Power and Knowledge in the Implementation of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area: The Case of Sengwe in Zimbabwe.

By

Manasa Sibanda
200509222



Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Social Sciences
University of Fort Hare
(Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research)

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

January 2010

Declaration

I declare that "Power and Knowledge in the Implementation of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area: The Case of Sengwe in Zimbabwe" is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Manasa Sibanda January 2010



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Signature .....

Supervisors: Professor Leslie Bank and Dr. Sarah A. Bologna University of Fort Hare South Africa.

Abstract

In this thesis I investigate power relations among various actors in Transboundary Natural Resource Management (TBNRM) settings. I look at their effects in relation to control over and access to resources, local farming and conservation practices and on the livelihoods of local people. I focus on the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA) and on the Sengwe prefecture in particular, part of which is a contested area that is designated as a wildlife-corridor (which I refer to as the Corridor). This, small but vital component of the park links Zimbabwe with the rest of the conservation area. While not much research has been done there the effects of the initiative bring about a total transformation to the livelihoods of approximately 5000 local people. When this Corridor was introduced in 2000, legislation required a total displacement of the human settlement. Almost a decade after its establishment land for relocation has not been set aside, nor have any compensatory plans been put in place. Furthermore in contemporary Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA) politics, the position of Zimbabwe is marginal because of its challenging social, economic and political environment, particularly given the dominance of South Africa's interests.

Based on the dominant concept of the so-called 'peace parks', the implementation of TBNRM initiatives rely on elusive development paradigms which tend to emphasize promoting biodiversity and poverty alleviation at the same time. Indeed and for this reason, the GLTFCA stresses the commoditization of wildlife, 'community participation' and the 'socio-economic empowerment' of local people. I problematize such concepts and look at the assumptions regarding cohesion and a common vision among local people which are glossed over in GLTFCA planning. In order to do this I apply a historical comparative case study approach, which is informed by a critical realist epistemology. This thesis therefore offers an anthropological understanding of intermediary TFCAs in the contemporary world.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Contents

Declaration i

Abstract ii
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations vii
Acknowledgements viii

Chapter 1. Introduction 1

1.1 The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA) 4
1.2 Locating Sengwe 16
1.3 The economy of the villages. A human ecology 21
1.4 Methodology 24
1.4.1 Focus group discussion 29
1.4.2 Open ended interviews 31
1.4.3 The questionnaire survey 32
1.4.4 Participant Observation 33
1.4.5 Tranect Walks 34
1.5 Thesis Map 35

Chapter 2. The Corridor. An overview 37
2. 1 A walk across Sengwe's landscape 37
2.2 Agencies operating in the Corridor 41
2.3 Livelihoods in the Corridor 48
2.4 The hunting expedition 58
2.5 Evolution of conservation policy in the Zimbabwe sector 62
2.6 Molding or remolding local livelihood options 71

Chapter 3. Development perspectives and conservation 76

3.1 Development thinking 79
3.2 The gap between policy and practice 83
3.3 The concept of community 85
3.4 Concept of community participation 87
3.5 The concept of tradition or traditional 89
3.6 The notion of progress 91
3.7 Conservation policy and the GLTFCA 92

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Chapter 4. Fencing off the problem 102

4.1 Local knowledge 106
4.2 Conventional management and local practices.....110
4.2.1 Local Practices 112
4.3 The Gonarezhou National Park and GLTFCA management plans.....123
4.4 Fencing off the problem 128

Chapter 5. Negotiating Change.....131

5.1 Conservationists' new orthodox: Gender in NGO discourse 133
5.2 The Southern Alliance For Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE).....137
5.3 The Managing Our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI) initiative.....143
5.3.1 Contesting power: Conceptualization, Planning and donor dominance 144
5.3.2 Promoting gender and the empowerment of women: the SAFIRE way.....150
5.3.3 The effects of MITI on the livelihoods of local people.....155
5.4 The Sengwe Vamanani Craft As[illegible] (SEVACA) initiative.....167
5.5 Experimental nature of initiatives in development and conservation discourse.....175

Chapter 6. "Kicking us on the stomach" A view from Chief Sengwe.....178

6.1 Chief Sengwe 182
6.2 Governance of natural resources in the GLTFCA arena 185
6.3 "Kicking us on the stomach" 193
6.4 Claiming of social legitimacy and the shifting of goal posts 205

Chapter 7. Conclusion.....209

Bibliography.....226

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Annexes

Annex A. TFCAs in Southern Africa 273

Annex B. Research Objectives and Questions of the study.....274

Annex C. Zimbabwe Agroecological zones 276

Annex D. Questionnaire Survey Tool 277

Annex E. Detailed description of vegetation.....281

Annex F. Photographs 288

Annex G. Results of the MITI Dry Run Evaluation in Chiredzi District 294

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Table of Figures

Figure 1.1: Map of the GLTFCA 3

Figure 1.2: The Proposed Options for the Corridor.....9

Figure 1.3: Sengwe Communal Land 17

Figure 1.4: Sengwe Villages 20

Figure 2.1: Unemployment level by village.....51

Figure 2.2: Percentage of area of selected four villages to be incorporated into the Corridor at 15km radius.....54

Figure 2.3: Proposed foot and mouth zonation.....74

Figure 6.1: The governance structure of the GLTFCA 187

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AGRITEX	Agricultural Technical and Extension Services
AHEAD	Animal Health for the Environment And Development
AREX	Agricultural Research and Extension Services
AWF	Africa Wildlife Foundation
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CESVI	*Cooperzione e sviluppo*
CHIEHA	Chibememe Earth Healing Association
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CITES	Convention for International Trade in Endangered Species
CRMP	Community Resource Management Plan
DA	District Administrator
DANIDA	Danish International Development Aid
DfID	British Department for International Development
DNPWLM	Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management
EMA	Environmental Management Authority
FCC	Fuelwood Crisis Consortium
FIHSER	Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research
GLTFCA	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area
GLTP	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRTDP	Integrated Regional Tourism Development Plan
IUCN- ROSA	World Conservation Union - Regional Office of Southern Africa
KPMG	Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MITI	Managing Our Indigenous Tree Inheritance
NGO	Nongovernmental Organizations
NPWA	National Parks and Wildlife Authority
PPF	Peace Parks Foundation
RDC	Rural District Council
RDDC	Rural District Development Committee
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAFIRE	Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources
SANProTA	Southern Africa Regional Natural Products Trade Association
SEVACA	Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association
TBNRM	Transboundary Natural Resource Management
TFCA	Transfrontier Conservation Areas
TRINCRECO	Tri-nation Community Representative Committee
IUCN	World Conservation Union
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
UNHCR	United Nations Commission for Refugees
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
VRMC	Village Resources Management Committee
WADCO	Ward Development Committee
WWF-SARPO	World Wide Fund For Nature -Southern Africa Regional Programme Office
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe National Union Patriotic Front

Univ of Fort Hare

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to express my gratitude to the many people who provided generous and essential support during my studies. My sincere appreciation goes to Professor Leslie Bank the Director of Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research (FHISER). I thank you for nurturing my intellectual development, your dedication and willingness to see me through my studies.

To my mentor, Dr Sarah Bologna thanks for timeously reading, and providing guidance and critique to all my work. You have seen me grow from being an NGO development practitioner to a doctoral candidate. Peter Anderson, I thank you for reading my work and providing invaluable critique.

Thanks to Prof. Gary Minkley the Director of Postgraduate Studies at the University of Fort Hare for helping me think through some of my ideas and challenging me to analyze the concept of progress within a broader historical context. Dr Nolwazi Mkwanazi gave steady and understanding encouragement. To FHISER students, thanks for the critique you gave me during seminars and the lively social debates in the project-room. And to Farai Mtero, whose turn it will be soon keep up the spirit. I wish to acknowledge the mentoring I received from Dr Chris Foggin at the Department of Veterinary Services in Harare who also networked me to various GLTFCA discussion forums.

I thank the residents of Sengwe for welcoming me into their homes and providing me with the essential information during my field work. Chief Sengwe, no words can express my gratitude for making me feel at home in your constituency and taking me on excursions to the care of local people. To my close friends and research assistants Sithulisiwe Ndhlovu, Norman Mhlanga and Dumisani Tseme, I thank you for the hard work and unwavering support.

No words can express my gratitude to my wife Miriam for always being supportive and took care of our wonderful children while I was away. To Tinashe (Brethren), Tapiwa (Sistren) and Tabani (Smolboyz), I say no more part time parenting. I look forward to being home for you guys.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

My brothers Melvin (Fini), Joshua (Jola) and Ben (Mblika) thank you for the encouragement. To my mother Saliwe who repeatedly wanted me to be with my family, you are forever an inspiration to me. *Hayi, zvahopera hazvo*. And my father Rungai, I thank you for your encouragement to pursue my academic endeavors. And to my late sister Tulani, I wish if we had celebrated this achievement together. May your soul rest in peace?

I owe a debt I can never repay to the management staff at SAFIRE for their excellent assistance and thoughtfulness. Gladman Mapurisa Kundhlande, Peter Gondo and Dr Phosiso Sola, for taking time reviewing my work at the conceptual stages of my studies. I also like to thank you for providing me office space, time off to conduct my field work and extended study leave days to attend reading sessions at Fort Hare. My sincere gratitude also goes to my close colleagues at SAFIRE for their unwavering support. Zvidzai Chidhakwa thanks for the encouragement.

To my brother-in-law Stanley Maneta, this work would not have been easy without your moral support. Elijah Munyuki thanks for offering office space to me during the intense preparation of my proposal. Christopher, Xavier and Mufandaedza (DD), your logistical and transport support was overwhelming during the challenging economic environment in Zimbabwe. Special thanks also go to Laura Mitifor the language editing.

Funding for this work came from a number of donors. Fieldwork was funded by FIHSER and the grant from the Govan Mbeki Research and Development Centre (GRMDC) received through my supervisor Dr Sarah Bologna. As well, I am also grateful to the various resource centers in Zimbabwe that allowed me access to their primary documents. In particular, I think of SAPES Trust, ZERO, SAFIRE, IUCN and the University of Zimbabwe.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE
HOWARD PIM LIBRARY
PRIVATE BAG X1322
ALICE 5700

Chapter 1

Introduction

8 November 2006: Mrs Baloyi sat cross legged under the shade of the Mopane tree near her kitchen, shelling groundnuts from her granary for making peanut butter. As I walked towards her homestead, I triggered the screech of tree crickets. They filled the hot air with an ear pricking and deafening sound. I had spent half the morning chatting to Mr Lismati, the local leader of Malipati village, and was on my way to Davata in Kotsvi village where I stayed. "Hello Sibanda. Where are you coming from in this hot sun?" She greeted me as I approached the small thatched kitchen that was situated between her two roomed flat (so named after its flat roof) under asbestos (locally known as *Dhandirumu*), to where she sat. "Hello MaNcube", I replied using her maiden name which she was known by locally. "*Seliphekile yini, ngilambile bubi*? Have you cooked, I am so hungry" I joked with her. "*Ngitshonile, kanti lilungisa amazambani lilodwa, usisi w[illegible]phi lamhlanje*? I am fine, but why are you shelling groundnuts alone, where is my sister today?" I asked, referring to her daughter Nobuhle with whom she stays. "Take a stool from the kitchen, help yourself to water and come shell the groundnuts for me." She remarked.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

MaNcube is 64 years old and lives with her daughter and three grand children (Sibongile who is 11 years old; Thomas, 9; and Jacob, 8) from her two deceased sons, Thokozile and Jabulani. Her husband died 13 years ago from a heart problem in South Africa. She could not bury him in Zimbabwe because she could not afford the costs of transporting the body to Sengwe for the purposes of burying him. As I sat beside her, she told me her story:

> Look my son, I had to take care of my children, send them to school and make sure they were fed everyday. I harvest Mopane worms and *Ilala* palm and sell them for a living. You know my two sons left school before completing their grade seven to work in South Africa. They used to send me money and clothes and we always spent the Christmas holidays together here. Thokozile was so sick and I took him to the clinic so often. But because there were no powerful medicines and I did not have any money to send him to better hospitals, he died. Jabuilani died in the mines and I still do not understand how. To make ends meet, I sometimes brew and sell beer to generate income. My plot in Banyini helps me generate cash to send my grand children to school. I grow vegetables and green mealies every winter for the market. Thokozile's eldest daughter is now in grade six and the others in grades four and three. That means I must start saving for secondary school expenses. But our money no longer buys anything these

> days.[1] Obviously my grand children will attend day school here because I cannot afford a boarding school anyway. I would have preferred a boarding school because the education system there is much better. It has been tough here because we do not have cattle for draught power, so we depend on relatives who always provide these late in the season. Our rainy season is very short, only two months and any delays mean hunger, my son (8 November 2006).

MaNcube and her neighbors, numbering some 200 families whose ancestors have lived in Sengwe for nearly two centuries reside in an area that has come to be known as the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA). (See figure 1.1, page 3).[2] Their residents lie within what is now the Sengwe to Chipise Wildlife Corridor (here after referred to as The Corridor) that links the Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe and the Kruger National Park in South Africa. See Figure 1.2, page 9.[3] The Corridor reconceptualizes this whole area into a wildlife corridor devoid of human settlement with effects on the livelihood of local people such as MaNcube. Local people I spoke to residing in the Corridor indicate that their perception about the GLTFCA was that it was going to operate the same way as a conservation initiative they were familiar with called the Communal Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe sector.[4]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This thesis has four major concerns. These are: (i) to critically analyze the nature and extent of local people's involvement in the design, planning and implementation of the GLTFCA initiative; (ii) to examine how the integration with communal areas has affected the livelihoods of the people residing in the Corridor; (iii) to investigate how farming and conservation practices have changed;[5] and (iv) to evaluate the effects of the initiative on power relations between local people and authorities in the initiative in relation to the control over, and access to resources.[6]

---

1 Zimbabwe is experiencing its worst economic challenges with high inflation and scarcity of essential commodities.

2 I describe the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area on pages 4 - 7.

3 See details of the Corridor on pages 7 -11.

4 One disgruntled 18 year old unemployed man who is a resident in Sengwe said: "We were made to understand that the GLTFCA is going to be an expansion of the CAMPFIRE initiative. But we are witnessing a totally different thing altogether" (Interview with 18 year old unemployed man, Davata, 20 November 2006). The CAMPFIRE initiative operates as a partnership among different actors in the Zimbabwe sector. There is much literature on the CAMPFIRE initiative, its history, lessons learned and effects on livelihoods of local people. However, many critics seem to suggest that the CAMPFIRE initiative generally did not achieve all its objectives. See (Moyo, 1999; Bond, 1999; Newshan, 2002; CASS, 1999; Mashinya, 2007; Child, 2004; Jones and Murphree, 2004; Campbell *et al,* 2001; Rihoy and Maguranyanga, 2007; Roe, 1995; Murombedzi, 1998, 1999; Simon, 2003; Metcalfe, 1998; Dzingirai, 1995; Thomas, 1991, 1995; Norumandwe, 2003; Mavheneke, 1998; Mandondo, 2000; Murphree, 2001; Muir-Leresche *et al,* 2003; Brown, 2005), for instance.

5 I adopt conservation practices to mean the "principles and practices that argue that conservation goals should be pursued by strategies that emphasize the role of local residents in decision-making about natural resources" (Adams and Hulme, 2001:13).

6 My thesis discusses who these actors are and how they interact at local level. I elaborate on power on page 14.

Figure 1.1: Map of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA)



Key: GLTFCA Mozambique Indian Ocean Zimbabwe South Africa

Country Boundary River Road National Park Boundary

Source: Peace Parks Foundation (2002).

1.1 The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA)

The GLTFCA is a partnership among South Africa, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It covers an area of approximately 99,800km^2 (GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000:8). The total area is divided into approximately 66,000km^2 in Mozambique, 22,000km^2 in South Africa, and 12,000km^2 in Zimbabwe (Peace Parks, 2002). It is guided by three goals which are:

i. Political: to foster transboundary collaboration between Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and South Africa;
ii. Economic: to strengthen local economies through the sustainable management of natural resources; to generate income through trans-border eco-tourism, and to facilitate the creation of a sub-regional economic base; and
iii. Ecological: to enhance ecosystem integrity through the creation of a large reserve; and to promote alliances in the management of natural resources among the different user groups (GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000:8).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The GLTFCA incorporates the Limpopo National Park in Mozambique, the Pafuri Strip, the Kruger National Park in South Africa, and Gonarezhou National Park, Malipati Safari Area, Manjinji Pan Sanctuary in Zimbabwe. It proposes to manage "compatible conservation areas but not lending itself to formal integration with the Transfrontier Park" (ibid: 2000:3), as a conservation area. Such areas include Zinave National Park, the Massingir and Corumana areas in Mozambique and various privately owned and state-owned conservation areas in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Futher, the GLTFCA is based on the concept of 'peace parks'. Sandwith *et al* (2001), define peace parks as "Trans-Boundary Protected Areas (TBPAs) ... managed through legal or other effective means, which are dedicated both to the conservation of biological and cultural diversity and the promotion of peace and cooperation" (2001:1). The peace parks came into reality in the late 1920s and early 1930s when Canada and the United States of America entered into an agreement to collectively manage the Waterton Glacier International Peace Park.[7]

[7] See http://www.pc.gc.ca/pn-np/ab/Waterton/natcul/inter_e.asp and http://www.glacierparkwaterton.com. Accessed: 8 September 2009. There has been an increase in the number of TFCAs initiatives world wide (Hammill and Besançon, 2003:4).

The three national parks in the GLTFCA arena are protected areas (PAs) and are managed by the respective states. I use the concept of Protected Areas, as defined by Griffin *et al* (1991), as "areas of land officially set aside by a government for the purposes of ecological or cultural conservation; such lands are generally owned and managed by the state" (1999:1). And these include Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) such as the GLTFCA. In its project document, *Mozambique Transfrontier Conservation Areas Pilot and Institutional Strength Project,* 1996, the World Bank defines TFCAs as: "relatively large areas that straddle frontiers between two or more countries and cover large-scale natural systems encompassing one or more protected areas" (1996:5). Critics question the issue about scale as some TFCAs in the Zimbabwe sector such as the Chimanimani TFCA only covers a relatively small geographical area compared to the GLTFCA.[8]

Cecil Rhodes had a dream, an expansionary plan to extend the British control in Africa from 'Cape to Cairo'. Wolmer (2003) suggests that TFCAs are initiatives that contribute towards this dream and refers to such actors pursuing TFCAs as "Cecil Rhodes' clones who want to see a great wedge of green as their legacy to Africa" (2003:266). He further shows that the GLTFCA is not a new idea but has deep historical roots. General Jan Christian Smuts first introduced the concept of "a great fauna and tourist road through Africa" which would link the Kruger Park and Rhodesia in the 1920s (ibid:. 2003:268).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

More recent work by Spierenburg and Wels (2006), demonstrates how TFCAs facilitate the removal of physical fences that demarcated the protected areas and the communal area. They "represent attempts to break down the fences that have hindered community participation in wildlife conservation" (2006:299).[9] Harmon, (2006:209) too, argues that this will improve the health of animals. Accordingly, the GLTFCA Treaty (2002) suggests that "when the risks of human-animal conflict are high and a fence can resolve this, however, a fence will be erected" (2002:6). From this perspective, chapter 4, describes how the GLTFCA has not only removed fences

---

8 The Chimanimani TFCA is a partnership between Zimbabwe and Mozambique, established in March 2006. See annex A on page 273, showing TFCAs in Southern Africa and the position of the Chimanimani TFCA.

9 Community participation is problematic. It is based on the concept of community that is vague and assumes homogeneity among members in terms of gender, ethnicity and vision. For instance Murphree (2001:26), Thorton and rampele (1988:30), Internal differentiation within 'communities' has been glossed over in the planning of TFCAs (Carruthers, 1995:43; Chapin, 2004:21; Rhihoy *et al,* 2007; Hutton *et al,* 2006).See pages 87 –88, chapter 3 for details.

in some places but plans to erect more others, and looks at how these new fences impact on the livelihoods and participation of local people in the initiative.

In 2004, Chapin argued that the TFCAs emerged as a reaction to the difficulties environmental organizations experienced with community-based conservation, and a way to escape from local partners that the organizations considered as not such good ecological stewards after all (2004:21).[10] Although these conservation initiatives straddle international boundaries, participating countries maintain their sovereignty. Sovereign rights enable the states (and their agencies) to act in the interests of their citizens. In this regard, sovereignty is a critical principle needed to safeguard the nations and protect the basic and most important fundamental rights from usurpation and encroachment.[11] The GLTFCA acknowledges this by stating in its policy document that:

> While each nation retains sovereign rights to the land it has contributed to the Transfrontier Park, the Park [GLTFCA] will be managed to optimize ecological processes and conserve biodiversity over the entire area, but done in a manner that also stimulates ecotourism and so[illegible]omic benefits (GKG Conceptual Plan, 2002:1).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The above quote from the official website of the GLTFCA and also printed in pamphlets available to tourists in Gonarezhou National Park suggests that the primary concern is to "optimize ecological processes and conserve biodiversity" (ibid: 2002:1). Despite the policy assurance to maintain sovereignty rights and optimize socio-economic benefits, a major question arises as to whether or not there could be a free movement of wildlife without generating conflicts (wildlife/human, wildlife/livestock and wildlife/crop) which might have negative effects on the socio-economic wellbeing of local people.

In discussing how the demarcation of international boundaries was made in the West Africa prefecture Hargreaves (1985) demonstrates how different actors interacted with each other resulting in the generation of conflicts that had consequences on the livelihoods of the weaker actors. To describe this effect, he uses a commonly quoted Ugandan proverb that says: "When two elephants meet, it is the grass that suffers"

---

[10] In chapters 3 and 4, I discuss the context of ecological stewards and show that local people are often seen by the other actors such as authorities as inhibitors of economic progress.

[11] See http://www.nobility-royalty.com Accessed 30, June 2009.

(1985:19).[12] This proverb also applies in this thesis within the context of TFCAs to illustrate their effects on the livelihood of local people and how they redefine the landscape, not only in terms of power but geographical area in the GLTFCA prefecture.[13]

When the GLTFCA was established in 2000, legislation required that all settlements be cleared from the Corridor to reduce human-wildlife and livestock-wildlife conflicts. "In time, all barriers that impede the free movement of animals across current artificial boundaries will be removed and tourists will also have unimpeded access to all three component areas" [Gonarezhou, Kruger and Limpopo National Parks] (GKG Conceptual Plan, 2002:1). Some critics view this as returning to the idea that people and wildlife cannot coexist and that people are a threat to nature (see Milgroom and Spierenburg, 2008:436; Wolmer *et al*, 2003:97). The rationale behind the Corridor as suggested by an NGO called *Cooperzione e sviluppo* (CESVI) is unequivocally to reestablish lost wildlife migratory routes and create a gene pool for breeding wildlife.[14]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

From the start, this proposal for the Corridor has been contested. Although CESVI conducted a consultation process, an elderly man and local leader I spoke to said: "During consultations we [local leaders] agreed that the Corridor line should run at 5km radius but we heard later that CESVI recommended a 15km and 26km radius from the Zimbabwe border with Mozambique. What is that?"[15] (See figure 1.2, page 9). My thesis, illustrates that while one can argue that the development of the GLTFCA presents an opportunity to promote the social and economic development of the Corridor, local people see a different picture.

This proposed Corridor has not yet been established and my thesis looks at the conflicts and issues at the conceptual stage only. CESVI proposes three alternative positions of the Corridor, which vary from a 5km radius from the Zimbabwe border with Mozambique favored by the local people to 15kms and 26kms suggested by

---

12 See also Jabs (2007:1498) who uses the metaphor to describe conflicts among pastoralists in Karamoja, Uganda where cattle raiding are rampant.

13 I discuss power on page 14.

14 *Cooperzione e sviluppo* (CESVI) is an Italian NGO operating in the Corridor.

15 Interview with a disgruntled elderly man and local leader, Sengwe, 02 August 2006.

authorities operating in the area. The 392km^2 Corridor area lies within the 15km radius. CESVI (2002), illustrate how alternative corridors are possible within an area in Mozambique near Pafuri that creates a link via the northern part of Coutada 16 in Mozambique (2002:5). However, these alternative corridors are not favoured by authorities.

Similar corridors in the Sengwe prefecture include the Mwenezi River that links the Gulugi section of Gonarezhou National Park with Malilangwe Conservancy and another one linking Malilangwe with Save Valley and Chiredzi conservancies.[16] A conservancy is a legitimate conservation arrangement among recognized land and resource owners and authorities (Murphree and Metcalfe, 1997:3) which involves this amalgamation "with internal fences removed" (Wolmer *et al,* 2003:88. Conservancies are located on private farmland and have the authority to conduct trophy hunting, invest in tourism and conservation initiatives.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Other features that justify the Corridor are the presence of endemic and unique vegetation types and animal species, the variety of wild animals and birds, areas of botanic interests, game viewing areas and the overall topography. The diversity of both indigenous and alien vegetation not only provides a rich source of food for wildlife and an attraction to tourists, but is fundamental to the livelihoods of local people.[17] In particular, the unoccupied and uncultivated area in the southern part of the Gonarezhou National Park along the Mwenezi valley is another important unit that favors the establishment of the Corridor by authorities in the Sengwe prefecture.

