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CHALLENGES OF MANAGING COLONIAL HERITAGE IN A POST-COLONIAL ERA: A CASE STUDY OF COLONIAL HERITAGE IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE¹

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ABSTRACT

Colonial heritage has been viewed from two different points of views. First, some take a positive stance arguing that it has to be managed like any other forms of heritage regardless of the associations attached to it. Others view the management of colonial heritage negatively maintaining that it is not relevant as it provokes bad emotions and such heritage resources should be discarded. This paper takes a positive approach to the management of colonial heritage in Zimbabwe because the history of the country is incomplete once colonial heritage is removed from the scene. The paper also aims at evaluating the concept of sustainability by identifying the problems, challenges and future of an African urban city in the management, preservation, conservation and presentation of the city's colonial heritage. To identify these, the research mainly used Jackson, (1986) in comparison to the contemporary use and state of colonial heritage is colonial heritage in Harare comes in different forms such as historic buildings, colonial statues and colonial streets. However, due to the myriad challenges facing Zimbabwe, the management of Harare's colonial heritage is compromised and these challenges create pressure on the available yet limited resources ultimately affecting the sustainability of these heritage resources. Consequently, we identified a 'negligence' management approach that characterise colonial heritage in the city of Harare. Lastly, this paper provides evidence of little investment of this particular heritage resource, hence, calls for more concerted efforts from the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) and Harare City Council geared towards sustainable heritage management.

Keywords: Sustainability, Use, Preservation, Conservation, Harare, Colonial Heritage

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INTRODUCTION

Most African countries are erstwhile colonies of European countries largely either France or Britain. These former colonial powers left legacies in the areas which they colonized. As such, current governments which are former colonized had to and are still grappling with these legacies. One of the legacies of a colonial rule evident today in former colonized countries is colonial heritage. In Zimbabwe, colonial heritage comes in different forms such as historic buildings, statues, colonial forts and memorials. Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) is a former colony of Britain, a process which began in 1890 as a result of a military occupation under Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC) and ended in 1980 (Hensman, 1900; Jackson, 1993). Rhodes' vision to conquer from the Cape-to-Cairo, and to paint Africa red was largely stirred by economic gluttony. The colonial government (Britain) employed the indirect rule strategy in the administration of her colonies. This strategy ensured that indigenous African power institutions were maintained or perpetuated through the use of an African leader who was answerable to the colonial governor since the leader had control over his 'subjects' (Njoh, 2000).

Initially, when the Pioneer Column arrived, Mt Hampden was the preferred location to establish the colonial town of this regime (Jackson, 1986, 1993; Zinyama, 1993). However, the Pioneer Column Commander Col. Edward Pennefather chose the Salisbury city as it is near Mukuvisi and the Kopje. The colonial fort was at where the current Africa Unity Square stands, then Cecil Square. With the arrival of the Pioneer Column in 1890, the Kopje area became the site of the new colonial town, Salisbury. The Pioneer Column was attracted to this place because of the Mukuvisi River nearby, good rainfall, fertile land, hunting and grazing space. Consequently, the first street in Salisbury was Pioneer Street (Hensman, 1900) but was changed after Zimbabwean independence to Kaguvi Street.

The town (Harare, then Salisbury) settlement was first set up in 1891 with streets and stands running in a north/south direction parallel to the Kopje. The town plan had three types: residential plots for civilians along with shops at the foot of the Kopje along the present day Kaguvi Street, then Pioneer Street. Secondly, administrative and civic buildings including the Market Hall which doubled as council offices to the immediate east of Pioneer street. Lastly, the fort itself (then Cecil Square). From the onset of the development of Salisbury, the kopje formed the main commercial and administrative hub of the settlement although this changed with time to Manica Road now known as Robert Mugabe Road (Jackson, 1986). With this shift, the city commercial area became Manica Road and that is why today the area possesses most of Harare's historic buildings. Records show that in 1935, Salisbury was given a city status from town. On 19 April 1982, the name Salisbury was changed to Harare.

