Township, August 15, 2014.

Headman Zibuyeni Ncube, Personal Interview, Empandeni, August 20, 2014.

Hubbard Paul, Email Interview, January 26, 2014.

Khumalo Muzi, Personal Interview, Kezi, August 15, 2014.

Lunga Tha, Personal Interview, Amagagu International Heritage Center, April 7, 2014.

Mahlangu Timothy, Group Discussion, Fumugwe Township, April 8, 2014.

Malinga Cecilia, Personal Interview, Lucydale Farm, April 8, 2014.

Masuku Witness, Personal Interview, Ebunyonyeni Village, August 15, 2014.

Misheck Dube, Personal Interview, Amagugu International Heritage Center, April 8, 2014.

Moyo Micah, Personal Interview, Dewe Village, June 26, 2014.

Moyo Mukhululi, Personal Interview, Gulati Township, August 15, 2014.

Moyo Themba, Personal Interview, Lushumbe Primary School, June 21, 2014.

Moyo Widy, Group Discussion, Fumugwe Township, 8 April 2014.

Mpofu Cleopas, Personal Interview, Ntunjambili Township, August 15, 2014.

Mundy Peter, Personal Interview, National University of Science and Technology, June 6, 2014.

Mthunzi Zweli, Personal Interview, Dula Village, August 16, 2014.

Ncube Charles, Personal Interview, Natisa Township, April 14, 2014.

Ncube Mark, Personal Interview, Bulawayo, March 13, 2014.

Ncube Tsimba Fili, Personal Interview, Amagugu International Heritage Center, April 7, 2014.

Ndlovu Jeffrey, Personal Inteview, Empandeni Mission, August 20, 2014.

Ndlovu Somandla, Personal Interview, Silozwe Townhsip, June 26, 2014.

Ngwenya Onenia, Group Interview, Fumugwe Township, April 8, 2014.

Nyathi Pathisa, Amagugu International Heritage Center, March 10, 2014.

Pwiti Gilbert, Discussions and Email Interview, University of Zimbabwe, August 6, 2014.

Sibanda Mabuthelela, Personal Interview, Ezinyangeni Village, August 15, 2014.

Sibanda Ndawana, Personal Interview, Ezinyangeni Village, August 15, 2014.

Sibanda Nkululeko, Group Discussion, Fumugwe Township, April 8, 2014.

Sibanda Singobile, Personal Interview, Ntunjambili Township, August 15, 2014.

Stephens Gavin, Personal Interview, Bulawayo, August 8, 2014.

Jabulani Moyo, Group Discussion, Fumugwe Township, April 8, 2014.

## **Curriculum Vitae**

Simon Makuvaza was born on 29 April 1972 at Gutu Mission hospital in Zimbabwe. Makuvaza is currently employed as a Research Fellow at the National University of Science and Technology in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. He previously worked as a lecturer of archaeology (January-September 2011) at the Catholic University of Malawi in Limbe. From 1997 to 2010, he also had worked as an archaeologist for the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe.

Makuvaza holds an Msc in World Heritage Management (2010) from the University College Dublin in Ireland and a General Masters in Business Adminstration (2006) from the National University of Science and Technology in Bulawayo. Makuvaza further hold a Bachelor of Arts Special Honours Degree in Archaeology and a Bachelor of Arts General Degree that he both attained from the University of Zimbabwe in 2001 and in 1996 respectively.

Makuvaza has published widely in Zimbabwean and international journals on archaeology and heritage management. He is also the editor of The Managament of Cultural World Heritage Sites and Development in Africa: History, Nomination Processes and Representation on the World Heritage List, Springer (2014). His research interests are archaeological heritage management, world heritage management and heritage and local indigenous communities.