But this Corridor, while allowing wildlife to move and breed freely within its prefecture will also mean total displacement of the human settlement, and a complete transformation of local people's livelihoods. The Corridor includes, among other infrastructure, the school (Davata primary and Secondary), a clinic and 740 households. It is administratively headed by Chief Sengwe who reports to district authorities.[18]

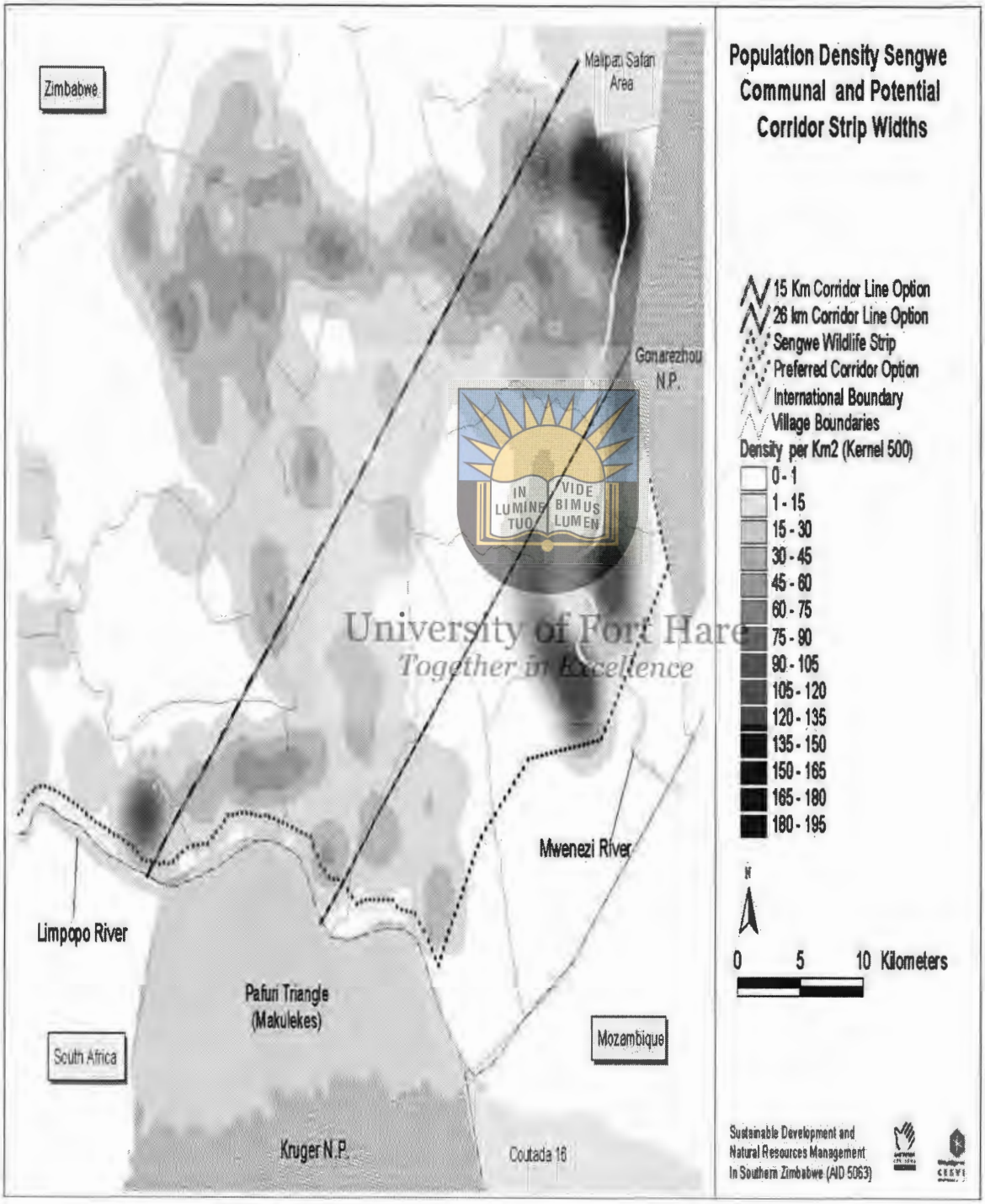
---

16 These conservancies were established between 1988 and 1990, and their role is to promote wildlife ranching. They also act as buffering zones between communal areas and national parks or reserves.

17 See DNPWM (1998), Timberlake and Mapaure (1999:8) for instance. Details of the vegetation types are discussed in Annex E, page 281.

18 I discuss the role of chiefs in chapter 2 and show how they have been changing over timein chapter 3, and Chief Sengwe's views on the GLTFCA in chapter 6.

Figure 1.2: The Proposed Options for the Sengwe to Chipise Wildlife Corridor



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence
IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN

Source: CESVI (2002)

These 740 families have not yet been moved for political reasons. The Zimbabwe government experienced waning political support during both its 2002 and 2007 elections and removing these families might cause resentment and a further waning of support from the electorate in this prefecture. Importantly, an area for relocation has not yet been decided upon.[19] The *Zim Standard and Zimbabwe Situation,* 2006, describes the situation in the GLTFCA Zimbabwe sector as follows:

> Security concerns are threatening the progress of the Great Limpopo Trans Frontier Park amid reports that the Zimbabwean government does not have land to resettle villagers from Sengwe. The Governor for Masvingo, Willard Chiwewe, said the government wants the villagers out but admitted that would take longer than expected because they do not have land to relocate them. "We will remove them as soon as we have an alternative place to relocate them. Right now we do not have the actual land," Chiwewe said. Fears are that their stay could create security concerns chief among which would be fueling poaching and increased animal and human conflicts. National Parks and Wildlife Authority public relations officer, Major Edward Mbewe, said they are keen to see the community leaving. "As Parks we want them out. We have reserved that area as an extensive zone for the rhino," Mbewe said (20 February, 2006).

Here, the inconclusive situation about relocation is shown by the authorities. What is more pressing though is that the local people are aware that their relocation is imminent have a challenge in planning their lives.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The important point, however, is that the Corridor is one way the Zimbabwe sector can be connected to the GLTFCA (see CESVI, 2002:5). Such a corridor, albeit relatively small, compared to the rest of the GLTFCA, is thus vital to the development of the conservation area. But this area shall not only incorporate communal land but its establishment facilitates the removal of settlements in the Sengwe prefecture. Looking at my study site, the corridor shall cover an average of 94% of the area. See figure 2.2, page 52. My thesis shows how this ability of the GLTFCA to expand the geographic boundaries of the conservation area from protected areas (national parks), has effects not only on protecting the private land but that it claims part of the communal area. I argue, that this evokes the colonial period when land was appropriated from local people.

But one must not be deceived: what is being claimed might not be a panacea for consumptive conservation initiatives local people have witnessed in the past. For

[19] In the following chapters I illustrate how the political and economic environment in Zimbabwe also affects the implementation of the GLTFCA and the livelihoods of local people in the Corridor.

instance, what will happen to people such as MaNcube and her neighbors is a cause of concern when the GLTFCA policies in the Zimbabwe sector take effect. While technical studies and consultancies were commissioned in the GLTFCA arena there are none that focus on the relocation of local people illustrating resettlement plans and compensatory mechanisms. This thesis argues that no commitment to the well being of local people has been made so far by funding agencies, NGOs and participating governments.

Wolmer *et al* (2003) remind us that "wildlife does not combine well with other land uses - particularly those that involve the presence of people" (2003:97). From a historical perspective, the establishment of Gonarezhou between the 1930s and 1940s (later de-gazetted to allow control of Tsetse Fly), and its re-establishment in 1975 was characterised by relocations to pave way for the game reserve and national park respectively. Strategically the once Tribal trust lands (now communal land) were positioned to buffer wildlife diseases from commercial cattle ranches, which produced beef for export to the European Union.[20]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

What is happening, then, is as this thesis argues, the re-emergence of features of the colonial era during which conservation initiatives disrupted the lives of local people. The establishment of the GLTFCA renders the lives and livelihoods insecure. It is within this context that this thesis emphasizes that "... the creation of TFCAs will be a prime motor for economic development and upliftment of local communities ..., the initiative [GLTFCA] claims legitimacy" (Draper and Wels, 2002).[21] In addition, it is critical to articulate how local people come to associate the development of the GLTFCA as consistent with social destabilization. In the final analysis, this thesis investigates how far the GLTFCA has lived up to its claim, and whether or not it is also a means towards "cultural harmonization" (sees GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000:8). One disgruntled elderly man and local leader said: "This is about wildlife liberation and more suffering to us".[22] Authorities in Chiredzi district described the situation as

---

20 In chapter 4, I discuss the veterinary fence proposed under the GLTFCA. This fence separates the communal area from the rest of the GLTFCA and thus become a boundary to buffer and reduces wildlife-livestock and wildlife-human conflicts.

21 Draper and Wels (2002) argue that there is a basic ambivalence in the managerial attempt of the South African Peace Park Foundation (PPF), presided by Anton Rupert, to foster cohesion within the development of TFCAs in southern Africa by focusing on community participation and development (2002:1).

22 Interview with a disgruntled elderly man and local leader, Malipati, 15 August, 2006. A number of writers argue that an awareness of the value of wildlife and devolution of authority are critical in the implementation of TFCAs (Child, 2009:29; Smith *et al*, 2009:2127; Knight et al., 2007; Carwardine et al., 2008; Ramutsindela, 2003:41).

follows:

> This scenario brings back bad memories of the colonial times and yet this [Zimbabwe] is an independent country. People are rethinking about what happened during the Land Apportionment Acts of the 1800s. They also think about what happened during the establishment of Gonarezhou in the 1970s. They [local people] are indeed victims of conservation initiatives that seem to promise better livelihoods each time (Interview, Local Authority Member, Chiredzi, 22 October, 2006).[23]

These bad memories as described by an employee of the Chiredzi district authority can also be summarized in the following works of Kinsey (2004), who says: "For some 90 years the country [Zimbabwe] was a settler colony, the adoption of discriminatory agricultural policies and the alienation of most of the fertile, well-watered land to European settlers resulted in the oppression, marginalization and impoverishment of indigenous rural people" (2004:1669). This period Biebuyck (1963) argues increased scarcity of land "due to increased population, agricultural development, the development of new markets and a heightened demand for good quality land" (1963:56).[24]

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN

Because the GLTFCA involve partnerships among three countries, the governance of the natural resources is complex.[25] Pollard and Cousins (2007) articulate that "traditionally, governance has been understood as government systems" that is among other attributes the structure, power, coercion, political structures of government (bureaucracies) and representation (2007:2-3).[26] In the GLTFCA arena, the governance complies with the framework for co-operation in the establishment, development and management of trans-border ecosystems is provided by regional bodies such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC).[27] These are the SADC Wildlife Policy and the Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

23 I provide details of the policies implemented during both the colonial (1820 – 1980) and post colonial period (after 1980 to date- 2009) in the Zimbabwe sector that are relevant to conservation. I show how they affect the livelihoods of local people in chapter 2.

24 A major review in chapter 2, page 60, discuss these policies relevant to the agricultural and natural resources illustrating how they created a situation of demand for land, access and control over natural resources with consequences on the livelihoods of local people as they apply in the GLTFCA arena, particularly in the Corridor.

25 Concerns on partnerships have been raised by a number of authors and organizations (WWF, 2000; Faikir, 2004; Dzingirai, 2003; Hughes, 2002; Ribot, 2007).

26 I problematize tradition in chapter 3. The term tradition "is used to imply unchanging, homogeneous and communal, as opposed to a modern white culture which is dynamic, diverse and individualistic within the South African apartheid context" (Spiegel and Boonzaier, 1988:42).

27 The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is an inter-governmental organization headquartered in Gaborone, Botswana. SADC was established under Article 2 of the SADC treaty by SADC Member States represented by their respective Heads of State and Government or duly authorized representatives to spearhead economic integration of Southern Africa. The SADC vision is one of a common future, within a regional community that will ensure economic well-being, improvement of the standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice; peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa (http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/52 [accessed 24 August, 2009).

Enforcement.[28] Its governance therefore comprises other formal institutions (agreements and protocols) binding parties in the GLTFCA arena. Governance here includes "the exercise of power in practice, from the global to local scales" (Wolmer, 2003:267).[29] Considerations of governance structure, their roles, representation and the effects on the loci of power and authority on local institutions dominate in chapters 2, 5 and 6.[30]

North (1990) defines institutions as the rules of the game while institutional structures are taken to be the groups of actors who are "bound together by some common purpose" (1990:3-5).[31] Following his lecture article *Economic Performance through Time,* 1993, North illustrates that institutions are made up of "formal constraints (rules, laws, constitutions), informal constraints (norms of behavior, conventions, and self-imposed codes of conduct), and their enforcement characteristics" (1993:1). Furthermore, he points out that they regulate human interaction, and argues that these "define the incentive structure ..." (ibid: 1993:1). Emphasis in this thesis is analyzing the role of institutions in the GLTFCA arena, how they define and influence access to and use of natural resources.[32] My investigation leans heavily on their jurisdictions, accountability, and issues surrounding their effectiveness and how local institutions respond to exogenous actors in the GLTFCA arena. Particular attention is given to how women are involved in the decision-making processes within these institutions.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The thesis also considers the multiplicity of actors in the GLTFCA arena, whom with varying interests interact in a complex relationship among them occur. The relationship defined by their roles and ability to influence activities within, which generate webs of power. I use the concept of power in this thesis following Weber (1947). He defines power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his or her own will despite resistance,

---

28 These were signed in Blantyre, Malawi in 1997 and Maputo, Mozambique in 1999 respectively.

29 I look at governance, dynamics in the use of natural resources and ecological changes over time (Oakley 1991; Fairhead and Leach, 1996:3; Muruthi and Frohastdt, 2001:6).

30 See http://www.environment.gov.za. [Accessed. 20 August, 2009] and www.tbpa.net/docs/pdfs/SecMan/SecManIntTreatyFinalNov2002.pdf [accessed 20 August, 2009] respectively.

31 Although I adopt North's definition, I consider that institutions also refer to other modern institutional structures, governance structures of the state or the technical departments of the state (see Norumandwe, 2003:3).

32 One important aspect of the informal constraints of institutions is the codes of conduct that might be self-imposed because it suggests some degree of autonomy from exogenous factors.

regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (1947:152). In the Sengwe language *Thamu* (power) means the ability of individuals and institutions to influence human behavior for the benefit or otherwise of the local people. Local people emphasize that it can be expressed physically, intellectually and spiritually.[33] Agrawal (1995) deduces that power manifests itself as the craftiness of reason and populism (1995:413). Populism implies "A political philosophy supporting the rights and power of the people in their struggle against the privileged elite".[34] I give particular attention to the webs of power among actors participating in the initiative, related conflicts and the responses by local people. No consideration of the TFCA agenda would be complete without looking at the planning and implementation of the GLTFCA.

My argument then leans heavily on an analysis of the gap between the GLTFCA policy and practice, which suggests conforming to hegemonic planning despite the rhetoric of participation and local empowerment.[35] And that hegemony in the establishment of the GLTFCA generates consequences which some practitioners and academics working in the area of development may well have underestimated. One of the most salient/central features of my argument is to demonstrate whether or not conservation policy can be ambiguous and incorporates all actors' interests, even those which are contradictory in development policy discourse.[36]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

I have found it useful here to employ Foucault's notion of discourse as described in *The Archeology of Knowledge,* 1972, as "a practice,... composed of a series of homogeneous events,... signs; but what they [it] do [does] is more than use these signs to designate things, which form objects of which they speak" (1972:46,49,171). Similarly Spivak (1987) argues that ideas about this world are influenced by reflections of wider power that determines the way we think, speak and write (1987:104). Therefore, the need to problematize concepts such as community, community participation and assumptions by the GLTFCA initiative regarding cohesion and a common vision among actors is apparent.

---

33 Results from a Focus group discussion, Chilchlela, 18, September 2006. Responses were made by man and women of varying age groups.

34 See http://www.answers.com/topic/populism [accessed 10 August, 2009]

35 Hegemony refers to a combination of "economic, political, intellectual and moral objectives which will be brought abut by one fundamental group and groups alied to it through intermediary ideology when ideology manages to spread throughout the whole of society determining not only united economic and political objectives but also intellectual or moral unity" (Gramsci, 1971:222).

36 Development is a highly contested notion. I problematize development in chapter 3.

Notwithstanding that the existing GLTFCA conceptual and implementation plans are drawn by authorities, it is important to consider whether or not they recognize local ecological knowledge and the priorities of local level institutions.[37] Generally many scholars and development practitioners view the so called local knowledge as a diverse but dynamic pool of locally shared knowledge.[38] Because it is diverse, I consider local ecological knowledge amongst my respondents in the Corridor and select practices by which the ecosystems and biological diversity are managed. In this regard, this thesis articulates the role these practices play in responding to and managing the complex ecosystems in the area and how they build resilience. Resilience in this context is used in a similar way to Holling (1973), who refers to it, as "the capacity to recover after disturbance, absorb stress, internalize it, and transcend it" (1973:4). If one is to assert how this process manifests, perhaps, it becomes apparent to focus on how conflicts arose at the interface between GLTFCA and local knowledge and practices as they apply to conservation. Local knowledge in the Sengwe prefecture is also influenced by people who share their ideas when they return home from towns and cities. Also, the diversity of people of different ethnic origins, who reside in Sengwe influences this pool of knowledge. Ethnicity is used here as a term which represents social groups with a shared history, sense of identity, geography and cultural roots (Lindgren, 2004:176; Ship, 1998:312-313).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Results from my fieldwork show that many households (75%) for the 35 to 45 year age group are headed by women. This reflects one of the effects of migrant labor by men to South Africa and Mozambique.[39] In the absence of their spouses women make decisions not only at household level but at ward level regarding conservation.[40] Conservation practices at household level ensure long term benefits accruing directly to the household. It is within this context that discourses in gender and women empowerment is discussed in this thesis.[41] Buckingham-Hatfield (2000), advocates that development interventions need to consider the tasks undertaken by women, so that they are able to continue their activities and participate in the implementation of the initiatives (2000:7-8), so does Bury (2004:5).

---

37 By local knowledge I mean the Sengwe farming and conservation practices.
38 For instance Agrawal (1995:413-415), Dugdeon and Berkes (2003:85) and UNEP (1998:50).
39 Results from a Focus group discussion, Sengwe, 21 October, 2006.
40 I discuss boundaries of the village and ward in the Zimbabwe sector on page 19.
41 I expalin the effects of conservation initiatives in development particularly on women in Sengwe i chapter 5.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to introducing the reader to the argument of the thesis, my study area, the methodology and ethical considerations. The last part outlines the thesis map describing the focus of each chapter. My arguments are built on the post development perspective that interventions in development are importantly about establishing, promoting and defending significant interpretations of actions and events (see Mosse, 2005:xii), and these actions are not necessarily implied in policy, whether right or wrong, intended or unintended. And, "that rhetorical claims to significant changes in approaches to development do not necessarily mean those changes have occurred on the ground, or that the eventual outcomes are ultimately substantially different from those associated with top-down development interventions" (Bologna, 2008:79).

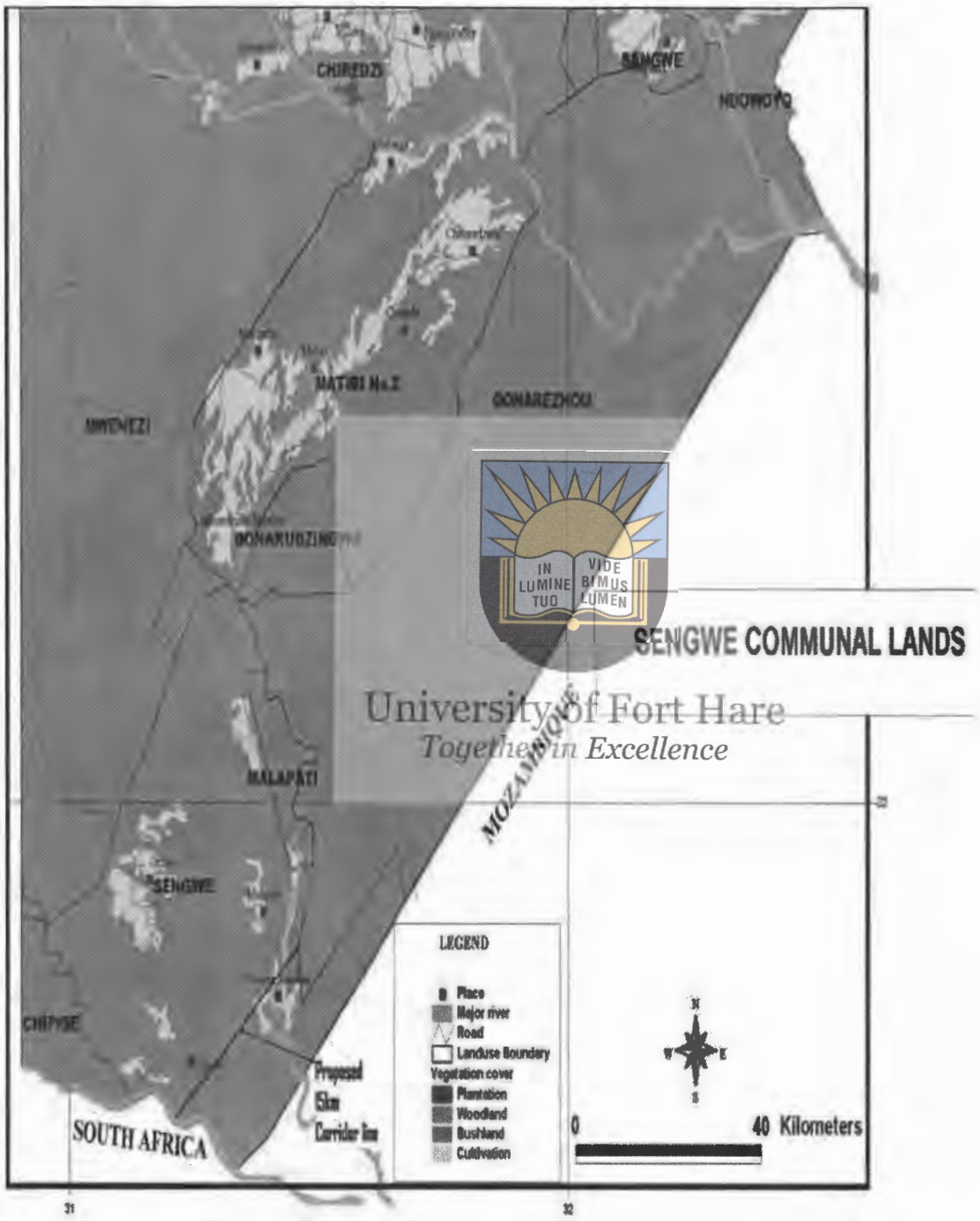
I argue that the GLTFCA initiative is constructed on top-down hegemonic development approaches. On the ground, its implementation suggests to facilitate and promote the commoditization of wildlife albeit rhetoric of 'participation of local communities' implied in its policy. The consequence of its governance structure polarizes existing local institutions and structures. Furthermore, it criminalizes local farming and conservation practices suggesting the disfranchisement of local people but other powerful actors. Whether intentional or not, but subsequent events have shown that local people have not benefited almost 10 years after its establishment. In the following section I look at my study site, Sengwe the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

1.2 Locating Sengwe

Sengwe communal area is located in the southeastern region of Chiredzi district, Masvingo province in Zimbabwe (see map in figure 1.3, page 17). I was there to conduct feildwork for this study. From Chiredzi town going southwards I took a left turn at the Hippo Valley Sugar Refinery into the vast sugar plantations of Hippo Valley Estate. The aroma of molasses sprayed on the dirty road to make a firm and fairly smooth surface, greeted me into the sugar plantation. Suddenly I emerged at the end of the plantations into the Hippo Valley game reserve. About six kilometers into the game reserve I passed the narrow Runde Bridge and River into the communal area that leads immediately to Chilonga business center.

Figure 1.3: Sengwe Communal Land



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence
IN LUMINE TUO
VIDE BIMUS LUMEN

Source: Surveyor General Zimbabwe (2009).

With dusty feet, a number of women and children rushed towards my vehicle to sell their wares shouting prices (in billions and trillions of Zimbabwe dollars that could shock foreigners not familiar with the Zimbabwe economy).[42] The wares included wild fruits, bundles of fresh green mealies, tomatoes and other vegetables both from the wild, and from gardens along the Runde River and the nearby Chilonga irrigation scheme.

From Chilonga, the corrugated dirty road became even wider not because there is so much traffic in this remote part of the country but because vehicles avoid the road surface due to its poor state and travel along the drainage ditch alongside. Occasionally I had to pull back to the actual road surface to avoid livestock and ox-drawn carts along these extended pathways. The terrain became flat, vegetation also changed and the woodland dominated by the Mopani tree species with sparsely populated Combretum and Baobab trees. I could see a number of boreholes and broken down windmills along the road that, according to local people, were remnants of NGO projects. As I traveled, the temperature started to rise, the air became drier and the breeze warmer.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Reaching Malisanga, I proceeded straight at the intersection of the road that links Rutenga and Mozambique. This is an alternative route to Sengwe during the rainy season when the Runde River floods over the bridge at Chilonga.[43] The Rutenga route is connected from the main road that links Chiredzi and Beitbridge towns. After another long drive I arrived at Chikombedzi business center which was electrified in late 2005 through the Expanded Rural Electrification Program (EREP).[44] A road sign displaying Gonarezhou National Park was at the intersection that turned into the business center to the left. After about 6km from Chikombedzi I crossed the Mwenezi River into the Masukwe area which led me to a left turn off to Sengwe and its

---

42 President Mugabe has consistently blamed Britain for Zimbabwe's economic woes - including hyperinflation, unemployment of up to 94 percent and having more than half the population on food aid (www.ZWNEWS.COM accessed 19-May-2009). The formation of the unity government has raised hopes that Zimbabwe could be on its way to recovering from a devastating decade of economic collapse and political tensions (newzimbabwe.com, 21/05/2009). It is the formation of the unity government that has also increased confidence to extend once stopped aid by foreign donors. See Reuters (newzimbabwe.com. Accessed: 26 May 2009).

