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## **RESEARCH ARTICLE**

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# A strategy to alleviate poverty in the Matobo Hills World Heritage Site of Zimbabwe.

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## ABSTRACT

World Heritage Sites (WHSs) are places of outstanding universal significance with a crucial role to perform in sustainable development (SD) particularly the aspect of eradicating poverty. As such WHSs are not only meant to serve global interests in tourism and conservation but have an additional mandate to meet the social and economic needs of local communities wallowing in poverty. Matobo Hills World Heritage Site (WHS) in southwestern Zimbabwe has potential to promote the SD Goal 1 (SDG1) which seeks to eradicate poverty in all its forms and dimensions by 2030. The idea of eradicating poverty is noble and in line with the global SD Agenda, but the question is on whether WHSs can fulfil this function. This paper assesses the possibilities and challenges of eradicating poverty in local communities around Matobo Hills WHS. It analyses the social and economic opportunities that Matobo Hills WHS presents and if at all these suffice to eradicate or ameliorate poverty. This research established that it is challenging for WHSs to eradicate poverty in its entirety in a community and in a nation. The multidimensional nature of poverty presents a wide array of aspects that include the socio-cultural, economic, political, and environmental aspects of human life which cannot be adequately addressed through use of a single WHS. As a result, the need to sustain the physical landscape of Matobo Hills WHS takes precedence over fulfilling the international obligations to eradicate poverty in its entirety. This paper therefore recommends that generalisations made at a global scale need to be weighed in at national and local levels to ascertain how much heritage can offer to the people in relation to eradicating poverty in Zimbabwe. This would ensure that efforts to eradicate poverty are realistically placed within the capacity of a given WHS.

**KEYWORDS:** World Heritage Sites, sustainable development, poverty alleviation, local communities

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#### Introduction

World Heritage Sites (WHSs) constitute collective heritage for all humanity and these sites contribute to global conservation of areas of natural and cultural significance (Borges *et al*, 2011). Zimbabwe, as a signatory to the 1972 World Heritage Convention, has a dual mandate to safeguard Outstanding Universal Values (OUVs) in Matobo Hills at the same time tapping into the potential of the WHS to contribute to Sustainable Development (SD). At the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg, world leaders reaffirmed that SD was an international priority in eradicating poverty. Eradicating poverty was the primary goal in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Fisher *et al*, 2008) and continued as a priority in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The 2002 Johannesburg Declaration on World Heritage and Sustainable Development in Africa endorsed the management of heritage as an important tool to promote SD and poverty alleviation. Since SD is a broad concept, this paper narrows its focus to SD Goal 1 (SDG1) that aims at eradicating poverty and its multiple dimensions by 2030. The objective of this paper is to assess how Matobo Hills contributes to the SD agenda of eradicating poverty through promoting inclusive social and economic development.

The findings in this paper were part of a qualitative research conducted in Matobo Hills between 2015 and 2018. Data was gathered mainly through interviews, focus group discussions, field surveys and document analysis. The respondents were from local communities surrounding Matobo Hills WHS, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZPWMA) and the Matobo and Umzingwane Rural District Councils. The actual names of the respondents were withheld as part of ethical considerations made in this paper.

## The concepts of sustainable development and poverty

Sustainable development (SD) is commonly defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987). The concept of SD was initially highlighted in literature published by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) in 1980 known as the 'World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development'(Rao, 2000; Sachs, 2015). The General Assembly of the IUCN together with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) set to develop new strategy for promoting

human welfare, animal and habitat conservation (Blewitt, 2015). The Strategy emphasised how human beings, in their economic pursuit, need to come to terms with limits to resource use and carrying capacity of ecosystems for the sake of future generations (Sachs, 2015). The publication of the World Conservation Strategy by IUCN presented a somewhat 'new perspective' to the global arena where SD was hailed as an ideal future practice (Blewitt, 2015). Earlier in 1987, the Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), commonly accepted as the Brundtland Report, had aroused world interest in SD by providing new thinking specifically in areas of intergenerational equity, the fight against poverty and north-south justice which also informs contemporary debates on SD (Rao, 2000; Grober, 2015). As such the pursuit for SD became the ideal model for the global community including practitioners in the heritage industry.

The goals and conditions to achieve sustainable use of WHSs are summed in the preamble of the 1972 World Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Albert, 2015). This Convention mandates States Parties to safeguard heritage of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) for the benefit of all humanity and future generations (Munjeri, 2008). The concern for future generations is premised on the principle of intergenerational equity which is summed in the concept of SD. Although inferences can be made on the notion of SD in the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the use of the term 'sustainable development' was not explicit in this Convention. The formal inclusion of the SD agenda into the World Heritage Convention was deliberated by the World Heritage Committee at its 34<sup>th</sup> session held in Brazil in 2010. At this forum the World Heritage Committee agreed to consider the implementation of policies and procedures that maintain OUVs of properties whilst promoting SD (Decision 34 COM 5D) (paragraphs 2 and 3). In Decision 35 COM 12B (paragraphs 11 and 12), the World Heritage Committee resolved to complement 'Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention' with a policy document that integrates principles of SD in the management systems of World Heritage whilst maintaining the OUVs (Carmosino, 2013). This decision culminated in the formation of the 'Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention' which was adopted in 2015 by the General Assembly of the States Parties to the Convention at its 20<sup>th</sup> session held in Paris. This Policy therefore stands as a guide on how

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to harness World Heritage into the global SD agenda whilst respecting the OUVs of World Heritage properties.

Paragraph 24 of the 'Policy for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Process of the World Heritage Convention' (UNESCO, 2015:8-9) states that,

"World Heritage properties, as cultural and natural heritage in general, offer great potential to alleviate poverty and enhance sustainable livelihoods of local communities, including those of marginalized populations. Recognising that poverty eradication is one of the greatest challenges facing the world today and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development and well-being of present and future generations, the Convention should therefore contribute to promoting sustainable forms of inclusive and equitable economic development, productive and decent employment and income generating activities for all, while fully respecting the OUV of World Heritage properties".