With the above in mind, this research analyses the concept of sustainability using colonial heritage found in Harare as case studies. Sustainable development and sustainability have been major foci areas of many academic colloquium and publications. However, despite such upsurge in these, this concept has not been articulated in Zimbabwean colonial heritage management, thus, the aim of this paper. Sustainability has three symbiotic notions that are economic, social and environmental. Issues of the role of heritage to sustainable development have been emphasised from the 1970s. A common definition of sustainability and used here is from the UN (1987) from "*Our Common Future*" report (also referred to as the Brundtland Report). The report defined sustainability as "a process of achieving environmental, economic: and social improvement...This process binds in a relationship of interdependence... in order to meet the needs of the present generation, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." In this paper,

sustainability implies the protection, conservation, management and utilisation of resources that are natural, cultural or otherwise by the present generation without compromising the same processes for the future generations. Thus, sustainability is incompatible with economic degeneration, surge in poverty and the dilapidation of heritage in all its forms.

METHODOLOGY

The paper analysed the concept of sustainability by identifying the problems, challenges and future of an African urban city in the management of the city's colonial heritage. Variables which determined this aspect include state of maintenance, preservation, conservation and presentation of the city's colonial heritage. Nonetheless, state of preservation and maintenance of colonial heritage were the major attributes that were considered in the evaluation of the concept of sustainability of Harare's colonial heritage. As such, the research primarily used archival records housed at the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) and Jackson, (1986). With this information, we compared the contemporary use of these heritage resources against the initial and original uses of the heritage resources. Although it was noted that colonial heritage in Harare comes in different forms, this paper reports research only conducted at historic buildings and forts because only forms of colonial heritage found around Harare's CBD were analysed. This area (Harare CBD) is concentrated with historic buildings, few colonial forts and no colonial statues. For historic buildings, purposive sampling method was employed while all forts and memorials were analysed.

RESULTS

The colonial buildings analyzed in this study are the Guild Hall, Mother Patricks' mortuary, Anorld Building, Vasan's Building. Colonial forts and memorials analyzed are the Harare Kopje and Africa Unity Square (fomerly Cecil Square).

Harare Kopje

Kopje monument, an area of land approximately 37 acres in extent has a toposcope which indicates directions and distances to various landmarks. The kopje is a vantage point from which one can have 360 degrees view of the capital and a pioneer cemetery is located on Pioneer Street at the foot of Harare kopje. This area was initially occupied by various local chiefs such as Neharawa, Mbare and Gutsa and their people (Jackson, 1986; Svisva, 2012). With the arrival of the Pioneer Column in 1890, the Kopje area became the site of the new colonial town, Salisbury.



Figure 1: View of Harare from the Harare kopje



THIS GARDEN AND TOPOSCOPE HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN MEMORY OF THE PIONEERS. THE CITY COUNCIL APPEALS TO ALL AISTFORS TO CONDUCT INTERVESTING SELMIN



Figure 2: State of heritage conservation at Harare Kopje in 2018, (a) shows vandalised plaques (b) shows fading signage (c) shows vandalism on interpretation panel.

The condition and presentation of Harare kopje as a heritage place shows room of improvement. The plaques and interpretive panels of this heritage place have been vandalised, the signage is fading. Ultimately, the interpretation of this heritage place to the public is compromised. Against the general philosophy that heritage places open to the public need proper interpretation, the nature of heritage presentation at this heritage place shows otherwise. On state on maintenance of the Harare kopje, Svisva, (2012) pointed out that this heritage place was maintained three or four times a year by an association known as the Pioneers and Early Settlers which maintained all colonial heritages. Hence, the current state of maintenance and preservation of Harare kopje shows a general dilapidation of this heritage place through time.

Africa Unity Square

b

Walls in form of forts were built in many erstwhile colonies. These forts were military constructions and buildings designed for defence in the event of a war. The remnants of these forts that are mostly obelisk are still visible in many former colonized countries. The Pioneer Column erected forts in the provinces it passed by to signify their triumphant entry. After the arrival of the Pioneer Column at Harare Kopje on 12 September 1890, the force marched to Cecil Square (now Africa Unity Square) in honour of Cecil John Rhodes on the following day. On 13 September 1890, the ceremonial hoisting of the British flag (Union Jack) took place with the city name Fort Salisbury was in honour of then Prime

Minister Lord Salisbury. The Africa Unity Square's paths follow the layout of the Union Jack with magnificent waterworks at the centre (Figure 3).



Figure 3: Aerial view of Africa Unity Square in relation to the Union Jack (Source: The Herald).