43 See picture 10, page 286 showing the state of the road during the rainy season.

44 Zimbabwe adopted the "Expanded Rural Electrification Program (EREP), a new initiative that was implemented by the Rural Electrification Agency (REA) as a result of government ratification of the Rural Electrification Fund Act in January 2002. It targets income-generating activities, mainly the [Small to Medium Enterprises] SMEs in the areas where the electricity grid extends. The services provided by these SMEs include automotive, electrical, electronic, and general repairs, welding and spray-painting, milling, carpentry, secretarial services and general retail sales" (see http://en.chinagate.cn/internationalcoop/2007-11/27/content_9299280.htm, Accessed: 15 May 2009).

business center Malipati located about 200kms from Chiredzi district town. Here I turned right to Dumisa business center which leads to Davata business center in Sengwe village where a clinic, a temporary police camp, a primary school, a secondary school, two shops and a bottle store form the core infrastructure of the business center.[45] A further six kilometers southwards was Puzani primary school and then Chief Sengwe's homestead.

A village is the smallest administrative unit in the district, which is designated by the government through the local authorities, consisting of 10 to 20 households.[46] It is led by a Village head.[47] However, for political reasons these were further reduced and designated through central government as a way to control waning support of the ruling party.[48] The villages are not contested therefore recognized at local, district and national level. See map below showing Sengwe villages. A cluster of villages form a ward composing of up to 100 households.[49]

Sengwe lies against the southern international border of Zimbabwe adjacent to Mozambique on the Eastern side, and South Africa on the Western. The areas immediately to the west of Sengwe Communal land comprise Tshipise and Dite 2 Wards of Beitbridge District.[50] Communication in this remote part of Zimbabwe is enhanced by sporadic access to the South African cellular network. At various homesteads there are cellular kiosks where one can make international calls. They recharge air time through friends and relatives in South Africa. This vital facility enabled me to communicate with my family and people relevant to my study during my fieldwork.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

45 Construction of Davata secondary school was temporarily stopped due to shortage of funds, benefited from the CAMPFIRE initiative in the Corridor.

46 I select 4 villages in Sengwe as study cites namely, Dumisa, Sengwe, Chilohlela and Kotsvi. See map, page 20.

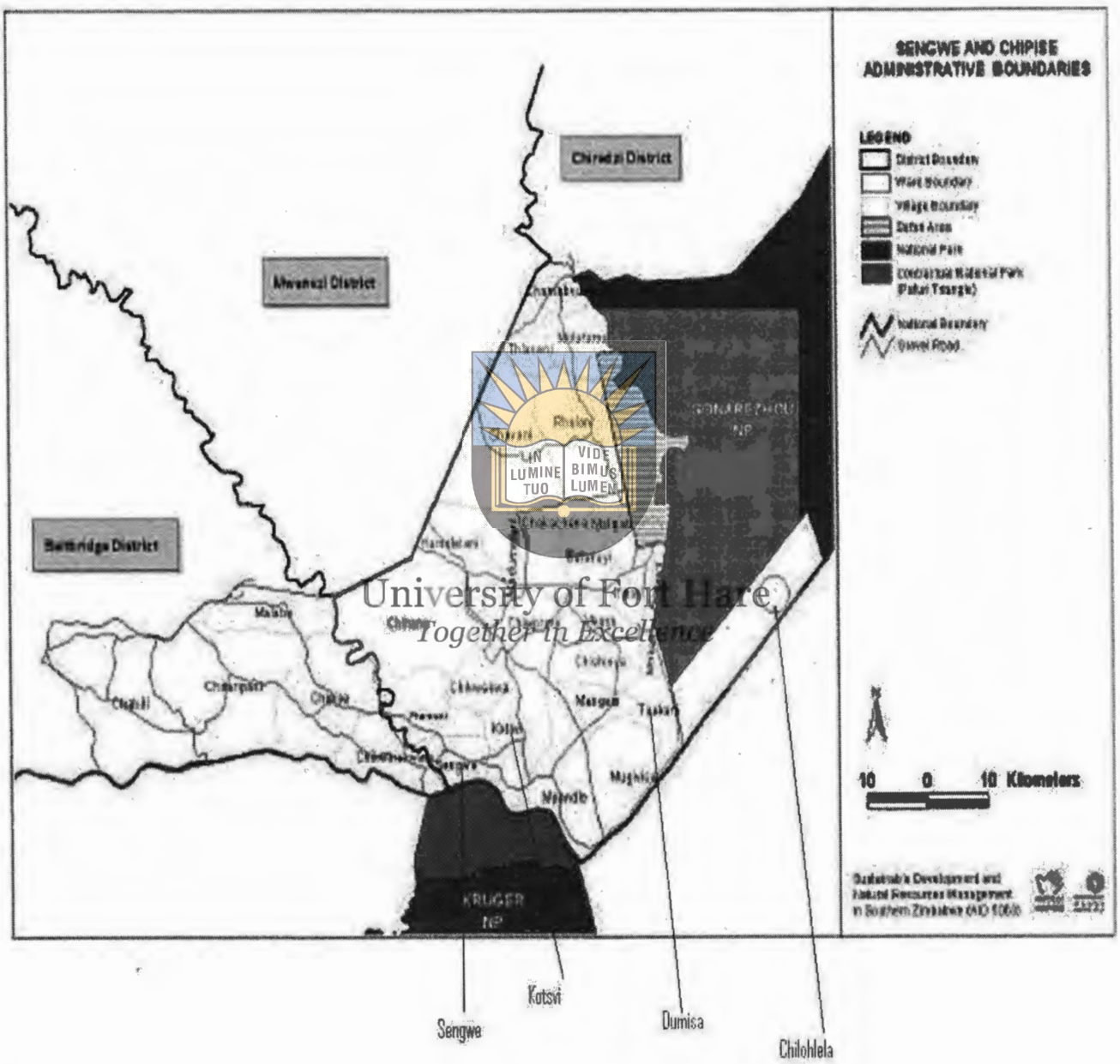
47 I discuss the role of the Village head. The post of the Village head was introduced during the colonial period as Kraal head. See chapter 2 and 3.

48 In 2000 a referendum was conducted and people rejected the government drafted constitution citing exclusion of people's contributions, Chiefs and their subordinates were coerced into further subdividing existing villages into smaller units and the appointments of Village Heads by the ruling party. I discuss the effects of the coercive party structures on the governance of natural resources in the Sengwe prefecture in chapter 2.

49 The boundaries of the villages and wards have been changed by the Zimbabwe government, a move described by my respondents in Sengwe as 'manipulative during the 2007 elections (Results from a Focus group discussion, Sengwe, October 2006).

50 The name Tshipise (Shangaan) is usually spelt as Chipise (Shona). These are used interchangeably and means – burn it.

Figure 1.4: Sengwe Villages



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Source: Adapted from CESVI (2002).

One major landmark of Sengwe is the border point named Crook's Corner. It is located at approximately the middle of the southern border of Sengwe on the borders of Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa. Local people say this area and border point is named after the visit of the first Afrikaner explorers. No one I spoke to could recall when this visit happened. I was told by local people that the dynamics of this border point involved illegal activities by crooks or tricksters hence the name Crook's corner. These included unofficial crossing of the international borders, trafficking of illicit drugs, transportation of stolen goods and assets (including livestock and game meat). The presence of security personnel in this area was evident during my fieldwork.[51]

The eastern part of Sengwe borders the western boundary of Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe. Half of the western part of Sengwe is adjacent to the northern border of Kruger National Park, South Africa, while the eastern half lies adjacent to Chicualacuala District of Mozambique. In between Sengwe and the Limpopo National Park (formerly known as Coutada 16) in Mozambique is a wedge of land (CESVI, 2002:5) and forms part of the GLTFCA. Let me turn to the economy of the villages in Sengwe.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

1.3 The villages: a human ecology

In order to illustrate the effects of the GLTFCA on the livelihoods of local people, it is important to look at the socioeconomic status in the study site, which I call a human ecology. I look at the wealth, farming activities, unemployment, infrastructure and the composition of residents in the Corridor. Notwithstanding that compensatory mechanism for relocated families are not yet defined in the Zimbabwe sector, at the time of writing this thesis, the livelihoods and food security of local people residing in the Corridor are at risk.

Sengwe area is situated in Natural Region 4 and 5, characterized by unreliable rainfall with a mean annual of about 400mm and temperatures can be as high as 50^0C in summer (ARDA, 1993:2).[52] AREX (2006), estimates the Sengwe area at

---

[51] I explain the relevance of increased security that affects the level of trust among my respondents to my study and in particular responses by Chief Sengwe in chapter 6.

[52] Zimbabwe is divided into five agricultural ecological zones based on agriculture production potential, soils and rainfall patterns with region 1 having the highest agriculture potential and rainfall, and 5 the least. See map, page 276.

172,500ha with a population of 17,800 (7,829 males and 9,971 females) and 3,090 households. Respondents in the Corridor said that there are at least five major livelihood options in Sengwe. These are dry land crop production constituting 82% of households, livestock production (76%), migrant labor (55%) to South Africa and Mozambique, marketing of non timber forest products (49%) consisting of palm leaves, palm wine, wild fruit and Mopane worms, and hunting (13%).

Most households (83%) have livestock at their homesteads, however, my respondents elaborated that some are on loan *Kulomba* or *Kuronza*.[53] This thesis is concerned to explore the effects of the establishment of the Corridor on such a social fabric and network when relocation of families is implemented. The point I want to stress here pertains to a scenario in which neighbors and relatives are relocated to different localities, with consequences that benefits of livestock loaning is eroded.[54]

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN

A total of 10 irrigation schemes exist in Sengwe, covering an area of about 330.6 hectares of arable land supporting directly 1553 households. Of these 6 are fully operational while 2 were under different stages of resuscitation.[55] Crops grown under irrigation schemes include cotton, maize, wheat, vegetables, beans, and fruit trees such as oranges and bananas, which are mostly produced for sale. Because of the socio-economic and political challenges in Zimbabwe, unemployment in the Corridor is 92.5%.[56] See figure 2.1, page 51. According to respondents, this high unemployment figure is one of the major causes of labor migration to neighboring countries such as Mozambique and South Africa to seek for better opportunities.[57] From this poorly serviced rural corner of Zimbabwe, it was also common in the Corridor that even cattle herders were paid in South African Rands before the Zimbabwean Dollar was finally declared 'dead' following the formation of a unity government in 2008.[58] Local people explained that this is to attract their services as

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

53 See chapter 2, page 50 – 51 for details on this social fabric of sharing wealth in the Corridor.

54 Results from a focuss group discussion with males between the ages of 15-34 years, Dumisa, May 2006.

55 Interview with two middle aged men, AREX officers, Sengwe, 8 June 2006.

56 "Zimbabwe is in the throes of its worst economic crisis with the highest inflation in the world of over 1000 percent. Foreign currency shortages have had a ripple effect on collapsing public services and many industries have been forced to shut down while agricultural production has drastically declined"(Newzimbabwe.com. Accessed 12 January, 2008).

57 Other causes of labor migration include political victimization of the youth by the ruling ZANU PFparty supporters, who uses intimidation and torture to lure partisanship from the locals.

58 Zimbabwe's government began to release inflation figures in February after the country switched to using multiple currencies when hyperinflation – which reached at least 231 million percent in July last year [2008] – rendered the local dollar unusable (Newzimbabwe.com. Accessed 30 May, 2009).

they have an option of even illegally crossing the border into Mozambique and South Africa to work as laborers. Remittances from family members residing in other countries not only support the payments for the herders but are used to pay for school fees, books and other household necessities.

Due to an increase in the demand for foreign currency in Zimbabwe (at the time of writing), a new crop of entrepreneurs has emerged in Sengwe. These were money changers who informally facilitate the exchange of foreign currency and the Zimbabwean Dollar at parallel market rates. They ultimately gain as the rates keep changing upwards while the Zimbabwean Dollar depreciates. However, this was operational until in 2009 when the Zimbabwean dollar was officially stopped from circulation and the country switched to using foreign currencies such as the South African Rand, United States Dollars and the Botswana Pula.[59]

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Fishing is another livelihood option commonly practised by young men along the rivers and pans, as is craft production and marketing. Craft products mostly done by women (87%) that are traded in the Corridor include mats (door, floor and sleeping) made of baobab bark, reeds and palm leaves, hats, baskets, clay pots, wooden chairs, hoe handles, and pestles and mortars.[60]

My male respondents of different age groups also mentioned the selling of illegal drugs such as marijuana *Mbanje*, which is grown in the swampy areas and river banks, as another source of livelihood in the Corridor. Those who are involved in this trade said they were making significant money as they market their products in neighboring countries, particularly South Africa and Mozambique.[61] Brewing and selling of traditional beer (7 Days, *Mqomboti* or *Rematanda*) is another source of income to households. About 20% of interviewed households have managed to send their children to school and buy household necessities using proceeds from selling beer in Sengwe. Few households (7%) tap palm sap and ferment wine from *Ilala*

---

59 Because of the political dynamics that lead to the formation of an inclusive government, the Zimbabwean dollar was declared as 'dead' by the new minister of finance. See Newzimbabwe.com. Accessed 30 May, 2009.So this trade died a natural death threatening further the livelihoods of these new entrepreneurs.

60 Chapter 5 discusses the effects of a conservation initiative that was implemented in Sengwe, which focuses on the production and marketing of craft targeting on women.

61 Focus group discussions with 15-34 year old males, Malipathi, Pahlela, Kosvi, Dumisa, Chilohlela and Sengwe, October to November 2006.

palm. Although I never found out the alcohol content, it was regarded as a highly intoxicating wine. The wine cost about US$1 per litre and one informant was able to generate about US$300 in less than 4 months of tapping and selling palm wine. It thus contributes positively to the household economy in the Sengwe prefecture.[62] The following section outlines the methodology and ethical considerations of this thesis.

1.4 Methodology

I first came to the Corridor in 1994 working as a Natural Resources Management Officer for the Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE), an NGO specializing in conservation and enterprise development. SAFIRE then was operating in 4 former Mozambique refugee hosting districts in Zimbabwe, Chipinge, Chiredzi, Nyanga and Rushinga. It also operated in Chimanimani district that did not host refugees. Over a period of 11 years, I worked in Sangwe, Samu, Malipati, Puzani, Sengwe, Chilohlela, Chikwarakwara, Kotsvi, Maxoe, Pahlela, and Dumisa in Chiredzi district.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Further, I had worked as a consultant while affiliated to SAFIRE for other local and international NGOs working in the same area. For two years, I worked as a Natural Resource Management Officer and was then appointed to a post focusing on Training and Gender for another two years. I then worked for another 3 years, as a Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Officer. My capacity then changed again to that of an Institutional Development Officer, a post I held at the time I conducted my fieldwork for this thesis. It was after so many years of working in an NGO environment that I started to ask myself a number of questions why my organization behaved the way it did and implemented initiatives that seem not to have long term effects on the livelihoods of beneficiaries. In spite of some effects that seem to positively benefit beneficiaries as long as there was continued support from the organization and fail soon after the withdrawal of support, SAFIRE received more and more funding from donors. I started to see myself as an agent of this process that suggested not bringing about the improvement of livelihoods of local people. Influenced by the above, I registered for doctoral studies with the University of Fort

[62] My thesis does not look at the effects of the wine on those purchasing and consuming it.

Hare's Institute of Social and Economic Research (FIHSER). As an Animal Science graduate and having specialized in Biodiversity Conservation Biology at postgraduate level, I borrow much from Anthropology in writing this thesis.

The history of my affiliations to a development agency and the contact I had with local people in that capacity, the relations I forged and the insights, and understanding I got had untold impact on my fieldwork. I began to feel more of an insider than an outsider in the Corridor. As a result of these interactions, local people initially viewed me as a development worker and it took time for them to realize that this time I was a scholar. Instead of accepting my position as a reasercher, they viewed me as an outsider from an NGO sector and an opportunity for them to highlight their development needs for possible project funding. This experience was similar to Bologna's (2008:19) in her work on the Madikwe Game Reserve in South Africa where she had worked for an NGO in the area prior to conducting fieldwork on her Doctoral studies. Such greetings as *Ndeipi?*, a slang greeting by the youth meaning how are you? Or "are you going back to Harare this weekend?" were quite common. This time my length of stay in the villages (and not the lodges or guest houses as I used to as a development agent) for the first time was longer and I participated in many social events that I had not as an employee.[63]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

I was granted with a research permit by the National Parks and Wildlife Authority in Harare which allowed me access to its staff for interviews, wildlife areas and records in Chiredzi. I acquired clearance letters from the Provincial Administrator and the Governor in Masvingo, clearance from the district authorities and District Administrator. In Harare and Masvingo I interviewed government personnel based at the provincial capital and NGO employees, including persons affiliated to Environmental Management Authority (EMA), Local government, Department of veterinary services, National Parks and Wildlife Authority, CAMPFIRE Association, SAFIRE, IUCN- ROSA, WWF-SARPO, CESVI, and Consultants (for example people who have worked for organizations such as USAID and the EU).[64] I also attended

---

63 I am aware of the shift from previously dominated white anthropologists favoring to study local populations to that of black studying black 'usually their own', what Robin Palmer describes as 'double standard' (2009:9). Authors such as Kuper (1987) and Palmer (2007, 2009), advocate for 'auto-anthropology' or 'anthropology at home'.

64 World Conservation Union - Regional Office of Southern Africa (IUCN-ROSA), World Wide Fund For Nature -Southern Africa Regional Programme Office (WWF-SARPO), *Cooperzione e sviluppo* (CESVI), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and European Union (EU) respectively.

GLTFCA technical committee meetings in Harare during 2006 and part of 2007. I conducted an overview survey in Sengwe during the period March to April 2006 where I traveled extensively in the GLTFCA and Sengwe ward and selected four villages for the study. During this overview survey I also interviewed the private sector (which includes conservancies) in Chiredzi district.

The sociopolitical and economic challenges in Zimbabwe during this period created a difficult environment for my fieldwork. Prices of basic commodities were high and my bursary was not sufficient to cater for most of my expenses including food, accommodation, transport and stationery. Indeed, my total annual bursary only covered accommodation without food at the Gonarezhou National Parks for only one month. In particular, fuel was in short supply and expensive which not only affected my ability to travel with my vehicle but also public transport became erratic, dependent on the availability of fuel, which was scarce.

IN VIDE TUO LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

To get around these problems I teamed up, with another group of three doctoral students who were looking at land, livestock and forestry resources in the GLTFCA. Two of them work as Research Officers for the Grasslands Research Station (under AGRITEX) based in Marondera and the other was affiliated to the Forestry Commission as an extension services manager in Bulawayo.[65] They provided the much needed transportation during my overview survey. I was able to meet local leaders, have introductory meetings with local people, NGO personnel and government officers, including national park authorities working in the Corridor.

Interacting and observing local protocol was not a difficult task for me. I had the advantage of: i) speaking local languages; ii) being known to local leaders and local people; iii) being familiar with local traditions and customs; and iv) having knowledge of the political situation in the country (having worked for a quasi government Forestry Commission for 2 years and an NGO for almost 11 years). I therefore paid appropriate respects to people I interviewed by virtue of their status in the Sengwe prefecture by approaching them in accordance to the leadership hierarchy and protocol.

---

[65] Marondera town is located about 89km east of Harare and Bulawayo 432km in the south. The research station operates under AREX, while the Forestry Commission a parastatal (quasi government).

I conducted interviews in four languages, Shona, Ndebele, Shangaan and English. Although I speak basic Shangaan, I had to use an interpreter when the language became too idiomatic. I also understand, and can respond to appropriately, nonverbal cues amongst the three ethnic groups whom I have lived with before, that outsiders might have difficulties understanding. Throughout my fieldwork, I tried to be reflexive by thinking critically about what I was doing, often reviewing my own initial assumptions, and discourses in dveleopment and conservation that shaped my research juxtaposed to the Sengwe prefecture as well as my own organization SAFIRE (See also Mason, 1996). Not only because of the elusive political situation in Zimbabwe, I was descrete about the objectives of my study, guaranteeing confidentiality to and seeking consent from respondents before engaging in any discussions. I only disclosed the names of respondents who volunteered to have their names published as the case of the former Sengwe Ward councillor Mr Hove, for instance. See chapter 2, page 38. I consciously made sure that my presence at any social occasion did not compromise the privacy of respondents.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

As already said, the challenge was explaining my mission, interests and the objectives of my studies to local people who already knew me as a development worker. For instance a government authority has this to say:

> When you write your thesis do not write what they want to hear. Write what you find out on the ground. Someone came here doing such studies on gender in this province [Masvingo] and now we even have a ministry [former Ministry of Youth Gender and Economic Development] on gender. Do we really need that or you guys go out there to pursue someone's interest to earn a degree? (Interview with Governor, Masvingo, 6 March 2006).

There I stood again as an outsider from an NGO sector. Although there was open dialogue, I had to continuously promise to protect their anonymity and confidentiality. The chief, who was a Member of Parliament at the time, was initially not open in his comments about the GLTFCA initiative as well as the government stance on the relocation and participation of local people.[66] The opposite was true for his council of advisors who were open about the issues around the conservation area. I emphasize that it was difficult however, to protect the anonymity of persons in key positions like those of the local spirit medium, the village heads and the chief since these positions are implied to specific individuals. Writing in South Africa, I comply with the ethical

[66] I give attention to Chief Sengwe in chapter 6 looking at how different institutions interact in the Corridor.

guidelines stated in the code of conduct of the Anthropology Southern Africa (ASA). A critique of having an ethical code for anthropologists is given by Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933), Bryman (2004), Limb & Dwyer (2001) and Pels *et al,* (1999).[67]

I also draw much data and material from my extensive interactions, while affiliated to SAFIRE for almost 11 years with local people, government departments, local authorities at district level and NGOs that operated in the GLTFCA and a further 8 months of fieldwork in the Corridor. Investigations on the Chitsa people invaded the Gonarezhou National Park during the Zimbabwe land reform programme in 2000, were carried out by SAFIRE, in which I took part. Over and above being a technical partner to IUCN and promoting conservation initiatives in Chiredzi district, SAFIRE implemented an enterprise development initiative which supported women entrepreneurs in Sengwe called Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association (SEVACA).[68] These interactions, as indicated above, involved the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development initiatives before and during the establishment of the GLTFCA. In 2006 and 2007, I stayed in four villages; Dumisa, Sengwe, Kotsvi and Chilohlela, for a total of 8 months (respectively 2, 3, 2 and 1), where I conducted group discussions, open ended interviews with key informants, a questionnaire survey, transect walks and participatory observation.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Recent work by Hersen *et al* (2007), show that semi structured questions have the following advantages: increased reliability because they are standardized for all the respondents; increased validity due to systematic coverage of set criteria; and their utility as training tools to learning specific questions for administering fully structured interviews and are cost effective. However, a number of disadvantages include: their ability to hinder rapport since they are problem and not person centered; and the existence of trade offs of breath *vis a vis* depth of related subjects of the research in question. (2007, 80-82). With these in mind, I used semi structured questions and a checklist to guide discussions with Focus groups and key informants.

---

67 A number of authors argue for the respect for the beliefs, practices and values of other cultures (Salmon, 1997; Pels *et al,* 1999) and a commitment to objective scientific judgement (D'Andrade, 1995; Lynott and Wylie, 1995).

68 I discuss SEVACA and the effects of enterprise development initiative supported by SAFIRE in chapter 5.

Although the above methods had specific questions other pertinent questions also emerged. This was because initial findings strengthened the need to include other questions while others became less relevant. To maintain focus and at the same time flexibility, I had to change some of the questions especially on my questionnaire after the first trial run in one village (Dumisa), but only minimum adjustments were needed for the semi structured questions. Respondents included villagers and professionals whom I have worked with before and others selected for their specific expertise and involvement in the GLTFCA. This leads us to the discussion of the methods I used in the study, Focus group discussions, Open ended interviews, and the questionnaire survey.