The above provision indicates that Zimbabwe as a signatory to the 1972 World Heritage Convention has a mandate to safeguard OUVs in Matobo Hills and ensure the property contributes to poverty eradication. Poverty is a pronounced state of deprivation in well-being which is accelerated by economic, political and social processes that interact with each other in ways that further deprive the poor (World Bank, 2001). Poverty is therefore linked to an interplay of social, economic and political factors that further affect the welfare of the poor.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2001:18) explains that,

"Poverty is multi-dimensional, and dimensions include consideration for human capabilities: economic (income, livelihoods, decent work), human (health, education), political (empowerment, rights, voice), socio-cultural (status, dignity) and protective (insecurity, risk, vulnerability). Mainstreaming gender is essential for reducing poverty in all its dimensions. And sustaining the natural resource base is essential for poverty reduction to endure". The multidimensional approach considers different facets of poverty which include one's socio-cultural, economic, environmental, protective, and political well-being. The different dimensions of poverty need to be satisfied in order to eradicate poverty in a given community. Sachs (2015) describes extreme poverty as being multi-dimensional in nature since it covers inability to meet basic human needs to acquire food, shelter, education, safe energy, health, water, sanitation, and a livelihood. This multidimensional approach broadens the traditional understanding of what poverty is in Africa whereby poverty and calamities are greatly linked to supernatural phenomena and human faltering (Mbiti, 1979; Magesa, 1997). Therefore, there is an economic and a spiritual way of understanding poverty in Africa. The World Heritage Committee being guided by the multidimensional approach attests that World Heritage plays a crucial role in advancing the SD agenda to eradicate poverty in all its dimensions by 2030 (UNESCO, 2015). This paper assesses this view paying attention to Matobo Hills.

## Brief description of Matobo Hills World Heritage Site

Matobo Hills WHS is situated approximately 30-35 kilometres outside the city of Bulawayo in Matabeleland South Province. This landscape consists of grasslands, woodlands, kopje vegetation and it is a sanctuary for diverse species of wildlife such as reptiles, invertebrates, amphibians and mammals (Walker, 1995; Sagonda and Pegg, 2015). The availability of natural resources has managed to accommodate and attract people of different backgrounds to Matobo Hills (Hyland and Umenne, 2005). Matobo Hills has a long and continuous history of human occupation from the Stone Age and Iron Age periods up to the present. Generations of San populations painted the Matopos and evidence of cave painting is dated to over ten thousand years ago (Ranger, 1999). An estimate of about 3500 rock art sites are found in the Matobo Hills (Kumirai *et al.*, 2001). The Stone Age communities were believed to have been displaced and replaced by the Iron Age communities, the Bantu speaking communities in the second millennium AD (Muringaniza, 2004). Matobo Hills was occupied by indigenous African communities prior to the colonisation of African countries.

Matobo Hills is a burial ground of King Mzilikazi who was buried in a cave after his death in 1868. In 1896 that Rhodes stumbled upon Matobo Hills and identified the area as a place for his burial and this came to pass in 1902 when he was buried at World's View. The place became a burial ground for other white

soldiers such as Allan Wilson and a memorial to the 'Brave Men' was erected (Ranger, 1999). White settlers left a mark that changed the history and aura of the Matobo Hills. Matobo Hills came to be regarded as dangerous primarily because of the presence of Mwali cult and the vast numbers of guerrillas visiting the shrine for guidance (Ranger, 1999). After attaining political independence in 1980, Matobo Hills continued to be viewed as a place of spiritual and national historic significance in times of peace and even war in Zimbabwe. Matobo rocks are continuously hailed as the seat of God with Njelele being the most conspicuous shrine. The archaeological, historic and cultural features in Matobo Hills reflect different memoirs of human experiences within the cultural landscape (*see* Figure 1).

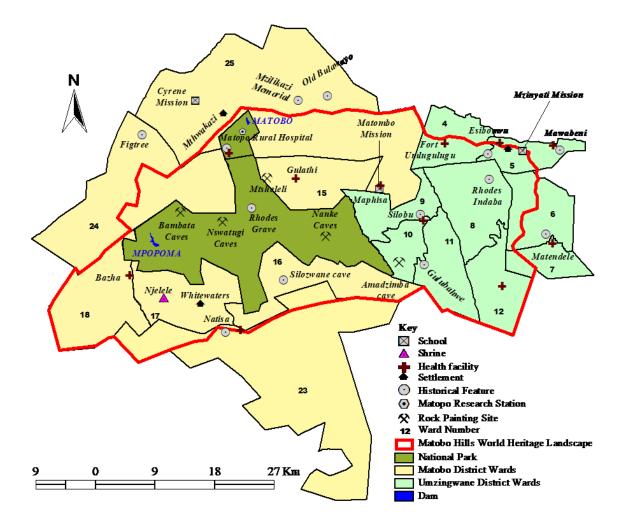


Fig.1: Archaeological, historic, and cultural features in Matobo Hills WHS. (Source, Midlands State University).

Matobo Hills was declared a World Heritage Landscape in 2003 under the 1972 World Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The inscription of Matobo Hills to the World Heritage List was based on criteria iii, v, and vi (Mitchell et al., 2009). The total area designated under World Heritage Landscape is 3 100 square kilometres including a buffer zone of 1050 square kilometres (Matobo Hills World Heritage Landscape Management Plan, 2015-2019). The management of Matobo Hills is largely entrusted to NMMZ which is responsible for managing museums, historical and archaeological sites whilst ZPWMA is responsible for managing the natural resources within this landscape (Matobo Hills World Heritage Landscape Management Plan, 2015-2019). The City of Bulawayo has also committed to localising SDGs working closely with Environmental Management Agency (EMA) and other agencies in order to preserve and protect the natural environment (Ndlovu et al., 2020). State heritage authorities have power to intervene in the management of heritage resources through putting protective measures, punitive measures and controlling access to cultural property (Ndoro and Kiriama, 2008; Hall, 2008). The choice of Matobo Hills WHS was influenced by the fact that local communities within and outside the World Heritage boundary are living in poverty (see Figure 2) yet the landscape is rich in natural and cultural resources that could be of great use to local communities. The case of Matobo Hills is therefore ideal in establishing the contribution of WHSs towards poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe.