Figure 4: Showing either the presence or absence of interpretation signs at Africa Unity Square.



Figure 5: Waterworks of (a) Cecil Square in 1975, (b) Africa Unity Square in 2019, Photo by BM. Notice the absence of waterworks in (b) but its presence in (a).

When one looks at the state of the Africa Unity Square, the social aspect of sustainability is compromised. First, the social aspect is compromised by the lack of interpretive panels. The absence of interpretive panels at this heritage place implies that with time, the historicity of Harare as a city and of this particular heritage place is at threat. Secondly, the current malfunction of the waterworks at the centre deprives this place of its aesthetic and social value.

Guild Hall (1920)

Built in 1920 at the corner of Harare Street and Jason Moyo (current street names), the hall was once part of the Tattersalls Club which was set for betting booths. Currently, the building has been turned into a funeral parlour but still retains its face brick. The most striking features of the building are the double pitched iron roof and contains attractive timber and sheet iron louvred cupola which ventilates the roof space. Still intact is the decoration of the Star of David on the gable (Figure 6).

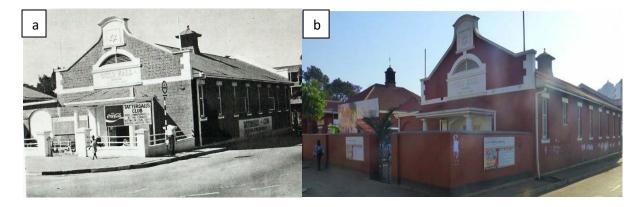


Figure 6: Shows the Guild Hall, a) Source: Jackson, (1986), b) the Guild Hall in 2019. Photo by BM.

The presence of the Star of David possibly suggests that the building was built for a Jewish community. The inscription on the panel reads: GUILD HALL ERECTED 5680-1920, thus the dates in the inscription refer to the Hebrew and Roman Calendars. The outside appearance still carries its original design while the entrance doors and their brass handles are original. Thus, the Guild Hall still stands firm and remain one of the most attractive pieces of architecture still gracing the urban landscape of Harare.

Arnold Building (1910)

It was built in 1910 and still stand and retains its pressed metal ceiling. The lettering on the central gable reads 'ANNO DOMINI MCMX' which depicts the completion of the construction. The purpose of the construction was for personal use on the upper floors. The remainder was for auctions and ground floor rooms were leased. While the rear has been modified, the front part of the building has maintained its original outlook, i.e. the balcony veranda and the iron art nouveau pattern. Of remarkable reckon are the floral tracery brackets which support a continuous iron gridded framework broken by more floral motifs below the veranda slab edge (Jackson, 1986).



About 10 rooms



About 5 big shops

Figure 7: Showing the Arnold Building, a) Shows the front of the building around 1980. Source: Jackson, (1986), (b) shows the front of the building in 2018. Photo by BM



Figure 8: Shows some of the use of the internal part of Arnold Building on the upper floor in 2019. Photo by HN

The internal part of the upper floor of Arnold Building consist of about ten rooms that are used for stationary related business, others for entertainment and technology business related (games, internet cafes). All the ten rooms on the upper

floor are partitioned. The general outward appearance of this building shows evidence of overcrowding possibly because of the economic crisis facing Zimbabwe as a country which in turn would mean that a building is used by many people than it can accommodate.

Vasan's Footwear (1902)

The building was as a result of the partnership between Isaac McCullagh and Samuel Bothwell that originated in Kimberley in 1893. The building was used for male clothing, and today the building still houses a fashion merchant. The stand was bought from Bishop Gaul in 1902 and shortly afterwards subdivided into three portions. One was sold to the Bank of Africa and one to Charles Duly, who built his cycle shop in 1903 (this building is now a spice shop) and the third portion was retained by the owners. However, some modernisation has took place, but most of the original building remains. After some changes in ownership it was bought by Mithal Vasan in 1942, whose descendants still own the building today.



Figure 9: The Men's and Boy's Complete Outfitters and Boot Merchant now the Vasan's Footwear. Source: Jackson, (1986).