1.4.1 Focus group discussions

Anthropologists use focus group discussion to find out about the views of people and to investigate how people make decisions. Varkevisser *et al* (2003), describe a focus group discussion as involving "a group of persons selected using a criterion by a facilitator during which group members talk freely and spontaneously about a certain topic" (2003:182), so do Bernard (1998;2002) and Ervin (2000). Aware of the challenges regarding the reliability of results, the potential to reproduce the contours of power and knowledge, however, focus groups enabled me to access data on village populations and livestock statistics. I explained the objectives of these discussions to the leaders and potential participants prior to the discussions. My respondents took time to open up and talk freely during my fieldwork, especially the local leaders. Unlike the experiences of other scholars such as Morgan (1997:13) and Ward *et al* (1991:272), who argue that focus group discussions depend on the ability of the facilitator to interact with participants to generate as much information as possible, I found that all respondents irrespective of gender and different social status in the Corridor discussed openly and brought up issues on livelihoods without much direction given by myself. Probably this was because the GLTFCA and its effects on their livelihoods were such a topical issue in their lives and they had so much to say about their expectations and fears.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Works by Morgan (1997), advocates that group discussions should ideally have about 6 to 12 persons and last between one to one and half hours, the groups in the Corridor had as many as 20 people in one discussion (1997:14). These lasted as

long as two hours with some local members joining in even when not invited. These uninvited people would equally contribute to the topics and did not disrupt any sessions that I facilitated. In total I managed to have discussions with 238 respondents through focus group discussions. They provided in-depth information on concepts, varying perceptions and ideas on conservation issues, practices, roles in natural resources management, and power dynamics in a relatively short period of time. [69] Participants I invited to the group discussions were not grouped according to socio-economic or ethnicity basis but on age groups and gender.[70]

I held four focus group discussions with traditional leaders with their councils in the four selected villages of Sengwe, Chilohlela, Dumisa and Kotsvi villages. These provided in depth data on local statistics, the history of the Sengwe people, evolution of legislation and policy, party politics as well as power dynamics among the multiplicity of actors. Permission was only granted to me to take notes but not take photographs of participants or record on tape the discussions. Respondents would temporarily halt discussions and ask me if I had captured specific recommendations or issues during the sessions in a bid to allow me catch up with note taking. This was due to their desire that I take forward what they had to say about the GLTFCA to the authorities and in a way use me as a mouth piece. This stood as a lesson to me that I had built trust and a rapport with the leaders over the years I worked in the Sengwe area.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The focus group discussions assisted in the identification of key informants for in-depth interviews. For example, a woman may provide information that 'conservation fortresses' exist in the forest and elderly members in Sengwe were responsible for the management of these. I would then specifically approach and request for an in-depth interview with the respective persons. Because the opinions, behavior and contributions were diverse, I had to listen carefully, observe non-verbal communication and facilitate feedback among the different focus group discussions not only to share the different perceptions but to create a platform for input and validation from other groups. These feedback sessions generated debate about key

---

69 Focus groups also enabled me to collect a large amount of ethnographic information in a relatively short period of time.

70 Instead of randomly sampling potential participants, anthropologists need to deliberately select individuals (Bernard, 1998, 2002; Ervin, 2000).

issues on the governance of natural resources and the perceptions of the effects of the GLTFCA on the livelihoods of people in the Corridor.

One observation was that almost every person in Sengwe (at least in that village) knew each other by name and family background. Unlike the principle in reproductive health that focus group discussions should include members who do not know each other to facilitate openness (see Varkevisser *et al,* 1991:16), this was not possible in Sengwe and local members were open to talk about issues around conservation practices, their dissatisfaction about the initiative as well as the effects of the GLTFCA on their livelihoods.

1.4.2 Open ended interviews

Marc-Adélard (1957), says the term key informant refers "to persons who are used primarily as a source of information on a variety of topics, such as kinship and family organization, economic system, political structure, and religious beliefs and practices" (1957:688). I interviewed a total of 47 key informants during my field work, most of whom I talked to more than five times. Open ended interviews with key informants also referred to as "the anthropological technique or unstructured interviewing" (see Leighton, 1949:689; Escalada and Heong, 1997:1), involves talking to knowledgeable persons whom I selected after identifying them from group discussions and interviewed intensively for the duration of my stay in the Corridor. Because of the focus of my inquiry, the selection of key informants was towards those with prior knowledge of local governance and practices related to conservation.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Among the more prominent of my key informants were the chief, village heads, the former Sengwe ward councilor, the spirit medium, local government and NGO officers, members from the CAMPFIRE committee, GLTFCA's Community Working Group members, cattle dipping committee members, households directly involved in the extraction and marketing of *Ilala* palm, traders of illicit products, households with plots in the Banyini Limpopo Valley, women beneficiaries of the SAFIRE supported two initiatives the Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association (SEVACA) and Managing our Indigenous Tree Inheritence (MITI) initiatives and local hunters.[71] The chief provided

[71] I discuss SAFIRE and the two initiatives the Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association (SEVACA) and Managing Our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI) in chapter 5, page 143.

population figures and poaching incidences while extension officers availed livestock statistics gathered from the local dipping faculties and assisted in the identification of vegetation types in the Corridor. As such, not only qualitative data was gathered during these open ended interviews but detailed quantitative, statistical data.

1.4.3 The questionnaire survey

Focus group discussions and key informant interviews provided some additional questions that I included in the questionnaire survey. See annex D, page 277. The works of Bernard (2006) shows that results obtained in questionnaire surveys were exactly the same as those from focus group discussions and open ended interviews. His stance is that questionnaire surveys have a number of advantages which are that: one can gather data from a large representative sample; reduces the chances of interviewer bias; one can ask complex questions when they are structured well; and questions that one could avoid in a discussion are captured (2006: 258 - 260). I was able to access many households that I could not during focus group discussions and open ended interviews to consider their views in my thesis. I administered a total of 121 questionnaires in four villages.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

I employed three assistants Sithulisiwe Ndhlovu, Norman Mhlanga and Dumisani Tseme. They live in Dumisa, Sengwe and Chilohlela villages respectively. Sithulisiwe Ndhlovu aged 19 years and a single mother of one child is the second daughter in a family of seven children. Her elder sister and two brothers now live in South Africa and she visits them for four months every year where she also takes up causal jobs. Norman who was 16 and single did not finish his Ordinary level schooling in Zimbabwe.[72] He stays with his parents who are wealthy by Sengwe standards having more than 100 head of cattle and 78 goats. Dumisani 22 years of age is familiar with development initiatives in the area. He is married with a 1 year old daughter and lives in a homestead of his own. He occasionally goes to South Africa during times of need to seek casual work but returns frequently to Sengwe to live with his family. These three grew to be personal friends.[73] They were fluent in Shona, Ndebele,

[72] Ordinary level is attained after four years in secondary school and passing an examination with at least 5 subjects that include Maths, English, a local language, Science and any other subject.

[73] I knew the three previously, when I was working as a development worker in the area. I worked with them in a number of surveys which involved the use of questionnaires.

Shangaan and English.[74]

Because of the field assistants' prior involvement in a number of development surveys and contract work in Sengwe, they are known in the area. I trained the three on the research tool which was in English and Shona. We went through every question and interpreted them into Ndebele and Shangaan. We selected Dumisa village as a trial run site for the questionnaire. To reduce bias on the selection of households, every third house was selected for the interview. A total of 15 questionnaires were administered by the three assistants before a feedback meeting during the trial run. We discussed the total length of administering the tool, questions that need rephrasing or those which were difficult to answer by the interviewees. After the revisions, a total of 106 households were interviewed in five villages. I rotationally accompanied the three assistants during the surveys to ensure consistency and adherence to set standards for a better product.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

1.4.4 Participant observation

Writers such as Marshall and Rossman (2006), McCall and Simmons (1969), Van Maanen (1988), Agar (1996), Grills (1998), and Schensul *et al* (1999), participant observation subsumes the bulk of what we call field research. In this thesis, I concede to a large body of scientific literature which recognizes the disparity that what people say and believe is often contradicted by their behaviour. Realising this inconsistency, I engaged participant observation in local daily activities and observed within the Sengwe setting not only as a rapport building but an iterative process of validating what people report about themselves during interviews and focus groups. This enabled me to learn the diverse perspectives and the interaction among actors as an 'insider' while remaining, inevitably, an 'outsider' (Bologna, 2008; Palmer, 2007; Chambers, 1983, 1997; Kuper, 1987).

I had the opportunity to make objective field notes and conduct informal conversation while interacting with local people. Not only did I familiarize myself with the invaluable cultural milieu that provided me with a nuanced and wider perspective of conservation in Sengwe but witnessing in phenomena of human interaction,

[74] Because they were also fluent in English an additional requirement that made translation between the local languages and English easier.

therefore, broadening my understanding of the breadth and complexities of the human experience. For instance Cole (2009), Clandinin (2007), Lyons (2007), Timseena (2003), De Vriers (1992), Kuper (1987). However, I am aware of the shortfalls of participant observation that include time-consuming, bias, possible issues concerning confidentiality that may arise and the difficulty of documenting the data in the field while participating and observing at the same time.[75]

1.4.5 Transect walks

A transect walk is a participatory method involving a walk along a defined direction through a given area in company of a willing local resident (Chambers, 1994; Payton *et al,* 2003; Taplin *et al,* 2002; Dent and Young, 1981). It is not only a tool that the overview topography of the area but the human ecology as local people's perceptions are gathered while 'outsiders' make their observations.[76]

On the one hand, transect walks allowed me as an 'outsider-insider' to learn more about local technology and practices.[77] Conversely, I took cognisance that the tool takes into account the currently observable situation and features, serving as an entry point for more in-depth analysis. I was able to interrogate data collected from transect walks and validate it to that collected by other methods such as the interviews and focus group discussion "to try and maximise an understanding of the research question" (See also Clifford & Valentine, 2003:8), as well as attain a truthful and accurate representation of my respondents especially on local knowledge (Limb & Dwyer, 2001), and power dynamics.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Needless to say my previous work in the Corridor and the GLTFCA at large, perceptions, academic background and assumptions shaped my interpretations in the study. To bring about a better meaning to some of the voices of my respondents, I provide direct quotes in vernacular before translation into English. This I believe limits misrepresentation through my interpretation. Certainly, I keep to a minimum the tidying up of voices to reduce distortions. My discussion to a greater extent in the

---

75 For instance, McCall and Simmons (1969), Van Maanen (1988), Agar (1996), Moser and Kalton (1989), Patton (1990), Grills (1998), and Schensul *et al* (1999), Marshall and Rossman (2006).

76 "Surveyors [researchers] not only walk the land but also navigate through the political and social issues of our times" (Collins and Molyneaux, 2003:2).

77 For instance, Negri *et al* (1998), Mahiri (1998), Rietbergen-McCracken and Narayan (1998), Chambers (1997).

thesis is guided by these voices that form part of a firm base for my arguments. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to representing the thesis map and describes the focus of each chapter.

1.5 Thesis Map

Chapter two provides background information to my study site to give the reader a clear understanding of the complex socio-economic, historical and political processes that shape the corridor. It details the topography, climate, and agricultural activities at district level (Chiredzi) and local level (Sengwe). It also shows how the GLTFCA is going to change this landscape with consequences on the livelihoods of local people. The material which is in this thesis, I call the human ecology.[78] Particular attention is given to the relevant policy on conservation and livestock management that influences local livelihoods. Further, I trace the history of the GLTFCA, discuss its institutional taxonomy introducing the different forms of institutions that regulate access, and the utilization of natural resources at local and state level.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Building on chapters one and two, in chapter three, empirical evidence is presented outlining the effects of the GLTFCA on local people. Along the way, the gaps in the implementation of the GLTFCA relative to its policy, resultant webs of power and conflicts generated among actors and their effects on local people's interests and livelihoods are noted. Importantly, the chapter holds that development is a highly contested arena and that it is about domination.[79] I examine concepts in development discourse such as community, community participation, tradition, and progress as they apply to the GLTFCA, the National Parks and Wildlife Authority (NPWA) and the Sengwe people.

Considerations of the human ecology, local farming and conservation practices prior to the introduction of the GLTFCA dominate chapter four. This chapter takes a closer look at local people and the effects of the GLTFCA on their livelihoods what the Sengwe people call 'outside our tradition' referring to the modern/scientific

---

[78] I use human ecology in order to emphasize the dynamic interactions between human groups and the environments (see also Butzer, 2006:xi)

[79] See Ferguson, 1997; Escobar, 1996; Little and Painter, 1995; Gardner and Lewis, 1996.

knowledge. By detailing the processes of interactions, conflicts arising and areas of cooperation among the actors with a focus on local farming and conservation practices, the chapter explores the disjuncture with the modern approach to conservation. Furthermore, it shows how local institutions, other actors and local people generated opposition to actively participate in the GLTFCA initiative.

Chapter 5 goes on to describe SAFIRE's policy on gender and women empowerment was developed and implemented, and the complex repercussions it had on the Corridor. It explores the impact of the funding agency on the development process, and how policies are negotiated and translated into NGO discourse. Attention is given to the MITI and SEVACA initiatives the NGO supported and implemented in the Corridor. I illustrate how women responded to the social restructuring by the NGO and critically explore whether the initiatives empower/disempower them or reduce/widen the disparities between men and women.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

A further examination of the institutional framework and authority systems that regulate access to natural resources in the Corridor is given from the perspectives of the various actors and user groups in decision making is provided in chapter 6. Importantly it discusses how power shifted at local level in the Corridor as a consequence of the GLTFCA and how it influenced the role of women, local leaders, local institutions and related structures. Attention is given to Chief Sengwe the local leader and local Member of Parliament (legislator) representing local chiefs in the district at the time. In the chapter I illustrate how such powerful individuals and their councils were excluded from the implementation the GLTFCA development intervention. I describe the development of tactics and strategies that women use to influence the resource management structures and analyze their efficacy. In chapter 7, I draw together the arguments of each chapter and reflect on the key issues relating to the development of TFCAs, and institutional processes in natural resources management discourse.

Chapter 2

The Corridor. An overview

This chapter provides a detailed overview of the Corridor on which the rest of the thesis draws. The first part of the chapter presents background information of my study site illustrating the complex ecological, socio-economic, historical and political processes. It goes on to present the topography, climate, and agricultural activities within the Corridor. Considerations are given to the overview of people who reside in Sengwe, a classification of settlers (by wealth, gender, age, ethnicity, historical factors and length of stay in the area), and their livelihoods options. Using a historical perspective, the chapter further describes the implementation process of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA), illustrating the role of different actors in decision making processes and how the initiative has impacted on Sengwe livelihood. I suggest that the implementation of the GLTFCA is consistent with the commoditization of the wildlife resource and [illegible] socio-economic empowerment and poverty alleviation of local people. I then demonstrate how exogenous agents and state policies during the post colonial period, continue to portray the image of local people as potential inhibitors to this process.

University of Fort Hare

Before I embark on the overview, let me tell a story of a long walk that I took in company of a former Sengwe ward councilor, from where I stayed during my fieldwork at the time, to meet the local chief. This walk not only provides a brief description of the topography of Sengwe along a transect but brings about local politics (including that of the land), livelihoods and farming practices that I shall be calling human ecology.

2.1 A walk across Sengwe's landscape

During my field stay in the Corridor, on Saturday the 4th of March 2006 I woke up and hurriedly prepared to walk a 6 km stretch one way to meet the local chief – Chief Sengwe. This was my third attempted meeting with the chief, before, but on the previous two occasions after walking this 6km, I had found him gone to Masvingo or Harare to attend political emergency meetings called by the Provincial Governor and ruling party Zimbabwe National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) headquarters. The

melodies from birds greeted the coming of a new day with clear skies and cool air. With a satchel containing personal effects and 2 liters of drinking water on my back I set off at around 6am with Mr Hove (known as Dziva) a Shona speaker who was slim, tall, and spoke with energy. As we walked he told me his story:

He is a former councilor for Sengwe. He was traveling to Davata in Sengwe village from Chikwalakwala village (see map on page 20) on his way to chief Sengwe to launch a case about a dispute with a neighbor to whom he loaned a piece of land to cultivate.

He was related to the nurse in charge at Davata clinic in Sengwe village where I stayed for 3 months from March to May 2006 while doing my fieldwork. He said his great grandparents were originally from Chivi district in the Masvingo province before they were relocated to Sengwe during the 1800s by the colonial government. He was 65 years old, married to one wife and had six children of which 4 were boys and two girls. His first born was 26 years old and the youngest 18 years. We followed the dirt road that links Sengwe and Beitbridge town. I had met Mr Dziva before, while working in Sengwe under the Southern Alliance For Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE). He narrated his story:

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

> Look, I gave my neighbor a piece of land to cultivate on loan under the condition that I can have it back after 3 seasons, giving him notice at least six months before the onset of the following rainy season. For three years he cultivated the area and this year, in March, I gave him notice and intend to give this piece of land to my second born son who is now married and ready to use. Now, he is claiming ownership of the land and is not willing to hand it back. I took my case to the village head but he allowed the neighbor to cultivate the land for another season. I was not satisfied with his ruling and approached the Headman's court which also insisted my neighbor cultivate for another year. I am still not satisfied and want a ruling from the chief's court (4 March 2006).

In the Sengwe prefecture, the head of a household makes decision on the allocation of family land such as in this case Mr Dziva who authorized part of his arable land to a neighbor for temporary use. As part of the governance system of natural resources in the Corridor, where disputes arise and are not resolved between households, local leaders preside over such cases to resolve them. Not only in cases involving land politics but including social issues in the Corridor.[80] The ruling by local leaders is

[80] I discuss the land politics in Zimbabwe (on page 56-57) as it applies to the GLTFCA prefecture, where a people who call themselves the Chitsa in an adjacent Sangwe ward to Sengwe invaded part of the Gonarezhou National Park in 2000.

binding and local people respect these verdicts.[81]

As we walked briskly along, Dziva told me about the landscape. I observed an abandoned homestead and asked him if he knew why no one was living at these sites. He explained that:

> *Machangani emuno anefungwa yekuti kana munhu akafira mumba pane mamhepo kana munyama unenge uripo saka vanovona kunge pamba pasvibisiwa vuye zvinoramba zvichingohozoitika futi. Manje kana zvadero vodotama kuti mabhadhi iwawo asavatevera* (Interview, former Sengwe male councilor, 4 March 2006).
> Shangaan speakers have a belief that when someone dies at a homestead, it becomes inhabitable (dirty) as a bad omen befalls. They also believe that this can repeat itself in future so, to avoid this omen, one has to relocate to another place (4 March 2006).

Dziva mentioned that there were many abandoned sites in the Corridor but one is no longer able to distinguish these after 3 or 5 years as vegetation cover will have succeeded in covering up the patches. Grass and trees such as *Mupani* (*Colospenum mopane*), *Mususu (Terminalia stenostachyaspecies)* and *Muminzwa (Acacia species),* emerged and grow fast [illegible] sites. He stressed that wooden poles dug into the ground for fencing households when left behind would sprout into trees and where there were cattle *kraals* which left behind fertilizer from the droppings, vegetation grows quickly to cover the sites. After walking for about one and a half hours, we came across two cattle carcasses and he stood by and explained to me: "See these carcasses? This is not the work of wild animals. They died of tick borne diseases -*Zvigwere zvinobva muzvi Shambwe*. We used to dip our cattle quite often but this no longer happens. If one is poor and cannot afford to spray or inject vaccines to livestock, they surely die" (4 March 2006). When I requested to take a photograph with him standing by the carcasses, he demanded to wear my sun hat. Probably he wanted to have a photograph that he appears in my sun hat as a souvenir. I handed over my hat and took some shots which I was able to print and gave him.[82]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

But then I was tired. I constantly took sips from my 2 liter water container to avoid dehydration but at that moment it was becoming heavy despite that it was half empty because I was tired. I continued the journey and suddenly two one tone pick-up

---

81 However, one is entitled to appeal against the verdicts by local leaders in a court of law as a constitutional right.

82 See picture 1, page 288.

(open) trucks bearing South African registered number plates emerged in front of us and passed leaving a choking cloud of dust that took time to clear. They both towed trailers which were full of bags (*locally known as Shangaan bags)* as they are commonly known. Dziva explained:

> *Ava ndivana Malaicha. Basa ravo nderekututa magroceries nezvimwe zvinhu zvinenge zvatengwa nevanhu vanobva vuno vachisevenza Joni. Vana vemuno vanosevenza Joni vanobetsera mhuri dzavo vachishuzha. Vanotumira vana Malaicha vobhadhara vuye kuvapa ma* addresses *zvinhu zvavo zvinotosiyiwa pamba pavo* straight. *Dangwe rangu Mhisheki akadonditumiravo* grocery *nenhumbi dzemwana wake waakasiya vuno watinochengeta. Shuwa vana ava vanemisoro kwayo vanotibetsera fani* (4 March 2006).
> These people are called Malaitsha.[83] They are in this freight business ferrying groceries and other things bought by locals [Sengwe people] working in South Africa.[84] Locals who work in South Africa assist their families here by supplying necessities. They pay the freight services and deliveries are made to the door. My son Misheck sent us some groceries and clothes for his son we look after. Surely, our children help us a lot (4 March 2006).

Because of the limited opportunities in the Corridor, local people migrate to neighboring countries to work in mines and farms as laborers. They purchase necessities and freight them to their families where they are scarce and when available are expensive.[85] It is also in this context that almost ten years after its establishment, the GLTFCA is yet to deliver its promises of socio-economic benefits accruing to local people, which include the creation of employment in the tourism industry.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

As early as 8 am the sun was scorching and the pebbles on the road surface hot. As we moved along, homesteads became fewer, trees larger and denser and the soils changed from sandstone to dark alluvial locally known as *Ndobolo.* "This area is called Banyini" Dziva explained. "It stretches all the way to Puzani Primary school. All the fields and gardens belong to local residents. They cultivate these areas during winter when the floods subside. But there are rules that safeguard this valley. No one is allowed to start any fire until such a time, cut down any fruit or large tree".[86] It was cooler in the Banyini area and took us less than twenty minutes to walk past the extension of the valley.

---

83 In Ndebele, *Malaitsha* means a loader or transporter.

84 South Africa is also referred to as Joni. Joni is also used to mean Johannesburg in the Corridor.

85 Once a dynamic country, Zimbabwe's economy has contracted by more than 45 percent over the past decade as a result of political and economic instability. Long-ruling President Robert Mugabe and his erstwhile rival Morgan Tsvangirai formed a unity government in February and have unveiled a plan to revive the economy. See http://www.newzimbabwe.com/news-388-COMESA+weighs+Zim+rescue+package/news.aspx Accessed 05 June, 2009.

86 These are some of the local institutions regarding conservation in the Corridor. I discuss conservation practices in the Corridor in chapter 4 and the governance of natural resources in the GLTFCA prefecture in chapter 6.

Just before Puzani Primary school, I requested a break and we sat under a large fig tree close to the school gate. As I sat there, I saw a few children playing in the school grounds, I reflected how the nearest secondary school was at Davata more than 5kms away and wondered how they would manage to travel and perform in class after walking that far everyday. "I think South Africa spoiled this whole place" Dziva interrupted my thoughts and threw me into some confusion regarding his statement. Spoiled what and how? I wondered. "It is pathetic that children drop out at school before they complete grades 5 or 6. Girls get married or they just get pregnant, dump *kungonosiya* their babies at their parents' homes and go to South Africa in search of better prospects. At least for boys, they go up to secondary school then dropout to follow their relatives and friends *Hama neshamwari* in South Africa" he explained. I was surprised he did not blame the prevailing socio-economic and political environment in Zimbabwe as causative to that effect instead of South Africa. But he suggested that better opportunities in South Africa bring hope of employment to these children such that they no longer value education, and hence drop out of school.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

After Puzani primary, the number of homesteads starts to increase and the soils change to mixed sandstone and alluvium. We branched off from the main road turning left to the chief's homestead. "When we get by the gate, remove your hat", he reminded me. As we reached the gate I could see that the truck belonging to Chief Sengwe was not in the parking area. "The chief left last night to Masvingo" the chief's first wife informed us while handing a note to me that expressed his apologies and requesting another appointment. Dziva was already writing a note to the chief and at that moment I realized that I was 6kms away from my resting place, after an unaccomplished trip, this time going up to a higher altitude. We were given lunch composed of *Sadza* or thick porridge and Soya beans, and then we left after the meal. In the next section I introduce the reader to the agencies operating in the Sengwe prefecture and how they interact with each other.

2.2 Agencies operating in the Corridor

As I entered the Chiredzi district for the first time in 1994, I reported to the District Administrator who is the chairperson for the Rural District Council (RDC) of

Chiredzi.[87] Because I was affiliated to SAFIRE, I had to introduce myself, my organization and specifically the role it plays in the district. I went to the Chiredzi RDC, the government departments, NGOs, and relevant private sector to introduce myself. For coordination purposes it is important to approach relevant government departments and engage them in initiatives that one is implementing.

This is based on the premise that government departments are more present in the districts and can guarantee continuity of initiatives implemented at local level irrespective of availability of other resources. NGOs have a shorter life span depending on funding of initiatives they implement. As the Chiredzi Assistant DA put it across to me that: "Coordination of activities in the rural areas must be among all stakeholders [actors], so that the impact of our work with the same people we serve is realized".[88] The following chaptes illustrate that the engagement of different actors with various interests in the GLTFCA generated conflicts and local people remain hostile to any conservation initiative in the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The government departments that I visited include the Ministry of Local Government, the National Parks and Wildlife Authority (NPWA),[89] the Ministries of Environment and Tourism, the Environmental Management Authority (EMA), the former Youth Development Gender and Economic Development (MYDGEC), Defense and Security, Forestry, Local government, Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX). At ward level, I paid courtesy calls to the local Chief, Headman, Ward Development Committee (WADCO) members and the lowest formal structure the Village Development Committee (VIDCO) members, and at village level the Village Heads.[90]

I interacted widely within the NGO, sector each with various interests and areas of focus in the Corridor, from funding to implementation initiatives. However, what is unique about these NGOs (local and international) is that they look at different

---

87 The District Administrator is a political appointee national civil servant, responsible for overall planning, development and co-ordination of activities in the district. The DA is the most senior civil servant in the district and all organizations working in the district report to the office which grants permission to operate in the district. The Rural District Council is the local custodian of all resources in the district. I discuss fully the role of the DA and RDC on page 47.