## Poverty prevalence in Matobo Hills World Heritage Site

Matobo Hills falls under Matabeleland South Province which covers such areas as Plumtree, Mangwe, Bulilima, Gwanda, Insiza, Beitbridge, Umzingwane and Matobo. The Matobo Hills WHS falls within wards 15, 16, 17, 23, 24 and 25 in Matobo District and wards 4 to 12 in Umzingwane District in Matabeleland South Province (*see* Figure 2). Mankiw (2018:406) attests that poverty 'is an economic malady' that affects all groups of people in a given population but what differs is the prevalence of poverty across groups. Measuring poverty prevalence in Matobo Hills was an extensive exercise that was beyond the scope of this paper and as a result, this research relied on small area measurements of poverty established in the Zimbabwe Poverty Atlas (ZIMSTAT, 2015) which depicts poverty prevalence at ward and district level in study area. 'Household survey-based estimates are regarded as the most accurate ways of estimating poverty incidence' (Todaro and Smith, 2011:231). For example, Matobo District has approximately 15,518 households that are deemed poor compared to about 4,909 households that are considered non poor (ZIMSTAT, 2015). In Umzingwane District, poor households are around 11,472 whilst 2,621 are deemed non poor (ZIMSTAT, 2015). The average poverty prevalence in Matobo District is 77.6% and in Umzingwane District its 82.1% (ZIMSTAT, 2015). The following map summarises poverty prevalence in each ward in the selected study area.

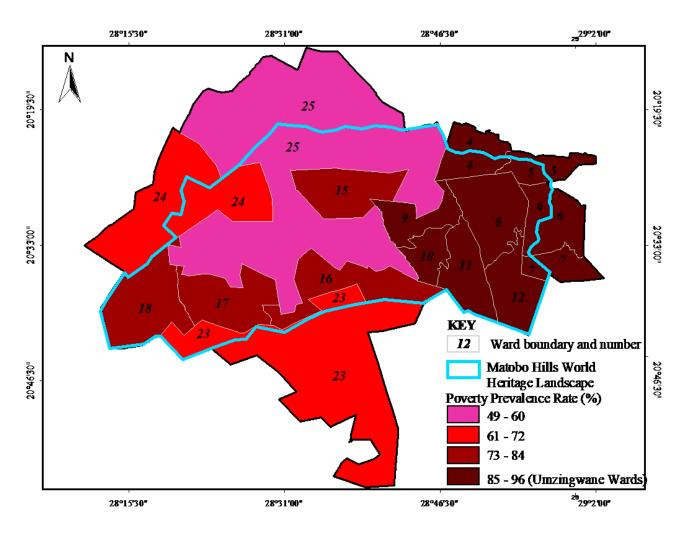


Fig. 2. Poverty prevalence in each ward in Matobo Hills. (Source. Midlands State University).

There is a relatively low poverty prevalence rate (49-60%) in the central area of Matobo Hills WHS (ward 25) where Rhodes Matopos National Park is located. The area protected as Matopos National Park covers about 17% of the total Matobo Hills area whilst 55% is agro-pastoral land (Sagonda and Pegg, 2015). Major tourist activities, the National Park, historic and rock art sites that are accessible to visitors in

Matobo Hills are concentrated in ward 25. This makes it easy for local people in this ward to access social and economic opportunities that come through tourism when compared to other wards. Poverty prevalence rate in wards 23 and 24 range from 61%-72% and this percentage is lower when compared to all other wards excluding ward 25. Land use in wards 23, 24 and 25 include large commercial farming where local communities engage in crop farming and livestock rearing. Cattle for beef and other dairy products from large commercial farms in Matobo Hills are sold in Bulawayo and other areas in Matabeleland region (Makuvaza, 2016). This offers local communities alternative sources of income which in turn lessen poverty prevalence rate in respective wards. Communal areas (wards 15-18) in Matobo District have poverty prevalence that ranges from 73%-84% whilst communal areas (wards 4-12) under Umzingwane District have poverty prevalence rate of 85%-96% which is the highest in the entire cultural landscape. This study established that all communal areas in Matobo District are in close proximity to Rhodes Matopos National Park and as a result they get direct access to social, cultural and economic benefits since from this Park. Most social responsibility programmes from Rhodes Matopos National Park target Matobo wards as opposed to communal areas in Umzingwane District which are located further from the Park. Respondents from ward 6 cited distance as a barrier to accessing ecosystems services from the Park. These challenges arise over and above being situated in natural regions IV and V. Poverty assessments in Umzingwane District affirm that wards falling within 85%-96% poverty prevalence rate lie within the natural region IV and V whose climatic conditions are not conducive for meaningful agriculture. In comparison wards with access to mining activities and in close proximity to Esigodini Business Centre have a relatively lower poverty prevalence rate (ZIMSTAT, 2015).

Poverty prevalence rates in Matabeleland South Province mostly vary with climatic conditions in respective districts, livelihood opportunities available to households and the proximity of wards to business centres such as growth points and border towns (ZIMSTAT, 2015). Access to alternative sources of livelihoods marks the distinction in poverty prevalence rates in wards situated in the same natural region (IV and V). Other factors exacerbating poverty prevalence rates in Matabeleland South Province include politics, ethnicity, and exclusion of marginalised groups in developmental programmes (Ndhlovu, 2019). Todaro and Smith (2011) recommend that, before creating policies and programs that effectively attacks poverty at its source, there is need to have specific knowledge about those people living in

extreme poverty and their economic characteristics. An understanding of these characteristics helps in implementing strategies to eradicate poverty in such areas as Matobo Hills.