There are some changes that one can notice between the Men's and Boy's Complete Outfitters and Boot Merchants owned by McCullagh and Bothwell and the Vasan's footwear. Such modifications on the building pre-date the independence of Zimbabwe. It is remarkable to note that the contemporary use and how it is used helped to identify some problems, challenges and future of an African city in the management of African heritage. One major challenge confronting African urban cities is an increase in the population of cities. Such an increase needs to be catered for economically. As such, Fig 10 shows some partitioning of the building so as to cater for more people who can do business in Harare's CBD. It is critical to observe that the partitioning of buildings in Harare so that it serves more people is a feature not confined to historical buildings or heritage resources but to other buildings as well.



Figure 10: Showing the Vasan's Footwear, (a) NMMZ plaque showing the significance of the building, (b): fashion store, (c) partition used to sell mobile cell phones and accessories, (d) combination of both mobile cell phones and accessories and fashion store.

The Mother Patricks Mortuary (1895)

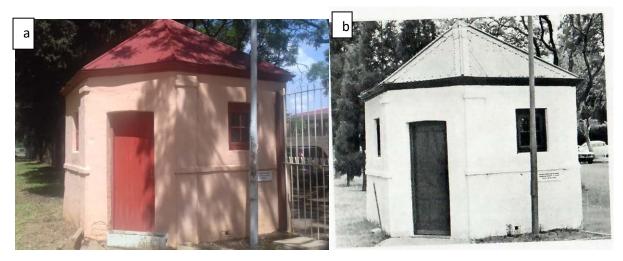


Figure 11: Mother Patrick's Mortuary, (a) Photo by BM (b) source: Jackson, (1986)

This tiny building is outside the main entrance to Mukwati Building in Livingstone Avenue (between Fourth and Fifth Street). It was declared a national monument and has been preserved as a symbol of early hospitals and as a memory to pioneer medicine. The Dominican sisters under the leadership of Mother Patrick arrived in 1891 and erected a pole and dagga hospital. The hospital could house at least 16 patients at once as it had two wards which could accommodate eight patients each. In July 1900, Mother Patrick died of tuberculosis at the age of 35. By 1908, the hospital had expanded as it could house 43 European and 23 African patients at once (Jackson, 1986).

This national monument, however, shows signs of negligence, something that undermines the whole concept of sustainability. One can notice the leaking roof ceilings, gutters and an unfixed door which can be restored so as to maintain the fabric of the site (Figure 12). These should also be guided by the principles of conservation and preservation. The general upkeep and site maintenance are of paramount importance if lasting and vivid memories to the lives of visitors are to be created. This national monument seems not to be well presented to the public so as to enhance visitor experience. The use of signages is one effective tool that can be used to improve visitor experience. Ultimately, a

well-designed and defined interpretation through signages heightens public awareness leading to a better conservation process. Visitors need to know where is what? And how to get there.



Figure 12: shows state of maintenance of Mother Patricks mortuary. a: an outdated signage of a national monument, b: shows leaking gutters, c: shows leaking roofs, d: shows an unfixed door. Photos by BM.

At Mother Patricks mortuary, interpretive panels are non-existent. These interpretive panels are critical for the development of a site in particular and heritage resources in general. Clear educational messages and content inform the public of the site's significance, hence, interpretive panels do more than provide just dates and facts. They also inspire a feeling of ownership in visitors, strengthen awareness of cultural and natural resources. Interpretive signage is self-sufficient as it enhances visitor perceptions of a site, city, or region by drawing attention to areas of unique history and identity. Captivating interpretive signs and exhibits can become a destination in their own right. As such, sites need to be interpreted reasons being for education, conservation, marketing and promotion purposes as well as to give visitors a more enjoyable experience.

Cecil House

Located at Sam Njuoma (Second Street) and Central Avenue, the property was owned by De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd and was one of Salisbury's earliest office buildings. The building was declared a National Monument in 1977. Originally, it was the official headquarters of the BSAC. In the 1970's the building was restored and many of its original fittings were retained. Around 1978, the building was then housing the Mining Industry Pension Fund. The significance of the building is that it does not only have historical value, but is, so far as is known, the last and best example of Victorian architecture in Rhodesia now Zimbabwe. Cecil house is currently used by a local law firm. In terms of state of maintenance, this building is one of the best examples of good maintenance possibly as a result of private ownership.