88 Interview with middle aged female Chiredzi Assistant District Administrator, 20 March 2006.

89 The then Department Of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWM).

90 I discuss the roles of local leaders, VIDCO and WADCO on page 69-70.

aspects of the livelihoods of the local people, institutional structures like schools for education and supporting initiatives in that regard. They also conduct research on agriculture and most importantly the components of the GLTFCA such as ecology (birds, mammals, vegetation), and tourism development.

On the 11th of March, 2006, during my fieldwork, I facilitated a focus group discussion at the Malipati guest house, which had participants comprising the local leaders (village head, village court aides), CAMPFIRE committee members, National Parks wardens and local government officers (AGRITEX, Veterinary department), who demonstrated the roles and activities of actors in the GLTFCA arena. They told me their perceptions of areas of focus of different NGOs operating in Sengwe. These were: i) water development (World Vision International, Plan International, Hillfonce International, Lutheran World federation); ii) HIV/AIDS mitigation (FACT), iii) policy development and advocacy (CESVI, IUCN, PPF, WWF); iv) research and farm trials (ICRISAT, FAO, SEDAP); v) livestock improvement (Hillfonce International, Heifer International, EU); vi) demining (UN); vii) wildlife management (Chiredzi, Save valley conservancies and Malilangwe Trust); viii) empowerment of women (SAFIRE, SEVACA); and ix) funding (GTZ, EU).[91]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

However, an elderly woman and resident in Sengwe I interviewed told me that some of the NGOs have since stopped operating in the Corridor for some reasons she did not know.[92] She said: "However, NGOs come, and go without bidding us farewell. Probably they would have acquired whatever they intended and might no longer be interested with our livelihood any more" (3 November 2006).

Among the actors are the consultants and the private sector. An example of an independent consultancy company/firm is the Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler (KPMG), which in 2001 was appointed by the overall management board of the GLTFCA called the Joint Management Board (JMB), to develop an Integrated

---

91 *Cooperzione e sviluppo* (CESVI), German Technical Cooperation Zimbabwe (GTZ), International Crop Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT), World Conservation Union (IUCN), Southeastern Dryland Agriculture Programme (SEDAP), Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association (SEVACA), United Nations Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF), Family AIDS Trust (FACT), Southern Alliance For Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE), European Union (EU), Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), Peace Parks Foundation (PPF),

92 For instance ICRISAT, Hillfonce International and Heifer International.

Regional Tourism Development Plan (IRTDP).[93] This plan that is available at the Chiredzi District Councils' office, raised concern in the GLTFCA prefecture among people residing in the Corridor and authorities. A number of critics observe that the plan for the proposed tourism developments in the GLTFCA, the experience of the consultant to carry out such a task and the lack of activities supporting the socio-economic development of local people. Yet the IRTDP is the one that guides the development of the conservation area's tourism sector.[94]

More recent work by Spenceley *et al* (2008), demonstrate that while there is widespread interest from the private sector to invest in transboundary initiatives, it is not clear how local people will benefit from such developments (2008:12).[95] Considerations in this thesis are on how this multiplicity of actors with varying interests in the GLTFCA affects local people in the Corridor. For instance, Local leaders acknowledge that the private sector has experience in negotiating contracts, access to finance, and has the capacity to penetrate more lucrative markets. Chief Sengwe reiterated that "promoting cooperation and partnerships with the private sector [Hunters and tourism sector], shall concurrently uplift our economic portfolio and improve our livelihoods in the long term".[96]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The three conservancies in the Corridor have the authority to conduct trophy hunting, invest in tourism and conservation initiatives. Any revenue generated within these conservancies accrues directly to the owners while appropriate fees and levies are paid to the relevant RDCs. Although the conservancies are located on private land, they submit their plans to AGRITEX that monitors them.

AGRITEX is responsible for agricultural (crop and livestock) research and extension services. It is involved in resettlement planning, undertakes baseline and socio-economic surveys, and offers farm plans as a free service. Extension services in soil and water conservation, and crop production include the dissemination of agricultural information through the mass media and training. Local people in the Corridor I spoke to said that the extension officers are no longer mobile and not performing

---

93 I give details of the Joint management Board looking at its composition and role in the GLTFCA structure in chapter 6.
94 Interview with Park Authorities, Gonarezhou 4 November, 2006.
95 Similar assertions are made in by Hughes (2002 a), Whande (2007:42); Ashley and Wolmer (2003).
96 (pers.comm. Chief Sengwe, 20 November 2006).

their duties as government financial resources were inadequate.[97] The situation of under-staffing in the department (AGRITEX) was raised more than 10 years earlier. Mvududu (1994) argues that the department is heavily constrained by staff shortages. As one AGRITEX officer based in the Corridor said: "I used to operate in one ward. Now I cover three wards and there is no transport to allow me to carry my duties. What do you expect me to do but to only access areas where I can manage to walk without straining? After all there are no incentives – *Hapana chekufira*".[98] And eleven years later, the situation has not changed from what Mvududu observed. Government departments operating in the Corridor remain resource strained and these include the Environmental management Authority (EMA).

The Environmental Management Authority (EMA), which enforces the Environmental Management Act, is represented by one officer in the district based in Chiredzi town. The Environmental Management Act provides a set of institutional set-ups and legal foundations for the management of natural resources and the protection of the environment; the prevention of pollution and environment degradation; the preparation of a national and other environmental management plans; as well as the establishment of an Environmental Management Agency (see EMA) and an Environment Fund (MoMET, 2002).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Another institution operating in the Corridor and represented by one officer based in Chiredzi town is the Forestry Commission. The Forestry Commission is responsible for the conservation of forest resources. It administers two Acts, which are the Forest Act and the Communal Forest Produce Act. Nyoka and Musokonyi (2002), describe the Forest Act as largely confined to state forests and private land, while the Communal Forest Produce Act is mostly applicable to communal areas. The Forestry Commission is into the development of man-made plantations (mainly pines and eucalyptus or gum trees), development of appropriate tree management practices, protection, procurement and distribution of forest seed. It also promotes tree planting and woodland management in the Corridor. Collaboratively, the Forestry

---

97 The country, battling to even meet the civil service salary bill from its depleted coffers, is unlikely to afford repayment of outstanding arrears with the IMF. The donors are demanding the restoration of the rule of law, respect for property rights, upholding of human rights, a rollout of credible democratic reforms and macro-economic stabilisation before giving money to government (The Financial Gazette, Thursday, 14 May 2009).

98 (Interview with middle aged man, AGRITEX Officer, Malipati, 11 March 2006).

Commission and AGRITEX conduct research on agroforestry.[99] Besides carrying out their own research, these organizations also actively lobby for policy changes.

Service delivery by the above government departments have since deteriorated. An unemployed 20 year old man resident in the Corridor said that: "the Forestry Officer we used to see around until 2003 has since disappeared like the others".[100] When I spoke to the District Forestry Officer in Chiredzi town he said that they lack financial resources to keep up with demand of their services in the district. He said: "I think our role in the GLTFCA is to promote the planting of fruit trees at homesteads and reduce the cutting down of trees".[101] Here he suggests that there is a need to increase the population of fruit trees at homesteads and that indiscriminate cutting down of trees is a problem in the Corridor. Contrary to this view, however, it is a common feature that local people leave behind a tree for shade or plant fruit trees for consumption within the homestead. His claim about the indiscriminate cutting down of trees is therefore problematic and contestable (Moore and Vaughan, 1987).[102]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In terms of wildlife management, it is the 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act (amended in 1982), that is the legislative framework for present day wildlife management in Zimbabwe. The Act mandates the National Parks Wildlife Management Authority (NPWMA) full protection of the ecosystems, flora and fauna in the national parks areas.[103] It is this Act that governs the management of wildlife outside the Gonarezhou National Park in the GLTFCA's Zimbabwe sector. NPWMA also conducts problem animal control functions and leases the Malipati hunting area (part of the Gonarezhou hunting area) to the Chiredzi RDC. The lease allows the NPWA to sell wildlife at wholesale price to the RDC which in turn seeks outside buyers by tendering trophy hunting. An official in the Chiredzi RDC confirmed that:

> We have hunting concessions in Chitsa, Chibwedziwa, Malipati Safari Area and Naivasha. These areas vary in terms of viability and animal species every year. In Naivasha we have the Uwanetsi hunters and Acacia Safaris in Malipati SSG safaris carrying out trophy hunting right now. Last year [2005] we raised US$2208 from levies alone. Hunters pay daily rates to operators between US$200 to US$400/day. We held a review meeting as council on these daily rates and made

99 Agroforestry is the practice of farming crops and woody species (shrubs and trees) together to optimize the use of the land. I discuss some of these [practices in the Corridor in chapter 4.

100 Interview with 20 year old man, Malipathi, 3 November 2006.

101 Interview with Forestry Officer, Chiredzi, 25 July :2006.

102 See chapter 4.

103 One distinguishing feature of the Act is it focuses on wildlife conservation as central to the natural resources management (NPWLM, 1998:27). I discuss this in chapter 4.

> a resolution that we charge 2,5% which shall be paid to the RDC for a every animal that is killed or wounded in the district" (Interview, Chief executive officer, Chiredzi, 22 October 2006).

The RDCs administer the RDC Act, and Communal Lands Forestry Produce Act.[104] It was awarded the Appropriate Authority in 1995 after much contestation by the Association of RDCs to the government of Zimbabwe that they benefit from revenue generated from natural resources exploited in their areas of jurisdiction. Some of my respondents at the provincial and district offices in Zimbabwe said that the RDC continues to lack the necessary financial, technical, and personnel resources to implement development projects efficiently. Nonetheless, this inadequacy is demonstrated in Manyena's works in *Rural local authorities and disaster resilience in Zimbabwe,* 2006. In this regard, my respondents from the local authority also mentioned that they do not have the effective means to provide enough services to meet the needs of their constituents.

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare

At the same time, the Chiredzi district has be[redacted]plementing the Community Areas Management Programme For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) initiative for more than 5 years which according to Sengwe respondents did not generate expected outcomes.[105] RDCs receive and disburse remittances from natural resource conservation activities including problem animal control and trophy hunting in the district.

> When we receive funds from the CAMPFIRE initiative, 4% goes to the CAMPFIRE Association, 39% to the RDC, 57% to the producer community at ward level. Ward committees consult its constituency to decide on the use of the funds. For instance school development, fees, kiosk, grinding mill, electrification (Interview, local authority, Chiredzi, 22 October 2006).

Accordingly, these actors discussed above, each with varying interests, interact with consequences on the livelihoods of local people in the Corridor. Some have been operating in the Corridor since the colonial period (1890-1980) while others emerged and disappeared during the post colonial period. But the people of Sengwe remain in the Corridor which is their homeland. I suggest that any institutions that affect access

---

[104] I discuss the RDC s and their capacity to manage conservation initiatives on page 200-201.

[105] See Moyo (1999), Newshan (2002), CASS (1999), Mashinya (2007), Child (2004), Johns and Murphree (2004), Campbell *et al* (2001), Rihoy and Maguranyanga (2007), Roe (1995), Murombedzi (1998; 1999), Simon (2003), Metcalfe (1996), Thomas (1991; 1995), Norumandwe (2003), Mandondo (2000), Murphree (2001), Muir-Leresche *et al* (2003), and Shackleton and Campbell (2001) for details.

to and use of natural resources in the corridor has consequences that affect the livelihoods and food security of the local people.

I shall illustrate in the subsequent chapters that when new actors with different areas of focus emerged at the establishment of the GLTFCA, their interaction at local level generated conflicts with local people. These conflicts not only affect the livelihoods of local people but their food security in the Corridor. Wolmer (2003) affirms that the GLTFCA initiative is pursued by the elites (the tourism industry, NGOs,researchers and donors) who are more powerful and are able "to portray TBNRM [Transboundary Natural Resources Management] as building on their own experience and thereby to write themselves into the story" (2003:268). He futher illustrates that not all capital flows from donors are targeted at supporting conservation but political motives. For instance, in 2002, he notes that GTZ provided funding to the tune of £8million pounds to the GLTFCA on condition that it is used in Mozambique and South Africa citing human right abuses in Zimbabwe as the reason for its exclusion (see Wolmer, 2003:266).[106] This leads us to the discussion of livelihoods in the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

2.3 Livelihoods in the Corridor

In order to shed light on the effects of the GLTFCA on local people residing in the Corridor, it is important to look at the socioeconomic status of the area. This section concentrates on the composition of people resident in the Corridor, their wealth, agricultural activities, unemployment, and infrastructure among other characteristics. An understanding of the composition of people who reside in the Corridor and their livelihoods provide us with a picture of the activities they engage in as they interact with each other and with natural resources, and determine the consequences of the GLTFCA. One elderly man described the composition of the people residing in the Corridor as follows:

> My grandfather told me that we originally came from South Africa and briefly settled in Mozambique before coming here [to Sengwe]. He also said the Shona and Ndebele speakers moved in from Masvingo and Matebeleland provinces. They were settled in Mutandare, Chishanga, Samu, Malipati, Chikombedzi and Matibi II. I understand it was because they were forced to move away by the colonial government to make way for the development of livestock ranches there. We have other tribes coming in from Beitbridge [Venda speakers] and Chipinge [Ndau speakers] who also have settled here. Anyway, we live peacefully together.[107]

[106] I discuss the effects of such conditions of political nature on the implementation of the GLTFCA in chapter 6.

[107] Interview, elderly man, Chilohlela, 15 August 2006.

The existence of minority groups of the Venda and Ndau speakers originally from Beitbridge and Chipinge districts respectively is not accounted for in literature on ethnicity in the Corridor. In this thesis I refer to local people as the villagers or people who reside in the Sengwe ward translated from the Ndebele expression given by Chief Sengwe *'tina abantu balapha'.*[108] On the one hand, local people are represented by the cluster of the households under the chieftainship of Chief Sengwe. On the other hand, the GLTFCA policy defines local people as: "... rural people living in and adjacent to the conservation area" (GLTFCA Treaty document, 2002:2). These definitions imply different scales of geographical boundaries, with the earlier suggesting more extensive boundaries of space while the latter is specific to the boundaries as also depicted in the conservation area's geographical map. In Ndebele *'Lapha'* means 'here', which may represent a cardinal point as to where one is positioned at a particular time, position of a household, a location of a village, ward, and district or to as broad as a province.

IN VIDE TUO LUMINE BIMUS LUMEN

The history given by the elderly man above is consistent with what I found out from authorities at district offices and is confirmed in literature about the composition of local people residing in the Corridor. The ethnic population in the Corridor is diverse. Lindgren (2004) argues that "if we focus on the internal dynamics of ethnicity instead of on ethnicity *per se*, we get a different understanding of ethnic identification" (2004:176). According to Chief Sengwe, ethnic groups who settled in Sengwe observe the existing authority of the chieftainship they moved into. By this the chief implies that the Shona, Ndebele, Venda and Ndau speakers follow the Hlengwe or Shangaan traditional norms and spiritual belief systems including rain making ceremonies, spirit medium directives and resting days *Chisi.*[109] Nonetheless, they are allowed to practice their ways of consulting their ancestors *Midzimu* or *Amandhlozi*, perform traditional dances *Mbakumba* as well as practice faith healing by consulting traditional healers *N'anga* or *Amandhlozi.*

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The Sengwe prefecture represents a heterogeneous arena of social norms and tradition that is often lost within the naive concept of community as used by

[108] Interview with Chief Sengwe, Sengwe, 8 May 2006.
[109] The notion of tradition is highly problematic. I go into this more fully in chapter 3 page 89.

authorities and development arena including those in the GLTFCA prefecture.[110] It shows that a community does not always assume a group of people, that is homogeneous in terms of ethnicity, religion, language, and other traits (Agrawal and Gibson 1999:634-636), power, gender, class, and age (Joekes *et al*, 1996:4,35,39). As such, the Sengwe case exemplifies different interests and actors that can occur and the significant role of both formal and informal internal and external institutions. Local people are therefore viewed as the residents in the Corridor irrespective of ethnicity, age, sex, wealth status or political and religious affiliations.

From interviews with respondents, I gathered that there are at least five major livelihoods options in Sengwe. These are dry land crop production (including stream bank cultivation which is illegal) constituting 82% of households, livestock production (76%), migrant labor to South Africa and Mozambique (55%), marketing of non timber forest products 49% (palm leaves, palm wine, wild fruit and Mopane worms) and hunting (13%). According to CESVI (2002), farming systems are based on extensive livestock production with over 86% of households owning livestock (2002:5). This high figure recorded in the ownership of livestock at household level is according to my respondents due to the misconception of ownership at local level by outsiders. Respondents acknowledged that having livestock at their homesteads did not translate to owning them as some are on loan.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In Ethiopia for instance, Kidane *et al* (2005) found out that the contributions of livestock to household wealth status as:

> A household's wealth status forms the other important source of livelihood for farming households. Livestock contribute to households' economy in different ways, e.g. as a source of pulling power, source of cash income, source of supplementary food, and means of transport. Livestock provides not only food for the producers, but also a range of other products which could be sold or consumed by the livestock owner to provide nutrition, income, traction and fuel. The major products of livestock include draught power, meat, milk, eggs, manure which is used as fertilizer or fuel, feathers, fibre, hides, and horns. In addition to these products livestock serve as an asset and may provide a reserve that can be converted to cash in times of need (2005:548).

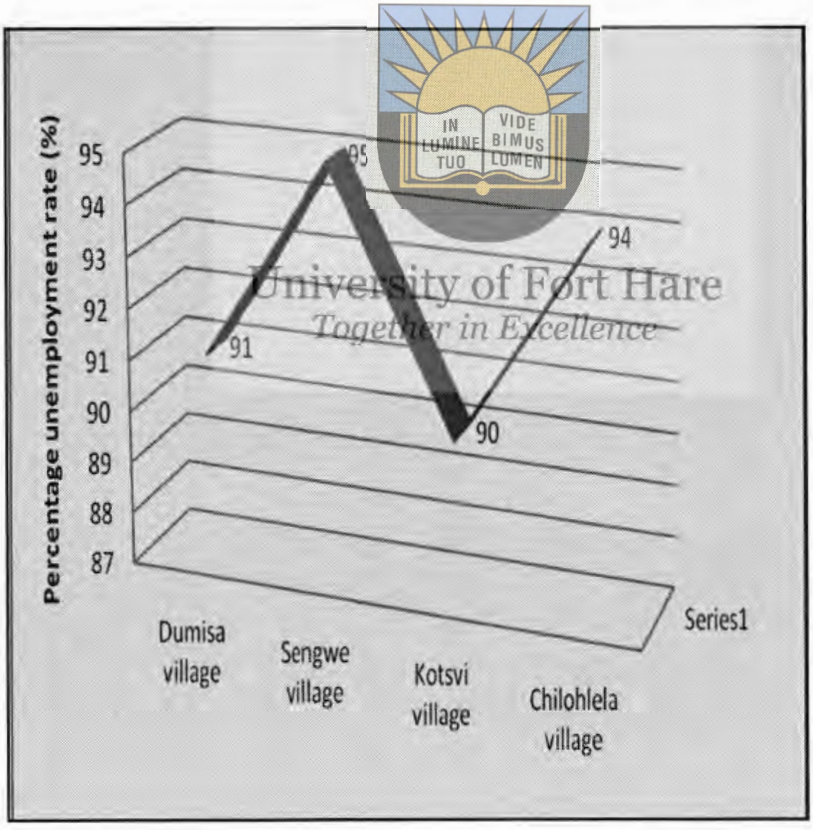
In a similar vein, the loaning system in the Corridor known as *Kuronza* allows livestock owners to share the responsibility of looking after their livestock to other local people. The benefiting households for their part bench it in the use of the

[110] The notion of community assumes among other aspects homogeneity in the vision of local people which is problematic and vague. I problematise community in chapter 3, page 85.

livestock on loan (mostly cattle) for draught power and consuming or selling milk from productive cows. Milk contributes as a dietary rich source of protein and income for the benefioting household. In spite of the benefits of *Kuronza*, there is a risk for livestock owners in that it is only the livestock on loan that is reported stolen or eaten by predators (Interview with local male farmer, Gonakudzingwa, 20 March 2006).

Unemployment in the Corridor was as high as 92.5% during my fieldwork. (See figure 2.1 below). Its effects have contributed to an increase in migrant labour to neighbouring countries.

Figure 2.1: Unemployment level in Dumisa, Sengwe, Kotsvi and Chilohlela villages.



IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Source: Socioeconomic survey results by Researcher (2006)

Local people blame authorities for not generating opportunities for investment in their area that could create employment.[111] Instead they depend on cheap migrant labor to neighboring countries especially South Africa and Mozambique. Primary schools

[111] It is within this context, this thesis argues that the GLTFCA has not met all its objectives to generate employment opportunities for loca people through promoting tourism in the Sengwe prefecture.

in the Corridor report dropouts of school going ages (especially grades 5 to 7) as they go and work in mines and farms, buy and sell basic commodities in Mozambique and South Africa. Young girls as young as 12 years old also drop out of school to get married locally. Empirical evidence shows that there was an out flux of skilled labor in Sengwe. For example, at Puzani Primary school at least three teachers would not return each term after school holidays and there was always staff shortage. One elderly local authority at the school says:

> We are short of teaching staff and they continue to leave every school term and even during the term. Once a staff member goes to Chiredzi or Beitbridge town they never return and we hear they have moved to South Africa or the United Kingdom in search of better opportunities (Interview, elderly man and local authority, Sengwe, December 2006).

The situation is excarbated by the hyper inflation estimated to be above 1000% in Zimbabwe, which had its effects of eroding the buying power of employee incomes especially the civil servants. The remoteness of the Corridor to cities and towns, poor infrastructure (electricity, roads, water, and clinics), availability of transport and the costs of travel render Sengwe an unattractive place to live and work in. All the teachers interviewed pointed out that their salaries were not sufficient for a return trip to the nearest Chiredzi town to purchase basic necessities. Their savings were also eroded by the hyper-inflation which ultimately prompted them to leave their jobs.[112] One way of viewing the effects of the hyperinflationary environment in Zimbabwe sector is the increasing unemployment levels in the Corridor and promotion of an exodus of migrant labor into South Africa and Mozambique.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

AREX (2006), estimates the total area of Chiredzi district at 1,710,239ha of which the Corridor constitutes about 10.09% or 172,500ha. The national parks area in the Corridor covers a total area of 512,353ha and a Safari area of 63,400ha. With more than 86% of household's in the Corridor depending on agro-pastoral activities as major livelihoods, one challenge is their integration into the GLTFCA's wildlife-tourism sector (for example Cumming, 2004). Proposals drawn by authorities to compensate livelihoods loss include the resuscitation and increasing irrigated land in the Corridor. There are thirteen irrigation schemes in the Corridor covering a total area of 330,6ha which directly benefiting 1553 farmers (AGRITEX, 2006). Only two (15.4%) of these irrigation schemes are fully operational while eleven are at various

[112] Interview with school authorities Puzani, 5 November, 2006.

stages of resuscitation.[113] Local people are not coping with the operation of diesel water pumps. Sharing her views on the issue, one disgruntled plot holder comments:

> The diesel engines have since broken down and canals got damaged a long time ago. We did not manage to raise sufficient funds to get things running. So, we desperately need support from other agencies. Last year [2005] we raised Z$16 million but by the time we tried to buy the engine parts in September, the prices had gone up five times (Interview, female irrigation committee member, Sengwe, 24 October 2006).

In spite of their contributions, the economic challenges in the Zimbabwe sector were not conducive for their effort as illustrated in the quote above. It remains an area of debate, which I shall not enter in this thesis on whether such designs of irrigation systems are viable or not in the Corridor.