## Poverty alleviation strategies in Matobo Hills

Accessibility to almost all resources that are significant in the livelihoods of people are governed by certain institutions and organizations (Scoones, 2015). This paper pays attention to efforts being done by NMMZ and ZPWMA in Matobo Hills. Benefits that are derived from WHSs can be subsistence, economic, environmental, political, cultural, and spiritual (Osipova et al, 2014). Subsistence benefits are non-economic and include access to health, shelter, clean water, and nutrition (Dudley and Stolton, 2009; Kettunen and ten Brink, 2013). Economic benefits are those that provide local communities with opportunities to raise income, to consume and have assets (Dudley and Stolton, 2009; OECD Guidelines on Poverty Reduction, 2001). Economic capabilities are crucial in providing 'food security, material wellbeing and social status' (OECD Guidelines on Poverty Reduction, 2001). The assessment in this paper is centred on subsistence, economic and environmental benefits that local communities derive from Matobo Hills. The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment 20 (2013) (13) (1-4) indicates that the State and all governmental institutions and agencies are mandated to promote 'rapid and equitable development' that gives prime attention to both rural and urban communities. This development should consider the needs of local communities and the State should ensure that local communities benefit from resources in their surrounding areas. This call applies to all government departments including NMMZ and ZPWMA who have the prime role to safeguard the OUVs of Matobo Hills.

## Promoting access to housing facilities in Matobo Hills

Paragraph 19 (i) of the 'Policy for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Process of the World Heritage Convention' (UNESCO, 2015) stresses need to ensure the availability of basic infrastructure for local communities residing within and around WHSs. The basic infrastructure includes access to housing facilities which are crucial in the fight against poverty. Local communities in Matobo Hills benefit from a housing scheme initiated by ZPWMA through their social responsibility programmes. Operations Officers from Rhodes Matopos National Park (2017, in-person interviews, 20

November) explained that by November 2017, 8 households had benefitted from the construction of rondavels in 6 wards (15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 25) surrounding the National Park. The beneficiaries were elderly people aged 75 to 100. This initiative conforms to efforts to alleviate poverty among the aged who are dependent on the economically active group for support. However, the challenge is that the beneficiaries of the housing project constitute 0.002% when measured against the total population of elderly persons (1969) in Matobo District. This percentage is too small to offset the shortage of decent accommodation among the elderly and other local community members below the age of 75. The continuity of this housing project is also questionable since it is provided under the guise of social responsibility programmes and depends on the discretion of the service provider. Therefore, when few individuals benefit from a housing project, it suggests that World Heritage properties can only do so much with regards to provision of shelter and poverty alleviation in surrounding communities.

## Promoting access to education within Matobo Hills

Matobo Hills promotes access to formal and informal education to the local community and other visitors to the WHS. Education is important in increasing human capabilities, promoting self-sustained growth and development (Todaro and Smith, 2011). The Deputy Area Manager for Rhodes Matopos National Park (2016, in-person interview, 8 June) stressed that they were promoting access to education by offering training courses in Professional Hunters' Licence targeting youths from wards within Matobo Hills. The motivation for undertaking training courses in Professional Hunters' Licence in Professional Hunters' Licences is for youths to secure permanent jobs as rangers and wildlife officers within Rhodes Matopos National Park. The long-term goal for ZPWMA is to address challenges of high unemployment rates that are accelerating poverty prevalence in Matobo Hills.

The Deputy Area Manager for Rhodes Matopos National Park further explained that ZPWMA offers educational support when they provide raw material for local schools to build infrastructure and sponsorships of stationary (pens, rulers, books, and mathematical sets) on prize giving days. For example, between 2016 and 2018 satchels and stationery were donated to 6 wards surrounding Rhodes Matopos National Park. In comparison, Great Zimbabwe WHS provides educational support to orphans and vulnerable children in the community. The 'school fees assistance scheme' assists at least 20 students in

secondary school every year. The effort to reach out to the community through educational support shows that through WHSs local communities can be assisted materially.

ZPWMA and NMMZ further ensure access to education through guided tours that are offered to different schools and other visitors to Matobo Hills. Most visitors who come to the landscape are interested in seeing burial grounds that include Rhodes' Grave, rock art sites, wildlife and the beautiful scenery within the landscape. For example, between 2017 and 2019 a total of 87 419 people visited Worlds' View and Pomongwe Rock Art Site in Matobo Hills (Natural History Museum, 2020). UNESCO in collaboration with the Natural History Museum and Reach A Young Soul (RAYS) Trust engaged in an annual Environmental Youth Symposium (14-16 October 2020) which targeted students in high school and tertiary institutions. The Symposium involved an online competition on poster making and academic paper writing on 'Heritage and Sustainable Development Goals' as a strategy to promote awareness on SDGs and conservation of natural and cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2020). Such programmes complement the formal education system that embraces heritage and cultural studies. The efforts of ZPWMA and NMMZ are however limited in that schools are expected to pay entrance fees to access WHSs except in cases where free entry has been authorised. The sponsorships of stationery only support children who are already in school and not those who are out of school due to fees shortages. This indicates that access to education within and outside Matobo Hills must be inclusive of all people so as to ensure that Zimbabwe achieves SDG4 by 2030.

## Promoting access to health and sanitation services in Matobo Hills

Accessibility to health and sanitation facilities is crucial in eradicating poverty. During this research, NMMZ and ZPWMA had no projects that directly dealt with health-related issues in communal areas in Matobo Hills as this was considered a responsibility of the Matobo and Umzingwane Rural District Councils. ZPWMA had only focused on improving health and sanitation within Rhodes Matopos National Park. The building of health and sanitation facilities within the Park shows a bias towards the welfare of tourists rather than the local community. However, local community members benefitted from getting tenders to provide bricks and build ablution services within the National Park. The Ward Councillor (2016, in -person interview, 8 June) who spearheaded this project confirmed that both men and women were included in building projects in Rhodes Matopos National Park taking into consideration gender equality. A consciousness on gender equality at grassroots level is in line with SDG5 which aims at achieving gender equality by 2030.