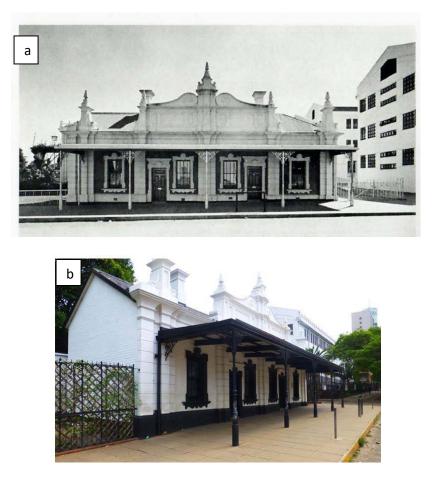


Figure 13: The Cecil Square, (a): source: Jackson, (1986), (b) Photo by BM

DISCUSSION

Colonial monuments have conflicting values attributed to them because nationalists were against colonialists and viceversa. These monuments were built by the colonial government to boost pride and inspiration to their contemporary and future generations. However, such a sentiment was not shared and appreciated by nationalists, because in these structures, the colonial government conserved a sense of a home even when abroad (Dix, 1987). For the nationalists, these monuments were symbols of oppression, and domination by the colonialists in the land of the nationalists. Even in post-independent Zimbabwe, the appreciation, regard, disregard and disdain of colonial heritage remains a controversial issue. This supports what Svisva, (2012) observed during the study of the significance of the Harare Kopje as a colonial heritage site among different people and argued that the option to either regard or disregard colonial heritage resources is highly controversial.

What makes the option to either regard or disregard colonial heritage greatly contentious is because of its associated significance. Colonial heritage is viewed with mixed feelings since the attainment of independence by African countries. Carter & Bramley, (2000) notes that the significance of any heritage resources depends on the number and groups of people who value the area and its resources. Therefore, it is more probable that colonial heritage in Harare is appreciated differently within different groups of people and this difference in heritage appreciation may account for the controversies.

Regardless of the controversies surrounding the management of colonial heritage, we argue that this heritage forms part of Zimbabwe's varied and enormous heritage. For this reason, we take a positive point of view regarding the management of Zimbabwe's colonial heritage in Harare. Colonial heritage has historic and educational values. Colonial heritage sites if effectively presented to the public, are perfect teaching aids of history. When one looks at the colonial heritage in Harare, it tells of the story behind the development of the city. In most instances, the generations that have witnessed the liberation wars leading to the independence of Zimbabwe are aware of the development of Harare. It is not surprising that the younger generations do not know of Harare's historical background. This is also because the history of the city is yet to be presented to the younger generations through colonial heritage. More often, people who visit the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences (formerly Queen Victoria Museum) in Harare and near Harare's CBD can obtain knowledge from museum collections but sadly none from colonial heritage that is nearby. Also, due to the aesthetic value of colonial heritage in Harare, the city can attract visitors.

Colonial heritage in Harare can attract tourists leading to sustainable economic development. In the Matopos, the Rhodes' grave and those of his colleagues attract many tourists both domestic and international. Hence, apart from relying from the benefit wrought by colonial heritage in the Matopos, other colonial heritages in different localities of Zimbabwe can be used for the same purpose and to the same advantage. Concerned authorities can develop tourism packages by offering guided city tours to the public. This will also ensure that colonial heritage is marketed. Thus, if colonial heritage in Harare is well maintained it has economic values to the city and the country at large.

In Zimbabwe, the NMMZ is the legally mandated sole custodian of Zimbabwe's heritage (through NMMZ Act Chapter 25:11) including colonial heritage, which predate 1910. Although the legislation includes the management of colonial heritage, the actual management of colonial heritage is somehow not clearly defined. Thus, in most colonial vestiges, there has not been better sustainable management approaches. This is because most colonial heritage is classified in class three which implies that they are inspected once a year and eventually the places do not receive much maintenance and attention. The above scenario has been aptly described by Said, (1999) who notes that post-independent Africa is ignoring the care of colonial heritage just as the colonialists neglected Africa's past.

On the economic front, population upsurge has also affected the state of preservation and maintenance of colonial heritage. Such a scenario has led to the partitioning of office space in a bid to accommodate more people who can do business in Harare's CBD. Colquhoun, (1993) referring to the spatial patterning and housing of Harare notes that when Zimbabwe became independent, Harare was not able to cope up with population upsurge because the colonial government did not have the intention of sustaining the majority of the population of the country in Harare. The effects of such population increase go beyond the spatial patterning of the city even to her heritage.