The total population of Chiredzi is approximately 113,108 and Sengwe 17,797 (AREX, 2006).[114] According to CESVI (2002), the population of Sengwe is 22,140). I adopt the records from AREX as they are based on records kept by local leaders, which are more accurate showing household details at village level. They also take into account deceased family members making it more accurate than national statistics at national level which are not as frequently updated as those that the local leaders have. AGRITEX Chiredzi (2001) recorded the Sengwe population at 21,766 and households at 2,434. This shows that at the time of my field work the overall population had decreased by about 18,2% and households increased by about 27% compared to the 2006 records. The female population of 9971 (56,03%) dominates over that of the males 7829 (43,97%). There are 3090 households in Sengwe of which 63% are female headed.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The establishment of the Corridor is not only going to disrupt cropping but local people shall lose the cropping land among other resources such as grazing areas and burial sites. It remains a contested area due to lack of communication among actors concerning relocation and associated compensation.[115] For instance, figure 2.2 below, illustrate the extent to which the area that is going to be incorporated into

---

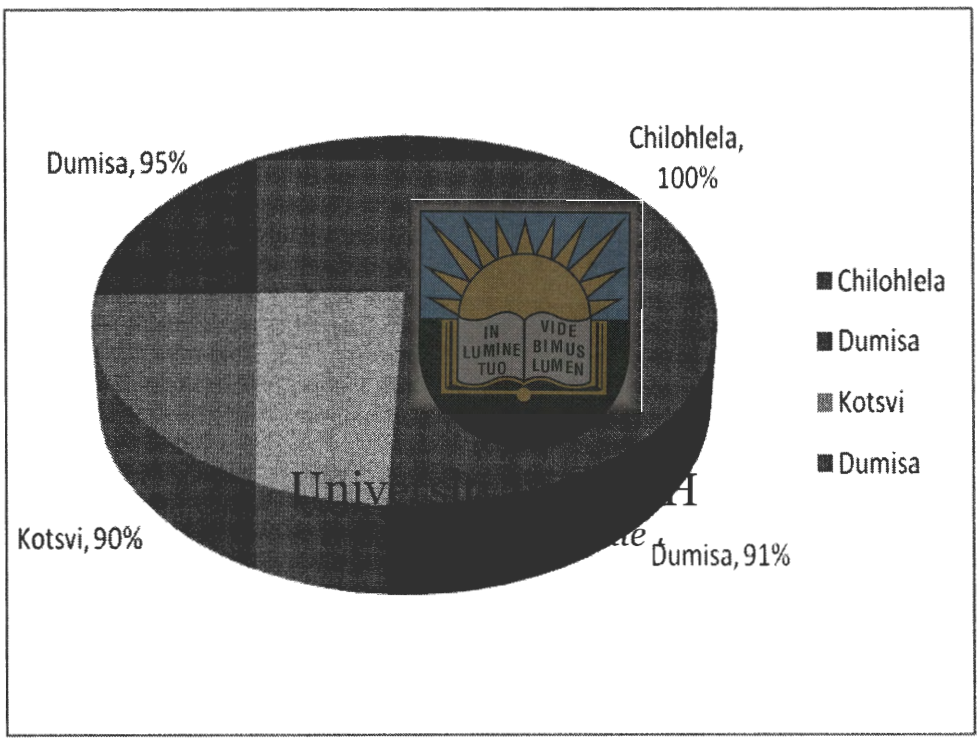
[113] Interview, CESVI staff, Davata, 20 November 2006.

[114] It is important to note that during 2002, a national census was conducted in Zimbabwe but the results were not published for political reasons. Some political commentators argue that this was because the ruling party ZANU PF did not want the results published as they would reveal discrepancies in population figures (especially that of legitimate voters) in different constituencies.

[115] I discuss who these actors are, their role and how the GLTFCA is managed. See chapter 2.

the GLTFCA as part of the Corridor (expressed as a percentage).[116] This implies that to create such an area, local people will have to be relocated to other areas (which at the time of writing were not designated in the Zimbabwe sector) and that all the resources in this area shall be appropriated and managed under the GLTFCA plan.

Figure 2.2: Percentage of area of selected four villages to be incorporated into the Corridor at 15km radius.



Source of data: CESVI (2003:21).

Local beer *Rematanda or Mqombothi* is used as a payment method at *Ilima or nhimbe* where local people gather and collectively work in another member's field and served with beer. This sharing of labor is an important part of the agricultural production system which assists households with a limited labor base to work in their crop land. Crop land is located in designated areas including along river banks where rich alluvial deposits exists. According to AREX (2002), the rich alluvial soils locally known as *Ndobolo* which is commonly found in the Corridor do not require artificial fertilizer to improve crop production potential, apart from those areas under irrigation. I found out that the majority of households (76%) with livestock were not

[116] I only select the 4 areas which are my study sites. See map on page 20.

utilizing animal waste or droppings (*Chibala)* as organic fertilizer in their crop fields except in vegetable gardens. It can be suggested that the rainfall pattern limits crop production and not the soils as commonly referred to in literature on livelihoods in the corridor (CESVI, 2003:10-15; GKG Conceptual plan, 2002:4; Mavedzenge *et al,* 2006:16, 28).

Four major soil types exist in Sengwe which are basalt soils, Cretaceous sandstone, elevated Sandstone and Alluvium. Importanlty, the riverine soil types along the Limpopo and the Mwenezi Rivers are lined by rich alluvium deposits. These are on an annual basis flooded during the rainy season between mid November and end of March. It is this type of soil which exists in the Banyini area where local people cultivate during the dry winter months of the year between May and August. When I was having a walk in company of Dziva, this is the area he showed me that local people grow crops. The unique soil types in the Sengwe prefecture not only support a variety of crops but vegetation types and other livelihoods options. Annex F describes fully the vegetation types in the GLTFCA and Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Futhermore, the Corridor presents areas of botanical interest, which include the well developed riparian woodland along the Limpopo River with tall *Ficus, Faidherbia albida* and *Acacia xanthophloea* trees that are frequently visited by wildlife mainly the buffalo and elephant. In addition, the Shurugwi Hills in the western part of the Corridor through to the Chilomwe Hills and northern section of the Pesu Gorge also support a unique vegetation association. *Acacia* woodlands located south of Malipati, and the Manjinji pan that are close to the Gezani business centre in Sengwe village support seasonal aquatic flora, and a variety of wild birds. These pans, however, have been heavily degraded by livestock and wildlife which drink water from them (Interview, AGRITEX Authorities. October, 2006). Signs of animal tracks and trampling effects on the surrounding soil are common feature at the pans that are relied upon as a source of water during the dry months between August and December. These areas are not only suitable habitats for wildlife but offer an opportunity to the promotion of tourist initiatives in the GLTFCA arena.

Authorities in the GLTFCA arena propose to jointly develop and manage a tourism venture with local people. Such considerations appear in policy documents such as the Treaty on the establishment of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (2002), and the Gonarezhou National Parks management plan (1998 to 2002). According to the parks authorities this has not taken off because of limited financial resources and lack of consultation of the local people in Zimbabwe sector. At national level (Zimbabwe sector) the distribution of type 3 vegetation is limited which makes the Corridor unique. A similar type occurs in Binga district that is on the northern part of Zimbabwe (Timberlake, 1996:ii, iv,19).

A growing body of literature on vegetation in the GLTFCA shows that it is disturbed in the settlement areas of the Corridor but to a lesser extent in the woodland. I particularly noticed that this is true in areas within homesteads and crop land. This is brought about by cultivation activities that contribute towards the removal of riparian woodland.[117] More challenging however is that settlements in the game ranches and conservancies integral to the GLTFCA. When I spoke to the settlers they told me that they are supporters of the ZANU-PF party and had come to reclaim their ancestral land. Respondents explained to me that they moved in from different parts of Zimbabwe during the controversial 2002 land reform programme.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Discussing the land reform in Zimbabwe cannot be separated from the origins of racial division issues giving rise to the causes of the liberation wars that lasted a total of 15 years (For instance Palmer, 1990:163; 2000:286).[118] The colonial government through segregation and ultimate subjugation of local people, created conditions in which land became scarce to local people as they were relocated to reserves. Kinsey (2004) discusses the land reform initiative looking at events between 1980 and the beginning of the "politically motivated" land invasions in 2000 (2004:1669). In the early 1980s, he infers that people were resettled "on land abandoned" during the war. But by 1982 over 600 families were resettled using funds from the EU. However, by the end of this funding, a large number of people were still unsettled.

[117] See also Timberlake and Mapaure, 1999:8; Sherry 1970; O'Connor and Campbell, 1986.

[118] There were two liberation wars fought with the first *Chimurenga* (meaning liberation struggle in Shona) from 1896 to 1897. The second *Chimurenga* was fought from 1966 to 1980. See Powers (2001) and Kriger (1992), for details.

While donors and allies argue that land reform was too important to be neglected on the one hand, the lack of delivery on the resettlement initiative contributed towards the loss of credibility of the ZANU PF government on the one hand. Kinsey further argues that the land invasion followed the rejection of the proposed new constitution, which promulgated the Land Acquisition Act resulting in the designation of 1471 farms in 1997. His analysis seems to suggest that it was not because of lack of financial resources that targets were not met for the initiative but other interests of the government.

Regarding policy, Kinsey concedes that the changes which happened in the Zimbabwe sector were consistent to a "sorry tale of unintended consequences of flawed institutional solutions" earmarked by conflicts (ibid:. 2004:1671).[119] Many critics have expressed varying views on the controversial land invasions that occurred in 2000.[120] Critics such as Chaumba et al (2003), point out that the land reform and farm invasions were perpetrated by individuals "who appeared to be beyond the restraint of the police, and were encouraged in their lawlessness by members of the governing ZANU PF party" (2003:534). To further elucidate on this scenario, the Human Right Watch writes that:

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

> As has been widely reported, war veterans and associated ZANU-PF militia occupying commercial farms have intimidated, assaulted, and in at least seven cases killed white farm owners in the course of occupying commercial farms. A much larger number of victims have come from among farm workers on commercial farms; several tens of farm workers have been killed. In addition, Human Rights Watch collected numerous testimonies indicating that commercial farms are being used as bases for war veterans and ZANU-PF militia to intimidate alleged opposition supporters in neighboring communal areas. Our findings confirmed the reports of Zimbabwean and other international human rights organizations that the police have at best failed to take action against the alleged perpetrators of violent crimes and in some cases have actively assisted illegal actions. The army, too, has played a role in organizing and facilitating the occupations, without providing any check on the violence (2002: 2).

In the Gonarezhou National park, one middle aged married woma, who is a new settler in Gonarezhou National Park claims that:

> *Takauya kuzotora nhaka yatakasiyirwa nemadzitateguru edu. Ndizvozvatakaendera kuhondo izvozvo. Kana paneanokubvunza ndizvo zvaunofanira kuvataurira izvozvo.*

---

119 These policies among others were the new land policy of 1990, the land acquisition act of 1992 that was revised in 1996 and 2000 (see Zimbabwe, 1990, 1992, 1996 2000; Rukuni, 1994).

120 For details of the first phase of the resettlements initiative, and consequences (see Addison and Laakso, 2003; Chiremba and Masters, 2003; Deininger, Hoogeveen and Kinsey, 2004; Moyo, 1995; Rukuni, 1994). In July 2003, the beef export was suspended following a country wide spread of Foot and Mouth Disease in Zimbabwe's three Mashonaland provinces. See www.newagri.co.uk/03-5/develop/dev02.htm [accessed 26 September, 2009]. According to OIE (2003), this was exacerbated by the controversial Zimbabwe land reform programme.

Zvaunobvunza zve park yenyu izvondezvimweo. Mugore ra1966 vanhu vakadzingwa pamishayavo kuti vaise Gonarezhou kuitira kuti mhuka dzigare imomo. Chikuru chii munhu kana mhuka pasipano,he? (Interview with female settler, Gonarezhou, 19 October, 2006).
We came here to reclaim our inheritance. That was the reason we fought the liberation war. If anybody asks you just tell them that. The issue about your park [referring to the GLTFCA initiative] is something else. In 1966, families were forced out from their homes to establish the Gonarezhou National Park so that wildlife can live in. What is important, wildlife or human beings on this planet? (19 October, 2006)

The new settlers are not concerned about the GLTFCA initiative, albeit the rhetoric of participation and sharing of the same vision at local level that is assumed and claimed in the GLTFCA policy. It later became clear to me that some of the new settlers were directly involved in illegal wildlife hunting and marketing of biltong into Mozambique. I also witnessed hunting by local people who were using snares made from wire removed from the Gonarezhou National Park game fence. I found out that men and women in the Corridor remain hostile to any conservation initiatives in their area. There is therefore a conflict of interest among local people (including the new settlers) and other actors in the Corridor. L[illegible]n to a story about my hunting expedition in Sengwe. It demonstrates how local people respond to conservation policy (GLTFCA) to cope with potential threat to their livelihoods.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

2.4 The hunting expedition

Before embarking on the hunting expedition, I was given six rules by the hunters whom I would accompany, which were: do not bring your camera because a flash is spotted from far away; do not bath with a perfumed soap (laundry soap or nothing but clean off your sweat); do not wear anything reflective or of bright color (black or navy blue only), do not bring shoes that you will wear in public again (preferably an oversize); do not walk with your normal gait (increase your stride substantially); and do not tell anyone. I asked at one point if my colleagues were able to read patterns of the monitoring patrols or if they were getting first hand information about the whereabouts of the game scouts. This I never got to figure out nor was it revealed to me. Instead, I was told: "Are you interested in seeing how we hunt or you are now into the details of other things?" This was an assuring response that reminded me that I could be stopped from witnessing an event I had planned, and lobbied for with the local leaders and built rapport for with the hunters. Indeed, it was worthy not to forgo this hunting expedition. I had the dilemma of balancing my need for the

assurance that we were not going to get caught, as that would complicate my fieldwork with the necessity of documenting the existence of poaching as one of the livelihood coping strategies in the Corridor.[121]

We planned our journey into the Gonarezhou National Park secretly. My accomplices composed of three married men of whom two were brothers (Thokozani who is 36 years old; and Mandoza, 30; and their neighbor (Mthulisi, 27 years), reside in Malipati village.[122] We all took sips from a calabash with *Muthi* or charm for good luck and left soon after 7pm when it was dark.

On the 26th of October 2006, we set off in a north eastern direction towards the Gonarezhou National Park and when we reached its boundary separating the communal area we crept under the fence. After entering the park, I suddenly became so hesitant – not of the authorities but of wild animals. My memory of a snake incident at the Gonarezhou national park camp site raised my hair.[123] I wondered how I would be able to save myself if a buffalo charged and attacked me while my colleagues escaped. What made me more nervous was that we were not carrying any weapon (not even a pocket knife). For me every crack or sound from any direction was frightening. Our guide, Mandoza led us in a silent single file to a thorny bush. He crept under and started digging. He handed over three spears (assegais), several wound wire snares, four knives, and a bow and arrow. They later explained to me the secret behind keeping all their hunting equipment in the national park, and under a bushy thorny tree. Thokozani said: "Wild pigs and warthogs always dig around these trees to eat roots so, the authorities will always think it is them and never check what lies beneath. Also, if the authorities find you entering into the national park equipped with any of these they have every reason to apprehend you"

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

[121] Given the political situation that prevailed at the time, actions by authorities were not predictable. I discuss resistance regarding hunting according to the view by Scott (1985), on page 61.

[122] These are not their real names.

[123] This happened at the Gonarezhou National Parks camp where I stayed during my overview study of the Corridor in March, 2006. One night, I was failing to get some sleep because of the hot weather and decided to have a shower. At the chalet where I stayed, there is no direct access to the shower from the inside but had to come out and pass through the veranda. It was dark outside and the fast blowing warm wind caused the grass, dry leaves and tree branches to produce some rattling and hissing noise. As I approached the shower door with one hand covering the candle from the wind and the other holding the candle and toiletries, I was only able to see a distance of about a meter away. Because of the noise from the trees, grass and dry leaves, I was obstructed from hearing the hissing from a massive but angry rattling snake that was already coiled up in a corner to attack me just by the shower door. Unaware, the closer I get, the more it felt threatened (from my noble intentions to enter the shower room), and the more it got angry. As I approached it, the hissing grew louder as it coiled up ready to attack. I stopped and carefully released my hand from the candle flame to check on this new source of hissing. There I was, face to face with a ready to attack venomous snake. Although I panicked, the glowing candle drew the attention of the snake and it stopped hissing. Then I moved slowly backwards and was sweating all over. At least, I was not attacked but abandoned my mission to shower.

(26 October 2006).

As the warm gently breeze swept through the national park, we walked for about an hour when we came to a less wooded area. I figured out that we were not following any tracks and going in circles (probably to obscure my memory from tracking back to the trapping sites). Suddenly, we stopped but Mandoza walked more carefully as if he was approaching a sleeping wild animal. He searched around an area of about 15m radius from where we stood and then we heard him produce a soft sound which turned out to be a throwing a spear then we quickly moved in to assist him and kill the wounded and helpless animal. There lay a helpless wire trapped Kudu. When we were sure it was dead, he left me with Thokozani to cut the animal into seven potions (4 limbs, head, neck, middle portion – thorax and back). We stuffed the neck and ribs into a carrier bag (locally referred to as a Shangaan bag), which we had brought along. We buried the head and intestinal contents into the sand. While we were busy with this Mandoza was setting and checking on other snares they had placed in this part of the national park and setting other traps about 50m away.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The journey back home was another mystery for me. Not only did we travel at almost twice the speed we came along but each one had to carry a portion of our catch (fresh game meat that was dripping blood).[124] My accomplices later explained why we had to carry the blood dripping meat back home: "We used to debone the animals, and dry the biltong in the park. But there are more hyenas and wild dogs in the park now that can smell and pick our catch. Also if the game guards find out the position where we process our biltong, they would simply wait for us to come to collect it and that is a trap for us" explained Thokozani. I was so relieved to come back from this expedition alive. This account not only represents a criminalized activity carried out by local people at the behest of conservation policy and the implementation of the GLTFCA but an ongoing source of livelihoods in the Corridor.[125]

---

[124] I was carrying a portion front leg over my head. Probably, I was given this smaller portion as an easy to carry light weight part or as an exhibit to criminalize me when caught.

[125] It has been found that people tend to disobey, or only obey out of fear, laws that are inconsistent with social norms while obeying laws that reflect social norms (Cooter, 1997:191).

According to Scott (1985), hunting (illegally) or poaching is a form of everyday resistance. Writing about Sedaka village in Malaysia, he demonstrates how rebellions and everyday forms of resistance by farmers (peasant) can only be understood in the light of a system of values that directly affects their livelihoods. He argues that it is important to consider the context in which individual agents are looked at. That is the socio-economic and political environments that shape those contexts, and bringing out the interpretations placed by them. Accordingly, the planning process conducted by authorities and subsequent enactment of policies and legislation that criminalises hunting do not make provisions to cater for this known source of livelihoods in the Sengwe case.

Scott's analysis also shows how the skewed distribution of funding to an improvement scheme by the government, sidelined the farmers further threatening their livelihoods. Realizing these increasing risks, farmers developed coping mechanisms of resistance in the form of staging strikes, killing of animals, poaching, false compliance, theft, and burning of equipment (that were cutting off manual labor, for instance tractors and combine harvesters). Scott defines resistance using criteria that it must: be collective and organized rather than private and unorganized; be principled and selfless rather than opportunistic and selfish; have revolutionary consequences; and negate rather than accept the basis of domination. However, none of these requirements make sense when one looks at Sedaka. In fact the opposite is true and thus defines what he calls 'everyday form of resistance'.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Similarly, in the Corridor, there have been reports from authorities about the declining populations of lions in the GLTFCA. Chapter 4 shows how the resistance of local people to conservation initiatives might or might not contribute to this effect. Alongside this, the CAMPFIRE initiative that was implemented in the Corridor had according to local people stopped generating revenue that used to benefit them.[126] As one disgruntled elderly man and local leader puts it: "Because of this GLTFCA intervention, even the construction of our local secondary school has stopped. It is not meant to benefit us".[127]

[126] I discuss the CAMPFIRE programme later in the chapter.
[127] Interview, local leader, Davata, 24 July 2006.

Notwithstanding that it is the decline in support of consumptive tourism (safari hunting) in favor of the non consumptive tourism (ecotourism) that is the major contributor to this scenario; 65% of my respondents blame the establishment of the GLTFCA as causative. This has more to do with the onset of the initiative when the CAMPFIRE initiative was already on the decline. Another factor that contributes to the decline in revenue generation by the CAMPFIRE is on the decline in financial support by donors (Mashinya, 2007:33-34). According to my respondents of all gender and varying age groups, this was coupled by limited consultations and involvement of all actors, such that the GLTFCA stands as hindrance to economic progress in the Corridor.[128]

I have shown in the above section that local people in the Corridor are made up of different ethnic groups, gender, creed and have varying visions regarding the GLTFCA as assumed in the naïve meaning of the concept of 'community' in policy. Further, the section details the different actors and their varying complementary and conflicting areas of focus which has effects on the livelihoods of local people. Importantly, it shows the power of the GLTFCA to transform Sengwe landscape into the wildlife corridor and the consequences on the livelihoods of local people. The effect of the GLTFCA and the TFCA agenda is not complete without looking at the evolution of policy in the Zimbabwe sector.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

2.5 Evolution of conservation policy in the Zimbabwe sector

In order to understand conservation in the Zimbabwe context it is important to look at the history of governance of natural resources. This history not only had effects at national level but at local level (Corridor). For a variety of reasons, among others, the management of natural resources at local level has become a favored stance in Africa over the past two decades, ubiquitous in national political rhetoric and prominent donor strategies (see Murombedzi, 1998). Using a historical perspective, this section demonstrates how policy and legislature in Zimbabwe shapes conservation discourse and consequences on the livelihoods of local people particularly in the Corridor. That is on access to, control and utilization of natural resources, and how local people react to such effects. My analysis is divided into

[128] I illustrate in chapter 3 that the image of local people is portrayed as inhibitors of progress.

three phases of legislative and institutional changes namely pre-colonial colonial and post colonial periods.[129]

Literature on the governance of natural resources, argues that before the colonial period, the local leaders regulated access, control and utilization of natural resources.[130] Local leaders draw much of their legitimacy and authority from "how they are embedded in the social and cultural life of local people, where discourses of tradition and associated cultural identity are still persuasive for many" (Cousins 1998:97). Accordingly, the chief, headman and kraal head made decisions on where to graze, crop and establish homesteads by negotiating with local people.

In a same vein, Katerere *et al,* (2001), refer to this management system as the organic management of natural resources (2001:19). As one elderly man and local leader said:

> Our ancestors lived in clusters for security reasons against human attack or raids from other tribes and wild animals. Her[illegible]ttle was also collectively conducted for the same security reasons. When their fields are no longer productive or grazing areas scarce, spirit mediums and the leaders guided people on when and where to relocate to (Interview, local leader, 15 August 2006).

University of Fort Hare

Regarding conservation during pre-colonial period, Murombedzi (2003), affirms that:

> As pre-colonial society became first regimented then stratified, access to and use of natural resources also came to be stratified, and conservation practices to reflect the attempts to balance competing interests. Such recorded pre-colonial conservation practices as the demarcation of sacred areas, the allocation of totems, the expropriation of labor for conservation etc, did not necessarily reflect egalitarian and consensual conservation, but rather the exercise of power over people and resources by dominant clans or classes, as the case would have been (2003:1).

Pre-colonial tenure arrangement suited low population densities and ranged from pastoral sedentary agricultural communities, and allowed for migration, translocation and other responses whenever natural resources became degraded (Murombedzi, 1998:2).[131] The above suggests that natural resources were managed by the resource users or those with rights of access.

---

129 That is before 1890, during 1890 – 1980 and 1980 to date, respectively.

130 For instance, (Greif, 2002; Murombedzi, 1998; Matowanyika, 1989; Metcalfe, 1996, 1999; Mandondo, 2000)

131 Tenure here implies the relationship between people (rights and responsibilities) and between people and nature (renewable and non renewable resources). The relationship between people and the resources is complex.

Similarly, Metcalfe's works in *Natural resources tenure in the context of sustainable use,* 1999, summarizes the tenure systems that prevailed during pre-colonial and post colonial period in the Zimbabwe context. He states that:

> The cardinal feature of customary tenure, before its gradual erosion under the impact of colonial policies and population pressure, was consonance with traditional land use systems, which in turn were well adapted to ecological limitation. An allocation procedure based on kinship and local conventions recognized and rationed the finiteness of land and natural resources (1999:1-2).

Above, Metcalfe recognizes the strength of the customary tenure as its ability to prevent land grabbing, flexibility to adapt (resilience) in post colonial period and consolidates the social cohesion of people (Metcalfe, 1999:2). Despite the strengths of customary tenure, it has its limitations which are, lack of compatibility with the statutory system of property rights and the land market It is also based on local membership which does not guarantee the security of tenure. This might not promote incentives for conservation and does not conform to gender equality principles.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Contrary to assertions by other scholars above, (Dore, 2000), on the other hand, argues that there was no management system in place for natural resources during pre-colonial period because no economic basis justifies such a system (2000:3). However, he acknowledges that Ndebele speakers would shift to other places when the areas they were living in were degraded. This explains in part that systems were in place that tracked environmental changes and alerted local people about the condition of the land. More so, decisions made to shift to other places were based on this system. His assertion conforms to Murombedzi (1998) and Metcalfe (1999) that the feedback system that supported the monitoring of the environment influenced on how decisions were made regarding the management of natural resources in pre-colonial period.

Critics such as those cited above provide evidence and a platform to critically analyze conservation and development discourse, and address the issue of power in those discourses. Further it elucidates the need to look closely on how power operated within these discourses and the gap between policy and practice in conservation.

Throughout colonial period land resources were administered through three overarching tenure systems, which emphasizes productivity, social differentiation (see Matowanyika, 1989); traditional which emphasizes security, equality and local people (Metcalfe, 1999); and private which emphasize individuality (for instance Murombedzi, 1998; Mandondo, 2000). The imposition of colonial state control over conservation took the form of land expropriation and other assets such as livestock from the local people (Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and Land Tenure Act of 1969).[132] It established protected areas which are referred to as 'conservation fortresses' in literature (Native Reserve Forest Product Act of 1928, Natural Resources Act of 1941 and Forest Act of 1948). Furthermore, it facilitated the promulgation of other legislation, which effectively removed the jurisdiction of local populations over those natural resources (Native Colonial Councils Act of 1937 and Tribal Trust Land Act of 1967). As the following section describes, these Acts provided the basis not only for subjugating local people but suggest to disempowering them from accessing benefits from the natural resources in the Zimbabwe sector particularly in the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Accordingly, the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 segregated land by allocating 51% to settlers, 30% for local people, and 19% unallocated (Selby, 2006:50-51; Machingaidze, 1991:558-559). Other scholars assert that the land was "divided roughly equally" among settlers and local people (see Kinsey, 2004:1671). This is highly contestable because the unallocated land also constituted protected areas (forests, game reserves), which benefited the minority (settlers) economically (See Palmer, 1977). By default, therefore, this thus suggests that economic benefits from the unallocated land indirectly benefited the settlers. The history of settler and expropriation in Zimbabwe and its impact on peasant agriculture and general economic well-being have been well documented (ibid: 1977).