Although NMMZ and ZPWMA have not invested much in improving the formal healthcare system of local communities in Matobo Hills, the local people make use of indigenous knowledge to access medicinal plants and animals. For example, local people make use of such herbs as *umvagazi* (blood wood/*pterocarpus angolensis*), *ingobamakhosi* (hard pear/*olinia ventosa*) and *ikhalimele (rynchosia. spp)* to treat different ailments (*Gogo* N, 2017, in-person interview, 18 December). The fat of an African python, animal excretions such as dung of elephants and urine of baboons are equally used for medicinal purposes in Matobo Hills (Sagonda and Pegg, 2015). This indicates that indigenous knowledge systems offer alternatives and at times complement the formal healthcare services offered in Matobo Hills. The access to medicinal plant and animals is however restricted by Parks and Wildlife Act Chapter (20:14). As a result, some plant and animal organs used for medicinal purposes are illegally obtained from Rhodes Matopos National Park.

Matobo Hills has continued to be a religious portal where people seek solace in times of spiritual and physical deprivation thereby satisfying an intangible dimension of poverty in indigenous communities of Africa. Cultural and spiritual benefits give local communities pride about the protected area, living culture, education, and spiritual freedom (Dudley and Stolton, 2009). For example, in times of deprivation, pest outbreaks and other ecological disasters people visited the shrines in the Matobo in search of remedies (Ranger, 1999). As such spiritual healing and guidance is obtained through accessing shrines in Matobo Hills. Such shrines are managed by the traditional leadership through traditional management systems. However, when it comes to conducting traditional ceremonies in monuments and sites protected by NMMZ Act (25:11), members of the local community are required to get permission from relevant authorities. The legal framework imposes restrictions on accessing places of spiritual significance. As a result, local communities fail to interact fully with their cultural landscapes.

#### Access to food related resources in Matobo Hills

Provisioning services related to food include activities such as game hunting and fishing, plants and fruits gathering, traditional agriculture, livestock grazing and fodder collection mainly for subsistence use (Dudley, Stolton and Kettunen, 2013). As such there is a wide array of resources that can provide food to both humans and animals in protected areas. Matobo Hills has edible plants that include fruits and nuts, cereals as well as gum and leaves (Walker, 1995:31). Wild fruits such as uxakuxaku (snot apple) and fruits from the baobab tree are obtained in Mzinyathini and Matobo communal areas (especially wards 6, 10 and 11) and in Khumalo and Gulathi communal areas (especially wards 15, 16 and 17) (Ecologist A, 2017, in-person interview, 20 November). Other wild fruits such as umgono (strychnos spinosa), umtshwankela (vitex payos), umqokolo (flacourtia indica) and umkhiwa (ficus sur/capensis) are also found in their abundance in Matobo Hills (Makuvaza, 2016). Similarly, the Laponian Area in northern Sweden offers wild food plants and mushrooms to local communities and visitors to the site (Osipova et al, 2014). In Rwenzori Mountains National Park in Uganda the local people collect honey, mushrooms, vegetables, and palm oil (Okware and Cave, 2012). WHSs are sources of edible fruits and plants that provide dietary supplements to local communities. In Zimbabwe, the harvesting of fruits and other plant species from the protected areas is regulated by the Parks and Wildlife Act (20:14) as a strategy to ensure sustainable use of natural resources.

Access to wildlife in Matobo Hills has been promoted through the nationwide Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe. CAMPFIRE came as a response to the failure by the National Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975 to give meaningful control and participation in wildlife management to local communities (Chirikure *et al.*, 2011). This initiative was an attempt to empower local communities to engage in wildlife conservation whilst earning revenue to develop their communities. The challenge with such projects is that they can increase demand for wildlife and increase chances of attracting poor immigrants to the area (Fisher *et al.*, 2008). This has been the case in Matobo Hills where the Ward Councillor (2016, in-person interview, 8 June) and the Environmental Officer for Matobo RDC (2017, in-person interview, 30 November) indicated that the wild animals for hunting are now scarce to make any meaningful returns to the local people. Earlier research by Makuvaza (2016) affirms that local communities in Matobo Hills do not benefit meaningfully from

CAMPFIRE projects and as a result their role in wildlife conservation is regarded as insignificant. This suggests that initiatives to eradicate poverty in rural communities in Zimbabwe are failing to bring meaningful returns at the grassroots level. As a result, the efficacy of CAMPFIRE prior to this research could not be numerically ascertained except the hope that this project will be revamped in the future.

The inhabitants of Matobo Hills equally benefit from the harvest of mopane worms which hatch in their numbers in *mopane* woodlands in southern parts of Matobo (Walker, 1995). Operations Officers (2017, in-person interviews, 20 November) explained that all wards surrounding Matobo Hills (especially wards 18, 23, 25) benefit from *mopane* worm harvesting. ZPWMA engage in trainings on how to harvest *mopane* worms in all wards surrounding Matobo Hills so that local people acquire knowledge on how to harvest them without destroying the ecosystem. *Mopane* worms are usually harvested during the rainy season in January and February and dried for later consumption in the year (Makuvaza, 2016). Local communities sell *mopane* worms to neighbouring wards and other towns such as Gwanda, Plumtree and Bulawayo and get an additional income which they use to supplement for other social needs. This demonstrates that the harvest of mopane worms contributes to the sustainability of rural livelihoods in the face of poverty in Matobo Hills.