The analysis of the state of conservation of Zimbabwe's colonial heritage in Harare has shown that some historical buildings are at threat. These buildings seem to be managed by a 'negligence' approach. This management approach is in this paper defined as the laxity and slackness of a management plan that is in force but is not being implemented for one reason or the other resulting in a sorry state of the heritage because the heritage resource is 'managing itself.' This can be a result of the failure of the concerned authorities in particular NMMZ and Harare City Council to manage a huge population that has characterised Harare.

From this study, it can be observed that the conservation, preservation and presentation of Harare's historic buildings is relatively better than that of forts and memorials. This might be a result of the utilitarian value that historical buildings have over forts and memorials (Ryal-Net, Prugnal-Ogunsote & Ola-Adisa, 2019). When one looks at the forts and memorials presented here, interpretive panels have been vandalised and unretained. Although this study did not analyse the reasons nor identify the perpetrators behind the vandalism of this form of colonial heritage, just the act of vandalism implies the disregard of colonial heritage in Harare, but it remains to be shown by who. On the other hand, the evidence of vandalism on colonial heritage properties might point to the nature and level of colonial heritage appreciation by the concerned authorities.

This study has also shown that there is little investment in heritage resources. A quick overview of the forts shows that the plaques of the forts have been removed and unretained amid global increase in funding and conscious of urban heritage conservation (Rojas, 2007). This in the end results in forts without interpretation panels and such a scenario mislead the general public on the historicity of these colonial vestiges. In any heritage setup, interpretation is key. Heritage resources without interpretation are detrimental not only to the heritage places but also to the environs because the heritage places are void of any education, development, history and most importantly significance.

Possibly, the relatively little appreciation of heritage resources in the country owes much to a background of alienation as a result of land ownership and productivity. Originally, the aim of the BSAC was to exploit gold and minerals which however turned to be a failure. Consequently, agricultural productivity became an alternative resulting in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which divided European and African lands based on agricultural potential of the different parts of the country. As Pwiti & Ndoro, (1999) aptly observed that colonization of Zimbabwe caused cultural heritage alienation to the natives through the relocation of people from an important part of their culture. It is critical to note that even in the post-independent era, the land reform programme also alienated people from their heritage to new areas with a heritage they do not directly relate (Nhamo & Katsamudanga, 2015). It is important to note that such actions were political but whose ripple effects were apolitical

In this paper, we maintain that colonial heritage despite its implications to the former colonies, has a place in contemporary societies. We thus concur with Hassan, (1999) who aptly observed that the colonial era was a painful experience, but former colonies must look beyond the agony to new vistas of actions. We contend that one cannot erase the past because the past is always with us. One cannot erase history for one reason or the other. On the other hand, the 'negligence' management approach affects the sustainability of colonial heritage in Harare such that current young generation and future generations might be deprived of this important heritage resource in Zimbabwe. Therefore, we argue that the colonial era is part of our history and forms part of our heritage, so colonial heritage should not be discarded in Zimbabwe.

CONCLUSION

This paper analysed selected colonial heritage (historic buildings and forts) that are found around Harare's CBD. This is because the paper was aimed at analysing the concept of sustainability by identifying the problems, challenges and futures of an African urban city in the management, preservation, conservation and presentation of the city's colonial heritage. Typical African urban cities are confronted with a series of challenges and problems which in the long run affect also the sustainability of these heritage resources. The major challenges that this paper discussed being population upsurge, disregard for colonial heritage and economic crises. As a result of economic crises, concerned authorities are failing to effectively cope up with the maintenance of Harare's colonial heritage. We therefore call for a more sustainable heritage management approach towards Harare city's colonial heritage. Despite the challenges, problems and implications of colonial heritage, we contend that colonial heritage has a place in contemporary society and should not be

disregarded because the history of the country is incomplete once colonial heritage is removed from the scene. We hope that future studies on Zimbabwe's colonial heritage can quantify heritage values and the causes of deterioration of the heritage places. This will be helpful in understanding best practises with regards to the conservation approaches of colonial heritage as well as a better understanding into the values attached to colonial heritage.

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