The Land Tenure Act of 1969 increased the share of land allocated to local people from 30% to 53% and decreased the settler allocations from 51% to 47%. This distribution of land, espoused by colonial government however ignored the wide disparities in the quality of land (for agriculture production) and the numbers of

[132] See Powers (2001:1).

people each sector could support. In other words, this was a numerical increase in spaces of fading agricultural potential given to the local people further undermining their livelihood options.[133]

Yet, the post-development literature discussed in chapter 3 shows that there is a gap between policy and practice (to conserve natural resources). In the same vein Murombedzi (1998), argues that the top-down development approach in conservation during colonial period in Zimbabwe exercised power through centralizing policies and legislation. I argue that such power imbalances between colonial rulers and local people inform an image of local people as inhibitors of economic progress by alienating them from natural resources that are an important and integral part of their livelihoods.

The Natural Resources Act of 1941 gave authority to allocate land to the president. It established provisions for the establishment of a Natural Resources Board (NRB) and sweeping powers of intervention in areas of conservation. The Native Colonial Councils Act of 1937 had extended chieftainship (from hereditary) to include appointed chiefs.[134] Powers of the chief to allocate land were transferred to the state following the enactment of The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951. The chiefs, however, continued to gain legitimacy at local level by continuing to allocate land through a *de facto* system that they were the custodians of the land.[135] According to Scott (1985), this is another form of resistance to the ever changing regulations put in place by the colonial government on local governance systems that were in place.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In degradation discourse and deforestation in colonial era, environmental degradation was caused by local people and not policies that created circumstances leading to the retrogression of the natural resources in the reserves. Two commission reports confirm this and recommend that the population densities in the reserves be reduced.[136] Both reports indicated that there was massive destruction of

---

133 Colonial neglect of African reserves was the result of a fiscal apartheid in public sector capital investment policies (Wekwete, 1990).

134 Although the position of the chief is inherited through lineage and kinship ties with leadership circulating among families, some chiefs were introduced by the colonial rule. Another position of the village head was introduced during colonial period.

135 In this context legitimacy implies the moral conviction among people (those governed) that recognizes or grants the leadership in question, authority and the right to pass, and or enforce laws according to agreed standards or principles (see Global Oneness, 2008).

136 These were the Natural Resources Commission of 1938 and the Godlonton Commission of 1944.

the environment in the reserves and that this was a result of overstocking much of which had already been brought to a state where rehabilitation appears impossible (Mandondo, 2000) in the reserves. They estimated that 24 reserves were more than 5% overpopulated; 19, at 50% to 100% overpopulated; and 19 were overpopulated by 100% or more. In spite of the overcrowding and paucity of land available even for subsistence farming, it is tempting to argue that degradation was eminent not because of practices by local people but by circumstances generated by policy. It is being suggested here that policy and legislature regarding relocation and creation of reserves were responsible for these effects.

One striking feature about the inferred destruction of the environment is that, no relation to policy was made by any of the two Commissions reports. Such reasoning is not uncommon. It reflects a major departure from generating credible knowledge in degradation discourse. It rather blames local people, for degradation implied in the Commission reports. Similar findings were reported in Kissidougou in New Guinea (Fairhead and Leach, 2006), and Mkomazi Game Reserve in Tanzania (Brockington and Homewood, 2001), where degradation was abused by authorities for political ends. The lack of evidence, data and consistency, show that such assertions about local people and degradation were but a convenient platform on which to lobby for other agendas.[137]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Similarly, at end of the colonial period the state of natural resources was already in a state of crisis (Murombedzi, 1998:1). This scholar says the situation was characterized by the decreasing ability of the state to regulate resource use, and the decay of local institutions that had previously been developed to manage natural resources. Because of the nature of policies and legislature imposed by colonial rule, local institutions lost their jurisprudence. Yet rather than being merely the passive victims of legislature, local people developed avoidance mechanisms by abandoning conservation initiatives. Again it is evident that "power does not reside solely with those operating within hegemonic discourse arena" (Bologna, 2008:76).

[137] See chapter 4 for details of farming and conservation practices in the Sengwe prefecture that are not recognized in the GLTFCA management plans drawn by authorities.

A disgruntled elderly man and local leader in Sengwe view the effects of colonial policies by saying:

> The colonial government was rough for sure - *Ende hurumende yeMabhunu [White colonialists] yanga iri rough zveshuwa.* They took away our ancestral land and livestock, limited our access to forests and game reserves, as and when they see fit. But we never stopped issuing land to our people, setting out fires for agricultural and conservation purposes, hunting and harvesting of natural resources in the Gonarezhou National Park. That is how we continue to live even today and that is not going to change (Interview with elderly man and local leader, Sengwe, December 2006).

Three important points are raised by the elderly man in the above quote. First he regards the colonial government as rough suggesting insensitivity. Second he laments the appropriation of land and other resources such as livestock. Third he indicates that irrespective of restrictions put in place, local people continued their activities in the protected areas including the allocation of land by local leaders. He declares that these activities will not stop irrespective of existing policies in place. This brings to the fore about the issues about the denial of rights as one effect or characteristic of the colonial government in the Zimbabwe prefecture.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Writing in 1978, Said states that some effects of colonization include "the denial of human rights, legal rights of residence, the status of nationhood and historical identity" (1978:40). These were evident in Zimbabwe particularly in the Corridor. In his 2003 edition, he contends that "what our leaders and their intellectual lackeys seem incapable of understanding is that history cannot be swept clean like a blackboard, so that "we" might inscribe our own future there and impose our own forms of life for these lesser people to follow" (2003:xiii). In this regard, colonial laws suggest preventing local people from exploiting natural resources and being involved in the economy as equals.[138] However, the end of the liberation war (fought between 1966 and 1979) and independence of Zimbabwe, brought with it renewed trajectory of policy and legislation transformations regarding conservation.

In post colonial period in Zimbabwe, land resources are administered through three overarching tenure systems: state; traditional; and private.[139] I argue that the governance system of natural resources after 1980 (re)centralizes power at district

---

[138] This affirms the image of local people as what I call inhibitors of progress. See chapter 3.

[139] See Matowanyika (1989), Metcalfe (1999), Murombedzi (1998), Mandondo (2000), Shackleton and Campbell (2001), Kundhlande and Luckert (1997).

level despite the rhetoric implying decentralization.[140] To do so, I adopt the six strands of the top-down approach to planning and implementation of legislature and policies as illustrated by Mandondo (2000:12). These are: Structures that deny [local people] accountable forms of representation; Centralisation of power and decision making in environmental regulation systems which is associated with discourses of science to justify a command and control approach to conservation; the use of alienating languages in certain forums such as the Rural District Development Committee (RDDC) that override the visions of lower constituencies; Externalization of locally collected revenues; and the presence at the local level of many organizations, essentially [assumed] sharing the same broad goals but with different and often predetermined visions of how, when, for whom and through whom to achieve them (2000:12-13).[141]

The Parks and Wildlife Act of 1982 extend benefits from wildlife resources to local people through the CAMPFIRE initiative. This is done by appropriating authority from the state to the Rural District Council (see Katerere *et al,* 2001:4; Moyo, 1999).[142] However, the RDC Act of 1988, (re)centralized power from the state level to the district level whilst making the power unilateral and top-down.[143]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In 1994, a directive by the Prime Minister created a sub-district level governance framework that was aimed at promoting the democratization of district plans and popular representation. These were the Village and Ward District Committees, VIDCO and WADCO respectively. Some scholars argue that the formation of these structures was part of a measure purportedly adopted to punish chiefs for their pre-independence role as functionaries of colonial oppression (Makumbe, 1998). After the June 27, 2008 presidential elections in Zimbabwe, chiefs were given grinding mills and electricity generators as token for their role in the victory of the ruling

---

[140] Decentralization is the devolution of central State assets and powers to local or private decision-making bodies: representative local government, local administrative branches of central government, non-State organizations (NGOs, Cooperatives, associations, etc.) or private individuals and corporations (Ribot, 1999: 4). It is true however that decentralization took place in the Zimbabwe. However authority from state level was granted to another level (RDC) that critics (whom I also concur with) assume are not low enough to represent the village level

[141] The RDDC is the district's supreme planning body that is tasked with consolidating the various ward plans into the district annual and five year plans.

[142] It marked the beginning of a formalized Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) initiative in Zimbabwe.

[143] That is at RDC and not to lower tiers such as the WADCO and VIDCO.

party.[144] This was embedded in the ruling party's strategy to garner political support from local people through the chiefs. The local chief Sengwe confirmed receiving monthly allowances, subsidized housing scheme, subsidized car ownership loan, agricultural inputs including a tractor, a harrow, sprays *et al,* as benefits for his post. One elderly man and a local leader said "If you were in that position were you going to refuse the benefits of the chief?"[145] This suggests though ironically that the role and benefits of local leaders are used by government to shore up sagging political fortunes.

In spite of the changing roles of local leaders and institutions, they maintain their legitimacy at local level. Ostensibly in an effort to empower chiefs, the Traditional leaders Act of 1999 introduced further bureaucracy in which chiefs were given the role to ensuring that the land and its natural resources are used and exploited in terms of the law. Chiefs in particular, control over-cultivation, and over-grazing, and the indiscriminate destruction of flora and fauna. They also oversee illegal settlements, preventing the degradation, abuse or misuse of land and natural resources in their areas (Government of Zimbabwe, 1999). Another aspect that comes out in the Traditional Leaders Act is the formation of village assemblies and ward assemblies that are chaired by local leaders, and work hand in hand with the VIDCOs and WADCOs. This added strata to the existing institutional arrangements reinforces bureaucracy at local level. Another centre of power however, exists at local level. This is that of spiritual leaders. Spiritual leaders also have authority not only on spiritual belief systems in the Zimbabwe sector but on matters regarding conservation of natural resources.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Spirit mediums (such as Puzani in the Corridor) play a role in the formulation of rules governing access to natural resources by different gender groups. The rules they impose are not contested and people have to oblige. Local people believe that spirit mediums communicate directly with the ancestors of local people and whatever they say is, therefore, incontestable. They determine the time of harvesting of fish (salvage harvesting), Mopane worms (butterfly pupae) and palm leaves. Resource access is also limited to gender groups for specific resources. For instance, men and

[144] The Standard, Saturday, 12 July 2008:16.
[145] Interview with elderly man and local leader, Sengwe, August 2006.

young women are not allowed to mine salt in Malipati area where the elderly women are permitted. The local spirit mediums also regulate access and management of natural water sources like springs.

In this section, I illustrated how policy and legislature related to conservation in the Zimbabwe sector affects the access to, control over and utilization of natural resources by local people in the Corridor. However, other policies regarding agricultural reforms had a profound effect on the livelihoods of local people in Sengwe.

2.6 Molding or remolding local livelihood options

Agriculture is acknowledged as the backbone of the Zimbabwe economy.[146] This has a long history that is shaped by colonial and post colonial governments as expounded in the policies. These policies shape the agricultural landscape of the Corridor with consequences on the sources of livelihoods of the local people. I use the metaphor of remolding as a potter determines the shape of his pottery to suit his imaginations, a desired symmetry and objectives. Indeed, it is within this context that authorities use agricultural policy to mold an image of the community. This image has consequences on the sources of livelihoods of local people in the Corridor. This section, concentrates on policies that regulated livestock production and promotion of wildlife resources as they apply in the Zimbabwe context and the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

From colonial period to present day, policies in Zimbabwe were developed to promote commercial production of livestock in order to meet demand by both the domestic and international markets. Between 1896 and 1898, the livestock sector encountered a manifestation of the Rinderpest which destroyed livestock. Yet despite this drawback, stern enforcement of the policies saw the Zimbabwe national herd growing. In the commercial sector for instance, livestock population increased by more than 2000% (from 39,000 in 1907 to 954,000 in 1931), and 893% in the communal areas (from 164,000 to 1.63 million) over the same period (Mosley 1983:14).

[146] See Taylor (1999:188), and Richardson (2005:1).

Similarly, the establishment of the Cold Storage Commission (CSC) in 1937 provided price guarantees for settler farmers producing commercial beef. Its mandate was to oversee marketing of beef for the export and domestic markets, enforcing a grading system and fixing of beef prices.[147] Veterinary services were readily available to commercial (settler) producers but limited support was rendered to local farmers in times of disease outbreak. But because of the constant interactions of wildlife and livestock, a need to control livestock diseases and at the same time conform to the high quality export market standards arose.[148] In particular, the buffalo, wildebeest, zebra and wild porcine (wild pigs) are carriers of various diseases including Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD) but they do not develop symptoms (Perry *et al,* 2003:10; Bengis, 2005:17). Hence there was need to prevent contact between wildlife and livestock. Accordingly, this followed the 1985 preferential market access to EU, African, Caribbean and Pacific nations (ACP) agreement that such measures be taken.[149]

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Access to local markets was restricted through strict quarantine measures that limited animal movements across established zones (Samasuwo, 2003:487-488). Established zones also improved veterinary services for disease surveillance, as well as quarantine and livestock vaccinations in cases of outbreaks.[150] A veterinary fence was constructed in Sengwe before the GLTFCA initiative that cut through the Corridor. Ostensibly the fence restricted animal movement without authorization for disease control purposes.[151]

The first recorded outbreak of FMD was in the southeast of the country in 1931 (du Toit 2005:14; Thomson *et al,* 2003:146).[152] Statistics show that between 1985 and 2000, a total of 105 Foot and Mouth Disease cases were recorded (see Perry *et al*, 2003:10-11). During my fieldwork, I visited nine dip tanks in the Corridor where I

147 Beef exports were one major income earner of foreign currency in Zimbabwe.

148 As dictated by the Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) regulations to the EU.

149 According to the international standard setting body the Office International des Epizooties (OIE), Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD) is classified as a notifiable disease under 'Class A' and therefore should be under control (see www.oie.org, Accessed, 5 June 2009).

150 The strategy was to establish fenced zonation aimed at total control of Foot and Mouth Disease to other parts of the country especially the beef export zones. Culling of wildlife was also conducted as a measure to control Tsetse Fly in Zimbabwe, which wild animals are believed to host (Murindagomo, 1997:433).

151 Indeed it did not restrict farming and conservation practices by local people in the Corridor as is now witnessed with the proposed elephant proof fence under the GLTFCA initiative. See chapter 4, page 128.

152 See also Thomson *et al* (2003:146)

observed their status in terms of use and collection of livestock statistics. Dipping was no longer regular and households had to acquire own chemicals to control ticks on livestock and hiring veterinary staff to assist in treating infected animals at local level. Respondents of different gender and wealth status acknowledged that the costs to control ticks and treat animals were high and only available from neighbouring countries such as South Africa and Mozambique.

All my respondents, consisting of men between the ages 20 to 65 years, alluded to the fact that despite the payment of dipping levies locally known as "Cards" to the state, the service has since deteriorated.[153] They relate cattle deaths in the Corridor through tick borne diseases as one effect of poor service delivery. See my story of the visit to Chief Sengwe's residence in the company of Mr Dziva, chapter 2, page 35. Prominent diseases occurring in the Corridor are Lumpy skin, Heart Water, Red Water and Black leg.[154]

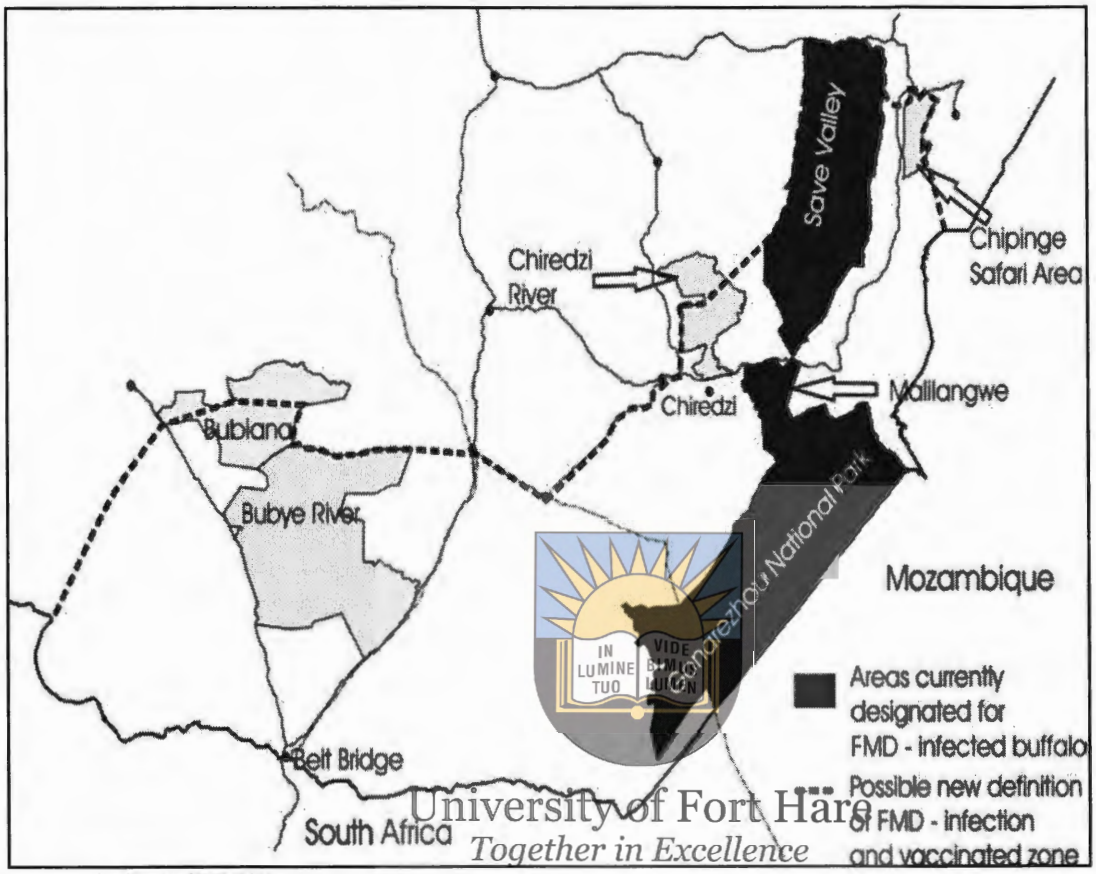
IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

A threat of transmission of bovine tuberculosis from Kruger National Park in South Africa into Zimbabwe exists. Not only is a buffer zone necessary to combat this transmission through reducing wildlife-livestock interaction but a physical barrier such as a fence is needed. To this effect the EU pledged €10 million for the establishment of the fence (see Wolmer, 2003:273). It is within this scenario that international funding and support the establishment of physical barriers such as fencing and the implementation of veterinary regimes, that promote the commoditization of both wildlife and beef (see du Toit, 2005:110; Kock, 2005:1-2). See figure 2.3 below.

[153] "Activities in Zimbabwe remain constrained by the ongoing political and economic crisis that impacts on stakeholders at all levels. On an economic level the reluctance of donors to engage with Zimbabwe until political reforms are implemented has meant that there is very little money available to fund these types of activities" (Murphree, 2006:41).

[154] Interview with middle aged man, Veterinary Officer, Malipathi, 1 November, 2006.

Figure 2.3: Proposed foot and mouth zonation in southern Zimbabwe.



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Source: du Toit (2005)

Such plans reflected in figure 2.3 that are shared among authorities might have consequences on the livelihoods of local people similar to those of the GLTFCA when implemented. Yet this proposed Foot and Mouth fencing goes far beyond the proposed Corridor, suggesting further uncertainty to the rest of Sengwe.[155]

The enactment of the Wildlife Act of 1988 brought drastic changes to the value of wildlife and its importance in improving local livelihoods (Child, 1988:178).[156] Such that by 1994, wildlife ranching became one of the fastest growing new uses of commercial farming land in Zimbabwe with about 20.7% of commercial farms under wildlife utilization (Hill 1994:227). Consequently, a rise in the establishment of conservancies was evident during the period 1988 to 1990.

[155] It spans from the western boundary of Gonarezhou to the western edge of Dite 2 Ward.

[156] Associated increases in trophy hunting and eco-tourism ventures such as the CAMPFIRE initiative (du Toit, 2005:3) was noted.

A growing body of literature on wildlife shows that wildlife species are evolutionarily adapted to dryland environments and more resilient to these environments. Thus it has become more acceptable that they be promoted in agriculturally marginal areas such as the Corridor. But because local people living in these designated wildlife producing areas (Zimbabwe sector), did not benefit from the growth of the wildlife industry, it remains politically controversial.[157] Regarding this situation, scholars such as Kock (2005), argues that:

> So to sacrifice wildlife in favor of developing a competitive commercial livestock sector has little justification, but to develop both wildlife and commercial livestock concerns mutually (not defaulting to one or the other exclusively) is a key to utilization of available resources (Kock, 2005:2).

I have shown in this chapter that it is the areas of botanical interests that justify the establishment of the Corridor irrespective of the existence of alternative wildlife routes in the GLTFCA Zimbabwe prefecture. The areas of botanical interests are not only suitable habitats for wildlife but offer an opportunity to the promotion of tourist initiatives in the GLTFCA arena. Looking at the above policies and legislation, set out above, it can be seen that control of and access to natural resources during colonial and post colonial period, do not empower local institutions but centralizes authority to the state. Similarly, the history of livestock and wildlife production do not provide opportunities to local people. As observed by Metcalfe (1999), "wildlife legislation supports districts not villages" (1999:8). I have argued that the governance system during and post colonial period continue (re)centralizing power at district level despite rhetoric implying decentralization of governance in natural resource management. This alienates local people from natural resources.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The following chapter is devoted to discussing how the implementation of the GLTFCA has effects that resulted in the creation of bureaucracy, polarizing local institutions, centralizing decision making to the state, and creating an image of local people as inhibitors of economic progress. It goes on to examine concepts such as 'community', 'community participation', and 'progress' as they apply to the GLTFCA, the National Parks and Wildlife Authority (NPWA) and Sengwe people in development discourse.

[157] (See Bond, 2001; Wolmer *et al.* 2003; Wolmer, 2003).

Chapter 3

Development perspectives and conservation.

Building on chapters one and two, this chapter presents empirical material outlining the effects of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA) on local people. In my discussion, I engage one of the major themes in the thesis: that there are gaps in the implementation of the GLTFCA relative to its policy, which has generated power imbalances at the expense of local people's interests and livelihoods. I argue that such power imbalances inform an image of local people as what I will call inhibitors of progress. The chapter also demonstrates how the rhetoric that Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) promote socio-economic development to local people, is or is not translated into practice particularly in the Corridor. It goes on to illustrate how the GLTFCA creates bureaucracy, polarizes local institutions and centralizes decision making to the state. Concepts such as 'community', 'community participation', and 'progress' as they apply to the GLTFCA, the National Parks and Wildlife Authority (NPWA) and Sengwe people in development discourse are analysed. Before looking at the effects of the GLTFCA on local livelihoods in the Corridor, let me present a story about a meeting I atttended in Harare in response to a call by a potential donor to the NGO I was affiliated to.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In December 2006, I attended a meeting in Harare's Mount Pleasant Office Park where the European Union (EU) launched its 2007 financial aid package to Zimbabwe. There was an overwhelming response from various development sectors such that the room allocated for the meeting was packed with attendants. Participants came from Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the private sector, government departments as well as regional and International development agencies. Some had to stand throughout the 2 hour meeting because space was lacking. Presenters highlighted the different thematic areas the EU supports including a lengthy one on eligibility and accounting procedures. I was not moved by the project proposal format and criteria set for potential beneficiaries.

What was unique about this meeting was that partnerships with the private sector, which accordingly increases the chances of funding. Was there anything wrong with the current funding arrangements in which the private sector is involved? For instance the private sector has been supplying agricultural inputs and equipment to development initiatives such as irrigation schemes with water pumps and accessories, fencing materials, fertilizer, crop seed and insecticides. What came to my mind then was how best my organization presents itself to access the funds. Honestly, I did not think of how the priorities of the clients we serve fit into this equation. In my above account, I draw the attention to the reactions of development agencies and their agents to access financial packages. At the most, these dynamics correspondingly bring about transformations in institutional culture and possibly institutional policy. This might be done in a manner with consequences on livelihoods of local people as I shall show in this thesis.[158]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Williams (1998:1) puts forward a similar argument that:

> The relationship between aid and the environment is arguably complicated. On the one hand, many economists argue that aid has an essential role to play in the promotion of economic development, and can be helpful in promoting principles of sustainability. On the other hand, not only have many critics doubted the efficacy of aid but many have detailed the environmentally damaging consequences of many aid projects (1998:1).