Fish farming and fish harvesting are additional projects initiated by ZPWMA in Matobo Hills. Benefitting from fisheries is aimed at promoting food security and employment creation among local communities. The fishing areas include Mtsheleli, Togwana, Chitamba, Sandy-Spruit, Umzingwane and Mtshabezi Dams. The Camp Manager from Rhodes Matopos National Park (2018, in-person interview, 28 May) explained that fishing is done for household consumption with a maximum of three rods per person and harvesting not more than 5kgs. Fishing is done by local community members from all wards in Matobo Hills at a cost of US\$1 per visit as opposed to the US\$3 that is paid by visitors from other areas. The idea of charging local communities less entrance fees when compared to people of other areas gives priority to local communities residing within the WHS. The challenge rises in cases where visitors from elsewhere compete with locals in having access to resources especially during seasonal droughts when fish is relatively scarce.

The Camp Manager estimated that a range of 200 - 300 households benefit annually from fish harvesting in Matobo Hills depending on water levels in communal areas. Fishing activities are however permissible on condition that one obtains a permit from National Parks since illegal access would attract a fine as stipulated by the Parks and Wildlife Act (20:14). The idea of putting regulations to manage fishing activities is equally done in the Great Barrier Reef a WHS in Australia. Recreational and commercial fishing activities at this WHS are controlled through use of permits, licences, and other regulations (Osipova *et al.*, 2014:29). The use of formal legislation has however failed to completely deter unsustainable and illegal fishing practices in protected areas such as Matobo Hills. Mupira (2008) attests that generally in southern Africa, heritage legislation stipulates fines and penalties, but such penalties are not deterrent. Prosecution is rare because of lack of evidence to bring offenders to book. This is one of the challenges of promoting socio-economic development in protected areas.

## Access to raw materials in Matobo Hills

This research revealed that local communities residing within WHSs benefit from raw materials that they use for domestic and commercial purposes. In Matobo Hills raw materials come in form of thatch, wooden poles, firewood, and ornamental resources. Benefits from wooden poles and firewood are less pronounced when compared to the prominence given to thatch harvesting. Thatch harvesting is an annual project that commences in June and attracts an average of 75 women from surrounding wards per harvesting season. In focus group discussions (2016, June 8) beneficiaries of the thatch harvesting project revealed that they were motivated to engage into thatch harvesting to raise income to meet basic human needs. A bundle of thatch is sold at US\$1 to US\$2 each and on average an individual household harvests 300 to 400 bundles per season. The price of US\$2 is often charged to customers from other areas other than Matobo Hills. The money obtained from selling thatch is mainly channelled towards paying school fees, buying clothes and food. The thatch harvested in Matobo Hills is equally used in thatching rondavels in communal areas thereby contributing to access to shelter. At the Golden Gate Highlands National Park in South Africa harvested thatch is used to roof homesteads, manufacture small carpets and brooms to sell to tourists whilst excess thatch bundles are sold to local communities residing in Qwa-Qwa to raise income. This income is channelled towards small scale business enterprises and meeting other socio-economic needs as a strategy to eradicate poverty and promote sustainable

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development (Kernan, 2016). Therefore, thatch harvesting projects are important in promoting rural livelihoods in Zimbabwe and beyond the borders.

Matobo Hills is a source of ornamental resources used in the making of handicrafts by local communities. Sellers of crafts in Matobo Hills largely obtain raw materials such as wood (mahogany), grass, palm fibre (ilala) and seeds from surrounding communities except for imported materials and recycled bone and horn products. The ability to make local handicrafts from locally available material ensures growth of the creative industry. Similarly, in Dahshur, which is part of WHS of Memphis and Necropolis, local people have access to ornamental resources that include palm leaves and branches which they use to make traditional crafts and furniture (Galla, 2012c). At Saint-Louis Marine Park and the Langue de Barbie protected areas in Senegal, fibre species that include *sporobolus robustus* are used in the production of fine linen mats (Hay-Edie *et al.*, 2012). This indicates the importance of ornamental resources in sustaining the art and crafts industry. However, in Matobo Hills trees such as *kirkia acuminate*/white seringa (*mubvumira/umvumile*) and leadwood (*mutsviri/umtshenalotha*) are being illegally harvested to make handicrafts. The cutting down of trees to make souvenirs is threatening environmental sustainability in Zimbabwe (Lubbe, 2003).

## Promoting access to water in Matobo Hills

The 'Policy for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Process of the World Heritage Convention' (UNESCO, 2015) advocates for the promotion of environmental health including provision of clean water and sanitation. SDG6 emphasises need to ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all by 2030. This illustrates that access to clean water is important in achieving SD. In Matobo Hills local people obtain water from different sources which include rivers, streams, swamps, and dams. Some of the wetlands in Matobo Hills are used for social, cultural, economic, and spiritual purposes (Sagonda and Pegg, 2015). Several rivers which are tributaries of the Thuli River emerge from Matobo Hills and they include Maleme, Whovi, Mtshabezi, Mtshelele and Mwewe rivers. Umzingwane River is the major tributary emerging from Matobo communal area and flows into Limpopo River (Makuvaza, 2016). More so a number of dams on Whovi River and its tributaries supply water to Matobo National Park which is used for both domestic and recreational purposes whilst

Mtshabezi Dam on the Mtshabezi River contributes water supply to the city of Bulawayo (Makuvaza, 2016). Dam construction also facilitates irrigation and fish farming in protected areas as is the case in Matobo Hills. Access to fresh water reduces water scarcity and help in sustaining rural livelihoods making it an important aspect in human development.

Access to fresh water is not unique to Matobo Hills. Mount Kilimanjaro WHS stands as a source of major rivers in Tanzania and the surrounding landscape. This WHS is a water tower to surrounding communities and an important source of hydro-energy for Tanzania (Murusuri and Nderumaki, 2013). The increase in water-use efficiency helps reduce water scarcity as a strategy to achieve SDG6 through use of World Heritage. SDG6 further recommends the implementation of integrated water resources management at all levels by 2030. However, having several water sources does not mean that these sources provide safe drinking water. Most water sources in Matobo Hills are unprotected and boreholes are an alternative to access safe drinking water for domestic use. At the time of this research ZPWMA had facilitated the drilling of boreholes at Nyumbani Primary School and in Mkokha Village in Gulathi communal area. The Deputy Director of Rhodes Matopos National Park indicated that borehole drilling has been greatly affected by dry climatic conditions that have caused some boreholes to dry up in the past. Therefore, facilitating the drilling of few boreholes in selected wards is far from offsetting challenges of accessing safe drinking water in Matobo Hills.

## Promoting access to decent employment within Matobo Hills

Paragraph 25 of the 'Policy for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Process of the World Heritage Convention' (UNESCO, 2015) stresses that all WHSs are expected to offer 'decent employment opportunities' and to generate income for local communities as a strategy to promote SD. Employment opportunities that arise in Matobo Hills include selling crafts, offering tour guiding services, fireguard making and other forms of casual labour. Local communities from Silozwi and Gulathi communal areas sell crafts such as wooden carvings, key holders, baskets, clothing materials, animal sculptures and ornaments. Local people making use of curio stands within Rhodes Matopos National Park pay US\$20 per annum or US\$5 per quarter so that they obtain permits to operate in Matobo Hills. The income raised after selling crafts and engaging in various projects is mostly used to buy school uniforms, food, clothing and paying school fees. Similarly, in Victoria Falls the Toka Leya people under Chief Mukuni in Zambia benefit from selling crafts such as baskets, animal figurines and wooden bowls made from locally harvested trees (Chanda, 2018). Tourism offers an important means of financing and encouraging respect for conservation and for generating income for the local people (Barrow, 2006). Kadel *et al.*, (2011) affirm that the expansion of the tourism industry creates jobs by promoting local crafts, tour guiding services, traditional art and music, farming retail as well as transport and communication. This demonstrates that tourism has potential to promote decent employment opportunities. However, the decency of employment created in Zimbabwe and other WHSs in Africa is debatable. When people are living in poverty, there is little room to consider decency especially when present needs outweigh the search for dignity.

Employment opportunities in Matobo Hills equally come in form of casual labour. Casual labourers include those who make fireguards and engage in maintenance work such as building, painting and other repairs. Operations Officers from Rhodes Matopos National Park (2017, in-person interviews, 20 November) indicated that casual labourers that are hired per year range from 100 to 150 depending on the nature of jobs available within the Park at a given time. In relation to making fireguards, about 20 people per season are hired from local communities around Matobo Hills and the women/men ratio of participation is 1:5. The Operations Officers indicated that community members are hired by ZPWMA on a rotational basis to give opportunities to as many people in the community as possible. During fire seasons individuals are paid US\$7.50 to US\$10 per day for a period of 5 to 6 months, earning an average of US\$250. Rotational basis implies fairness across all people in need of employment but the seasonal nature of casual jobs offer temporary relief to beneficiaries and their earnings do not offer meaningful income that can help eradicate poverty in Matobo Hills. As a result, local people end up engaging in alternative projects to supplement the meagre income accrued from working within WHSs.

This study established that guided tours provide another avenue to raise income around WHSs. The challenge is that in Matobo Hills tour operating services are privately owned by businesspeople from elsewhere. The minimum fees paid to offer tour operating services in Matobo Hills is beyond the reach of local people as such access to 'decent employment' is left in the hands of those with adequate financial capital to pay for operating licences from ZPWMA. Private tour operators such as Amalinda Safaris

sometimes engage individual households in community tourism programmes where tourists get a glimpse of the 'village life' in Matobo Hills. The 'village life' programme involves direct interaction of tourists with local communities. A similar programme is offered by the Matopos Cultural Tourism Program which offers community tourism programs where visitors participate in touring the diverse heritage of Matobo Hills and participating in domestic activities done by the local people. The aim is for visitors to appreciate the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the Matopos. However, community tours are presented as complementary services to tourists and largely determined by time available in the hands of the tourist. This makes it difficult to project amount of income channelled towards community development through such tours.

The Chief Executive Officer of Matobo RDC (2017, in-person interview, 24 November) expressed concern over community tourism programmes in Matobo Hills citing that the tour operators were short changing the local people in terms of accessing economic benefits. The assumption is that tourists pay huge sums of money to tour operators and local communities fail to benefit meaningfully except receiving small tokens for consenting to open their homes to strangers. Lessons can be drawn from Roi Mata Cultural Tours in Chief Roi Mata's Domain (CRMD) in Vanuatu which offers a community owned tourism facility that provides visitors with information about the OUVs of the cultural landscape and the legacy of Roi Mata. Local communities benefit from such facilities and work as tour guides, craftsmen, cooks and actors during such tours. The landowners are given an annual thanksgiving token for committing their land for such cultural tours (Galla, 2012*b*). The Maasai people of Kenya own lodges and have shares in tour operating and tour guiding services (Zeppel, 1998). The inclusion of local communities in accessing material benefits from WHSs goes a long way in sustaining places of outstanding universal significance. Families living in poverty are guaranteed of employment opportunities from cultural tours although the number of beneficiaries remain little to offset all dimensions of poverty in local communities.

#### Mining activities in Matobo Hills

This research established that local people benefit from mining activities in Matobo Hills. Formal and informal mining activities take place especially in the northern and eastern parts of Matobo Hills. These mining activities are found in Sauerdale (Rhodes Matopos Estate) and along Umzingwane River near

Esibomvu and other tributaries that feed into upper Ncema, Inyankuni and Insiza rivers (Makuvaza, 2016). The Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe (2017) indicates that gold, nickel, asbestos, and tungsten are some of the confirmed mineral deposits in Matobo Hills. The Park Ranger responsible for mining activities in Matobo Hills (2018, in-person interview, 24 February) confirmed that mining activities take place within Rhodes Matopos Estate which is approximately 256km<sup>2</sup> but excludes the National Park. At the end of 2017, Rhodes Matopos Estate had about 92 mining applications of which 37 were active mining claims. At the time of this research the total number of beneficiaries from mining activities could not be ascertained except that beneficiaries were largely from Matobo Hills and other surrounding towns. Illegal mining activities were, however, causing gully formation, water pollution, deforestation, and bush fires within the Matobo Hills and its buffer area risking lives of people and wildlife.

## Discussion

The objective of this paper was to analyse whether development initiatives being done in Matobo Hills WHS are leaning towards achieving SDG1 which aims to eradicate poverty and all its dimensions by 2030. ZPWMA and NMMZ as legal custodians of Matobo Hills WHS are making efforts to ensure access to basic social, economic, and environmental services in Matobo Hills. These efforts are commendable save for the fact that only a few households have benefitted from these initiatives so far. When benefits from educational activities are mostly targeting children who are already in school, the gap in promoting inclusive primary and secondary education becomes wide. Childhood poverty is likely to have long term effects on the future of a child and access to universal primary education offers an opportunity to come out of poverty especially in developing countries (Ahmed *et al.*, 2007). A leaf can be borrowed from Sian Ka'an WHS in Mexico which has managed to establish an educational centre that informs tourists about the Mayan culture, use of ecosystems and sustainable project management (Osipova *et al.*, 2014). These efforts have multiple benefits of promoting access to education and economic development. Educational centres however remain meaningful when they continue to accrue tangible benefits to the local people rather than making tourists the focal point of such projects.

Local people in Matobo Hills benefit immensely from a wide array of ecosystem services that sustain their livelihoods. Chenje *et al.*, (1998) affirm that most poor communities rely on the natural resources for food, energy, medicine, selling of wild fruits and wood for construction and firewood. In Matobo Hills the heavy dependence on natural resources has resulted in environmental problems that are affecting humans, wildlife, and domestic animals. Domestic animals encroach into Rhodes Matopos National Park in search for pasturage. A similar challenge followed the construction of hydrological facilities downstream of Djoudj National Park in Senegal. This project reduced the area which was traditionally used for natural pasturage such that livestock encroached into the core zones of the WHS interfering with the OUVs of this Park (Hay-Edie *et al.*, 2012). Environmental problems that arise from overuse of natural resources or human modification of the natural environment can worsen the plight of the poor. Kümpel *et al.*, (2018) make reference to threats caused by the industrial scale logging in Atsinanana Rainforests in Madagascar and mining licences issued in Côte d' Ivoire's Comoé National Park. Therefore, there is need to strike a balance between use of WHSs and development in order to eradicate poverty in its multidimensional nature if at all possible.

Infrastructure development in Matobo Hills is mainly relegated to Rural Districts Councils (RDCs) and other non-governmental bodies. RDCs shoulder the major responsibility to provide social services to the local people in line with the Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29:13) irrespective of being situated within or outside the World Heritage boundary. As a result, NMMZ and ZPWMA have not been able to offer meaningful support in terms of promoting access to good road network systems, access to health, water and sanitation services. ZPWMA only facilitated the drilling of a few boreholes in selected wards with the help of donor funding. This is because it is not within the primary mandate of NMMZ and ZPWMA to provide some of these services. As such there is need for cross linkages between different agencies in an effort to improve health and sanitation in Matobo Hills. The use of medicinal plants and animals can be used as strategy to promote poverty alleviation through use of indigenous knowledge systems. For example, in Yemen, the Socotra Achipelago has a variety of plant species that are now screened for medicinal properties. Traditional ecological knowledge associated with the local people has helped pharmaceutical research in Socorta Achipelago showing the potential of WHSs to contribute to the health sector (Galla, 2012*a*).

Matobo Hills offers different economic opportunities for local communities that range from temporal to permanent employment opportunities. These efforts conform to demands of promoting decent employment opportunities to local communities residing within and around WHSs. However, it is not everyone who benefits from employment opportunities offered in Matobo Hills. Specialised job opportunities require professional training for one to be a curator, professional hunter, builder, or painter. As a result, rotational jobs are limited to people with relevant skills and experience. The selling of crafts is more of self-employment rather than employment creation by NMMZ and ZPWMA. Local people tap into their indigenous knowledge system and create crafts that they feel are on demand by tourists. When tourism is low, local people feel the brunt of economic downturn and end up seeking alternative means of survival. This research proposes that national institutions engage in partnerships with local communities where they obtain fixed shares from tourism activities in Matobo Hills. This can cushion local communities in seasons when tourism is low. For example, at Bunaken Marine National Park in Indonesia 30% of revenue generated through entrance fees is directed to local communities through a grant provision scheme (Cochrane and Tapper, 2006). The Community Share Ownership Scheme which is given legitimacy by the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (Chapter 14:33) provides that local people should be major shareholders in nearly all business enterprises in Zimbabwe with 51% of the shares belonging to Zimbabweans whilst 10% out of the 51% is owned by local communities. The Matobo Rhino Trust (MRT) is a community-based development initiative which was established in 2013 as a community project meant to assist ZPWMA with the protection of endangered Rhinos within Matobo Hills. This move shows ongoing efforts to deal with empowerment of local communities in the conservation of WHSs. Such programmes can provide an incentive to support conservation programmes at the same time ensuring the well-being of local people.

## Conclusion

This paper has established that there are numerous efforts to eradicate poverty in Matobo Hills in line with the 2030 Agenda for SD. These development initiatives have managed to promote access to basic social, economic, and environmental services yet poverty has remained high in Matobo Hills. The efforts in Matobo Hills WHS have managed to 'alleviate' poverty rather than 'eradicating' it completely. Poverty is deeply entrenched in political and economic systems of a nation such that NMMZ and ZPWMA have

limited capacity to offset structures which are rooted in past traditions. The legal frameworks that guide their activities limit options they have to attend to every human need in Matobo Hills. As a result, Matobo Hills cannot be used as a sole strategy to deal with all dimensions of poverty in the surrounding community. This study therefore recommends the framing of local policies with strategies to address specific dimensions of poverty at grassroots level. These strategies need to take into consideration the availability of natural and cultural resources in Matobo Hills given the erratic climatic conditions which continuously exacerbate the plight of poor within this landscape.

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