Williams in the above quote, postulates the effects of development funding on rural livelihoods and conservation. He argues that sustainable development strategies adopted by international donors extend and reproduce forms of dominance. He goes on to state the complexity of the issues at stake that the attempt to reconcile growth and environment objectives leads to an overall strategy which differs markedly from traditional approaches to development.

The above scenario brings up discourses of development and that of conservation specifically looking at the GLTFCA which is the focus of this thesis. The GLTFCA Treaty of 2000 states that:

---

[158] I shall, however, return to this scenario in chapter 5 on NGO discourse and in particular my experiences working with SAFIRE and the SEVACA initiative in the Corridor.

> As eco-tourism development and marketing is likely to be a prominent feature of the proposed Transfrontier Park [GLTP], mechanisms for equitable sharing of revenues, particularly from entry fees to the Park, will need to be developed at the outset to avoid unnecessary conflicts. By making wildlife profitable, through active participation of the private sector, it attempts to stimulate rural development (GLTFCA Treaty, 2000:1-5).

The GLTFCA policy document, which is available on the official website, does not tell us about the far-reaching consequences of conservation policy especially on the local people.[159] In spite of the fact that the GLTFCA policy remains impressive in the conservation and development arena, in practice as this thesis illustrates, it is riddled with rhetorical inconsistencies. For instance, it stresses the profitability of wildlife, which responds to free market forces that could be externally driven. One of the effects of the response to external market forces in the management of the GLTFCA can be and I argue that local people have a lesser leverage and do not benefit at this development interface. The sections and chapters that follow, discuss this concept and its effects on the livelihoods of local people in the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Apart from other provisions in the GLTFCA policy, it points out that local people can be 'enabled' as if disabled to conserve natural resources and will only do so when they start realizing direct benefits. "It also simultaneously provides local communities [local people] with incentives to conserve wildlife and to manage inter-related natural resources such as soil, water, woodlands, arable land and grazing land" (GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000:3). This suggests that local people are not conserving the natural resources in the conservation area because no benefits are accruing to them, seemingly economic benefits.[160] Similarly, the Animal Health for the Environment And Development (AHEAD-GLTFCA), praises the establishment of the GLTFCA as a means to promote the involvement of local people.[161] It says:

---

[159] See http://www.environment.gov.za/Documents/Documents/GreatLimpopoTP/ConceptPlan.htm#Anchor-1.-14065. Accessed 27 September 2009.

[160] I illustrate in chapter 4 that local people farming practices contributes towards the conservation of natural resources in the Corridor.

[161] Animal Health for the Environment And Development (AHEAD) is a technical body that was approved by all SADC member States, through the Regional Biodiversity Strategy to provide technical assistance to the implementation of the GLTFCA. Specifically the *AHEAD* approach is adopted as a model for addressing challenges at the wildlife / livestock / human health interface, particularly in a transboundary context. We are extremely pleased to have been asked to contribute to this milestone policy product, which focuses on biodiversity / development linkages (see AHEAD, 2006: 6).

> In short, it is a tremendous step forward towards a more sustainable approach to wildlife conservation and land stewardship by one of the most science-oriented protected area management authorities on the continent (AHEAD-GLTFCA, 2006:8).

AHEAD-GLTFCA here celebrates the onset of the GLTFCA as an initiative that not only supports conservation but in particular the promotion of a scientific approach to conservation, which at the same time assumes the upliftment of local people in development. Forthwith, this approach was adopted by the NPWA in the Zimbabwe sector.[162] The approach claims to involve local people, appropriate, and sustainable as: that is "ecologically, socially and politically sound" (NPWM, 1998:8). Imbalances of power and capacity among different actors in the GLTFCA arena are, however, recognized in the policy alluding to the weaker and stronger partners. It claims that "capacity building of the weaker partners can be assisted by the stronger partners" (GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000:3).[163] I shall discuss who these weaker and stronger partners are and show how they have responded to this imbalance of authority in the implementation process in conservation and development discourse.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

3.1 Development thinking

The term development is illusive. In their book *Anthropology, Development and The Post-Modern Challenge,* 1996, Gardner and Lewis, define development as:

> Development refers to ... processes of social and economic change which have been precipitated by economic growth, and or specific policies and plans whether at the level of the state, donor agencies or indigenous social movements of people who experience them (Gardener and Lewis, 1996:25).

The above authors also point out that development involves deliberately planned change, and continues to affect the lives on many millions of people across the world (1996:2). These changes as the above quote might also imply can have either positive or negative effects on various actors. And what is unique about development in the above definition is that it is a deliberate plan. At this point, I ask: "Whose plan and timing?" It goes without saying that

---

[162] I discuss the NPWA's Gonarezhou National Park Management Plan in chapter 4, page 123.

[163] In chapter 2, I discuss actors in the GLTFCA Sengwe arena. The following chapters illustrate the varying interests and authority as they interact with consequencies in the livelihoods of local people.

indeed, development is a contested arena. As a number of scholars have shown that in development, there is the crafting of subjectivities that dissociates the history of the locals and creates images which could be out of context.[164]

In a similar vein, Wilson (1953:11) points out that the use of numbers can be misleading and dangerous in the development arena. He illustrates that eloquent facts are adduced to justify development initiatives especially regarding to hunger and poverty.[165] He says:

> Over 1,500,000 million people, something like two-thirds of the world population, are living in conditions of acute hunger, defined in terms of identified nutritional disease. This hunger is at the same time the cause and effect of poverty, squalor, and misery in which they live (Wilson, 1953:11).

Wilson here challenges the thinking on how development interventions are constructed by a justifiable and yet, false image of the so called developing countries. For instance that 1,500,000 million people, are living in conditions of acute hunger, is sufficient enough to illustrate a potential global catastrophe. But is it representative of the truth at local level. Nonetheless, Gardner and Lewis (1996), argue that development is "a construct rather than an objective state, a dream, perhaps, but one which many people assert has justified initiatives of continued Northern dominance over the South" (1996:1). In *Encountering Development*, 1995, Escobar, puts forward a similar argument: that "development is a mechanism for the colonial and neo-colonial domination of the South by the North" (1995:213). Because it is about domination, we are warned of the hegemony associated with top-down approach planning, implementation and consequences of development interventions many may have underestimated. Similarly, Stirrat and Henkel (1997), argue that what is viewed as orthodox, and which assumes a certain consistency and uniformity, should rather be seen as an area of contestation in this case development (1997:66-80).[166]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

[164] (For instance Mosse, 2005; Bond, 2001; Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1990; Gardner and Lewis, 1996).

[165] I adopt the term poverty by Gardener and Lewis (1996:25), to mean "... a state in which people are denied access to the material, social and emotional necessities of life.

[166] I discuss gender and women empowerment as examples of such orthodox in this thesis in chapter 5, page 150.

In *The Anti-Politics Machine,* 1990, Ferguson documents the Thaba-Tseka livestock intervention in Lesotho illustrating how far development planners can create justifiable images to appropriate an intervention. He demonstrates how Lesotho was constructed by development agencies as a backward country that needs to be integrated into the market economy. Further, he suggests that the image of Lesotho was portrayed as: 'traditional', had a 'subsistence peasant' society, and a 'virtually untouched country' by the modern economic development status. This, however, turned out to bear so little resemblance to reality resulting in what he referred to as "one of almost unremitting failures to achieve their objectives" (1990:223).

The Thaba-Tseka intervention supported the development of appropriate marketing outlets, controlling grassland use by destocking and grazing associations, introducing improved cattle breeds and, convincing the local farmers to market their non-productive stock.[167] Results of the intervention were not pleasing. Some unintended effects noted by Ferguson include power struggles over use of project vehicles, government ministries refused to vote funds for the intervention and made unilateral decisions on actions in the district. There was also reluctance of farmers to convert grazing animals into cash through sale, paddock fences were cut or knocked down, and gates stolen so that there was free grazing by all (ibid, 1990).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Irrespective of this failure, more and more funding for development interventions continue to be awarded to Lesotho. The argument here is that the rhetoric around the livestock development in Lesotho, generated conflicts among various actors. In this case Ferguson demonstrates that development is a machine for reinforcing and expanding the exercise of bureaucratic state power, which incidentally takes poverty as its point of entry. He also says that: "Development initiatives are technically negotiated and justified" (pers.comm, Cape Town, 19 September 2008). Thus the support of interventions might have no desirable effect on poverty but does nonetheless have concrete effects. Ferguson argues that the real purpose of development projects is to

[167] Destocking is a process whereby livestock is selectively culled or removed in order to promote a required breed with desirable traits like high beef and milk production.

aid outside interests into the developing countries, as does Escobar (1991, 1995). He asks questions about whether or not development aid really helps poor people and what aid does besides fail to help poor people? In conclusion, he remarks: that "it is not surprising, therefore that the country profiles on which the agencies base their interventions frequently bear little or no relations to economic and social realities [and] it is hardly surprising that development projects have failed even on their own terms" (Ferguson, 1990:225).

From the above discussion, I will try answering these questions as they apply in the GLTFCA arena and its effects on the livelihoods of local people residing in the Corridor. The GLTFCA as later shown in the chapter, centralizes authority, adopts a top-down development approach and decision making process on conservation with negative consequences on livelihoods of local people residing in the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Bond in *The IMF and World Bank Reconsidered, 2001*, systematically challenges the top-down approaches to development by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The World Bank in Africa. Looking at the cases in Angola, South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe, he illustrates how interventions result in creating conflicts among actors, influencing policy reforms and disadvantaging local people. He asserts that the funding of the initiatives is not aimed at furthering the causes of racial equality, economic justice, and ecological sustainability, but on the contrary promoting external interests (2001:234-235). Bond also notes that the pragmatic influence of the financiers in modeling policy frameworks is construed in the terms or conditions for granting aid (ibid:2001:235). In a similar vein Williams (2007), argues that the justification for the Bank's activities is that "economic relations are natural, hence its capital injection into development initiatives and is not a way of imposing hegemony but "assisting in what is a natural course of development" (2007:97).

During an interview with middle aged official at the Masvingo provincial government offices, he posed questions regarding the financing of development initiatives. He said: "Why are world financing bodies expected to release funding without supporting their interests? Why do recipient countries accept underlying conditions for such aid? And who is responsible for the consequences of such initiatives? Otherwise, who should mitigate what effect and to what extent? (21 October 2006). This thesis does not answer all the questions posed by the authority but outline relevant processes and practices that in part can provide clues to answering these on the other. I draw from works by Foucalt to look at how knowledge generates power. "Post structuralists have, with varying degrees of success, drawn on a Foucauldian approach to trace how knowledge generates power, and that one can see the process manifested in the relations between development discourse and development practice" (Bologna, 2008:73). Within development discourse, the above radical views are highly contested and problematic for they relate to the gaps between policy and practice.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

3.2 The gap between policy and practice

In his book *Cultivating Development,* 2005, Mosse, an inspiring development anthropologist has a different perspective on the relationship between policy and practice. Using a story from a British Department for International Development (DfID) funded agricultural development initiative in Western India, he illustrates how the practice and policy gaps unfold between the development agencies and local people. He places his discussion in the context of two dominant but opposing theories, arguing that neither an instrumental nor a critical approach explains the role of policy. Further, he demystifies the instrumental perspective in that good, rational policy leads to good, rational practice. On the critical perspective, he argues that policy is bound to have unintended, often unarticulated effects, entrenching ideologies and power relationships. He explains that the relationship of policy to its effect is the same besides under the circumstance when the unintended effect replaces the intended effect.

In terms of practices, he argues that development practice inform policy, in the sense that actors construct a particular representation of their practice. Further, he demonstrates how DfID policy responds to changing development paradigms that is from participation to sustainable livelihoods and then to state level partnerships. I shall illustrate in this thesis how the GLTFCA policy also changed along with the development paradigm as well as the gaps between the intended and unintended effects of the initiative on local people's livelihoods residing in the Corridor.

Realizing the role of policy in development and the gap between policy and practice, Mosse (2005) makes five propositions. These are:

i) Policy's primary functions is to mobilize and maintain political support, that is, legitimize rather than orientate practice;
ii) Development interventions are driven not by policy but by exigencies of organizations and the need to maintain relationships;
iii) Development projects work to maintain themselves as coherent policy ideas, as systems of representation as well as operational systems;
iv) Projects do not fail, they are failed by wider networks of support and validation; and
v) Success and failure are policy-oriented judgments that obscure project effect (2005:14-19).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

These propositions bring about the tendencies of hegemonic discourse on participation in the DfID initiative and many other such interventions in Africa particularly the GLTFCA as I shall illustrate throughout this thesis. In policy discourse, during the 1990s, participation was authoritative. According to Mosse, the DfID initiative in India enrolled the language and policy of the time that was about participation.[168] In so doing, the initiative claims to be a relevant development intervention. Irrespective of this scenario Mosse further illustrates how this concept of participation can be hijacked by local elites, and local knowledge is influenced by various experts. He further affirms that the participatory policy was to make it possible for the variety of actors working in

[168] The development and engagement of new paradigms is one characteristic of development so is participation of local people in development intervention. I problematize participation on page 87.

the area with varying goals and agendas to work together. These are the NGOs, government departments, commercial enterprises and the international agencies. Indeed, integrating conservation and development is often problematic in practice (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Larson *et al.* 1998), because it simultaneously often brings together a multiplicity of actors (Mashinya, 2007). I will illustrate how this multiplicity of actors has consequences on local people in the GLTFCA arena.

Using the above scholars' assertions in development discourse (Escobar, Ferguson, Bond and Mosse), the following section reviews the concepts of 'community', 'community participation', 'traditional' and 'progress' as they apply in conservation and in particular the Corridor which is my study site.

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

3.3 The concept of community

The use of the concept of community in development discourse has been widely contested, because it does not reflect the complexity of cohorts of people. For instance, writing in South Africa, Thornton and Ramphele's *The Quest for Community,* 1988, demonstrate that community can be viewed as a political term that defines constituencies in the establishment of parliament politics (1988:30). In terms of conservation, Murphree (2001), define a community as a "principle manifest in a social grouping with the actual or potential cohesion, incentive, demarcation, legitimacy and resilience to organize self ... at levels below and beyond the reach of state bureaucratic management" (2001:26).[169] What is important in this thesis is the attribute of cohesion that denotes the different interests and vision among different members of these social groupings to have a particular objective they opt to collectively decide to achieve.[170] Scholars such as Leach, Mearns and Scoones, (1996), look at a community as a homogeneous, bounded social group whose members share characteristics distinguishing them from outsiders (1996:228).

---

[169] He assumes the grouping is due to cohesion, which is defined as "the social glue which persuades people, in spite of their differences, to act collectively to enhance mutual interest and interest others (2001, 26).

[170] Shackleton and Campbell (2001), conclude that the "assumption is that if true community control is in place then sustainable use and management will follow, but the link between local empowerment and sustainable NRM [Natural resource Management] still require attention and further research effort" (2001:69).

On the one hand, this definition is highly problematic as it assumes that coherence of social organization, a shared belief and, collaboration exist as factors of good reason to belong to a community (see Thornton and Ramphele, 1988:30). In this regard, authorities are puzzled with outcomes of interventions for they might overlook the complexity of local people than they review "what is wrong with their assumptions" (ibid: 1988: 30).

On the other hand, in *Enchantment and Disenchantment*, 1999, scholars such as Agrawal and Gibson (1999:629) propose that community be understood by focusing on the multiple interests and actors, on how they influence decision making, and on the internal and external institutions that shape the decision-making process (1999:629). Moreover, they also note that within different actors and existing subgroups there are likely to be individuals with varying preferences for resource use and distribution (ibid: 1999:637). Accordingly they argue that shared community level norms can promote conservation by specifically prohibiting some actions and promoting cooperative decision-making within the community (1999: 638). And they conclude that "a focus on institutions rather than community is likely to be more fruitful ... in community-based natural resource management" (1999:630).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

We are warned by a number of scholars that when we refer to community, caution should be taken as there may be no willingness to cooperate, no coherent social organization and no sense of belonging among individuals or subgroups in a given setting (Boonzaier and Sharp, 1998:30). Indeed there is no such thing as a community which is homogeneous as usually referred to in literature.[171] In discussing *Attitudes of Rural Communities to Animal Wildlife and Its Utilization in Chobe Enclave and Mababe Depression, Botswana,* 1992, Parry and Campbell illustrate that those community institutions that represent a non homogeneous community to be effective should be involved in decision-making concerned. In other words views from different cohorts should be shared and incorporated in development initiatives for a better success. In this thesis I adopt the term local people instead of community as it

[171] I have shown in chapters 1 and 2 that the composition of people in the Corridor is not homogeneous in terms of vision of the GLTFCA, wealth status, religion and ethnicity.

articulates the heterogeneity of different actors in the Corridor which is my study area. Let me turn to the concept of community participation.

3.4 The concept of community participation

What seems problematic about the concept of community participation is that it is based on the naive and yet problematic concept of community. In conservation discourse, many authors note that it assumes the existence of cohesion, uniformity of reasoning, shared vision among members and cooperation among individuals and in subgroups, which is even more problematic. Furthermore, it assumes a better platform to improve the chances for cooperative solutions, reduce bureaucracy and conflicts, and promote conservation. Authorities and scholars have tried explaining the concept of community participation with varying degrees of objectivity and subjectivity. For instance, the Participation Learning Group (2008) considers participation as a process through which actors make decisions to influence development initiatives and resources which affect them (2008). Lowe *et al* (1999:21), argue that participation becomes a means to an end, involves harnessing local people's resources and support, which improves the effectiveness and efficiency of development initiatives (ibid: 1999: 21). The initiatives are assumed to better adapt to local circumstances once local people are directly involved in these initiatives. In a similar vein, implicit and explicit is that interventions implemented with active participation of local people are likely to address local needs.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

It is not only the active involvement of local people, however, but the generation of incentives that accrue to participants that contributes to their commitment. Uphoff (1985), argues that participation can be achieved through "tailoring the design and implementation of initiatives to the needs and capabilities of people who are supposed to benefit from them" (1985:472, 492). I am agreeable but to a limited extent to the above definitions because they seem to suggest that participation only applies in development initiatives and yet people participate in politics and socio-cultural activities.

Given the non-homogeneity of local people, participation can be viewed as an individual right. Because of the individual nature of the right, empirical evidence from conservation initiatives in the Zimbabwe sector show that these take the form of direct democracy and or representative democracy (Mashinya, 2007:27).[172] Indeed, the importance of cohesion in conservation cannot be overstressed. As such, participation raises the issue of power and its redistribution. For instance, in the Corridor, it is strongly defined through clan and kinship with local leaders enforcing legitimacy of such membership as I shall discuss later.

There is still less in terms of public debate and literature as to the most appropriate mechanisms for enabling full participation in development strategies by those who are socially excluded (see Lowe *et al*, 1999:41). We also realize according to Inger (1985), that for popular participation to be successful, two important prerequisites should be met which are, a belief by the potential participants that being directly involved will lead to control, and that one's individual self interest can be benefited by such involvement (1985:245). Some scholars associate the accrual of monetary benefits as a driver for full participation (see Parry and Campbell, 1992:245).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

However, one important strength of participation by local people as an approach to conservation is the decentralization of authority to manage natural resources by local level institutional structures (see IIED 1994; Li, 2002; Western and Write, 1994). It is within this setting, of the role of local level involvement and decentralization of authority that participation is important both as a process and the intended effects it assists to produce in development. In my analysis, I examine the extent to which local people are involved in the implementation of the GLTFCA. I focus particularly on the level of meaningful participation, gender roles and practices in decision making on conservation. These include conservation or traditional practices inherited from their ancestors which either changed or did not change as local people interact with other actors.

---

[172] Direct democracy entails all local people are directly involved in an intervention, while representative democracy, involves elected leaders advocate for local people (see Mashinya 2007: 27-30).

3.5 The concept of tradition or traditional

The terms tradition or traditional can be used to imply different meanings hence can be either applied objectively or subjectively. Scholars such as Spiegel and Boonzaire (1988) describe the contentions relating to the use of the word tradition in their work on *Promoting Tradition of the South African Past,* (1988). They illustrate that the term tradition is used to imply unchanging, homogeneous and communal, as opposed to a modern white culture which is dynamic, diverse and individualistic within the South African apartheid context (1988:42). There is some level of resilience among what is referred to as tradition or traditional. This has seen practices we call traditional to continue to interact with modernity and adjusting to changes hence not static (Grueso *et al,* 1998:213).[173]

Regarding conservation, it can be difficult to disprove the assumption that practices and beliefs, which resemble those of the past and which can be demonstrated to exist at present, are evidence of unchanging life style and inherent and or irrational (Spiegel and Boonzaier, 1988:46). Similarly, O'Connor and Campbell (1986), concur with Spiegel and Boonzaier by reiterating that "it is important to realize that when practices are termed traditional this is never simply a statement of objective historical fact. We refer to them precisely because we believe, or want others to believe that something in the present resulted or is associated with our image of something in the past" (1986:57).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

It is important to note however, that wrong judgments made on traditions can be dangerous if they are based on wrong assumptions. Fairhead and Leach in their book *Misreading the African landscape, Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic,* (1996), illustrate the effects of hegemonic discourse that disregards local knowledge and conservation practices on forest management and policy in New Guinea. Using the case of Kissidougou, they show how the formulation of problems in development policy and the perspectives of local

[173] The concept of modernity is vague in that it is not well defined. In the works of Kaviraj (2005), argues that "theorists who analyze modern European history acknowledge that the phenomenon called modernity is not a single, homogeneous process, but a combination of several which can be isolated and distinguished. When we are talking about modernity, we are talking about a number of processes of social change which can be studied, or analyzed independently of each other" (Kaviraj, 2005:7).

people whose views were not recognized and everyday activities were criminalized. The conviction by authorities and development agencies in New Guinea was so powerful in shaping the attitudes towards local people that they were responsible for the destruction of forests (1996:53). It was the degradation discourse that disdained local people's knowledge and practices leading to the imposition of stringent conservation policies. Rather, local people were regarded as not capable to responding to modernity.

Indeed, it was the conviction by authorities in the Kissidougou arena that identified fire as causative to forest degradation and development of savanna. They suppose that "inhabitants have progressively converted this forest into derived savanna through their shifting cultivation and fire setting practices, preserving only the narrow belts of forest around their villages" (Fairhead and Leach, 1996:1). It turned out however that animal grazing and controlled forest fires contributed to the creation and thriving of forests from savanna not the reverse. But repressive policies were put in place by authorities. For instance, setting bush fires in the 1970s warranted a death penalty in Kissidougou. To that effect, they argue that "environmental policies must be contextualized in relation not only to the way other processes are involved in shaping the environment, but also the ways that inhabitants have dealt with, resisted, subverted or lived with them" (ibid: 1996: 4).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Rather than being victims, local people developed strategies to subvert punitive action and legislation against their practices. They paid the forest rangers to avoid prosecution and continued to burn grass. Fairhead and Leach conclude that people are able to improve their environment, increase forest cover, but doing so is limited to the context of external interventions (ibid:, 1996:54). I use the term tradition and conservation practices in this thesis to distinguish between what people today consider to be their own established practices and rules governing access to and control regarding conservation, as opposed to outside interventions which propose new rules and regulations to which people are unaccustomed (see Dore, 2000:5). Let me turn to the concept of progress as it applies to the GLTFCA prefecture.

3.6 The notion of progress

Progress implies different meanings to different disciplines and is applied to varying contexts. In *Idea of Progress,* 2004, Bury defines progress as the unstoppable forward motion of civilization in a desirable direction (2004:5). His definition raises two fundamental questions. Does forward motion imply a desirable direction? And to whom? Contrastingly, Nisbet (1993) asserts that the idea of progress holds that mankind has advanced in the past that is from some aboriginal condition of primitiveness, barbarism, or even nullity and is now advancing and will continue to advance through the foreseeable future (1993:4). For instance an advance towards treatment of cancer is regarded as progress, while the development of weapons of mass destruction regressive. So, the movement can be progress, or it may be undesirable and therefore not progress (ibid: 1993:5). In *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity,* 1935, Lovejoy and Boas define the idea of progress as "characterized by a gradual progressive increase, or a wider diffusion, of goodness, or happiness, or enlightenment, or all of these" (1935:6). Goodness, happiness and or enlightenment can be taken as subjective in some instances such as in religion, cultural orientation, science and economic enrichment terms, therefore problematic.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

However, in economic terms Sumner's vision of progressive society was a situation that encouraged lawful competition and free trade among all actors (Sumner, 1933:17). Wagar's *The Idea of Progress Since the Rennaissance*, 1969, defines progress to mean; a view of history or evolution that traces general improvement, by whatever idea "of good and whatever agency, in the temporal life of mankind, extending from the past into the predictable or at least possible future" (1969:6).[174] He elucidates progress to benefit more people and views progress as a progressive increase of goodness that creates maximum pleasure for a maximum amount of people.[175] He concludes that the concept of progress be understood as "betterment of humanity" (Wagar, 1969:19). Arguments by the above scholars can be

[174] Further, he argues that this new idea of progress results from a transformation of a religious idea in the Enlightenment, which found its roots in Judeo-Christian tradition1969:17).

[175] Contents of progress include technics, human happiness, wealth and its subject; mankind generally, certain races, given nations and agency; divine will, social planning, random factors.

contested in many ways as the ability to provide near accurate predictions of the future is problematic given the multiplicity of interlinked factors especially in conservation discourse. They however, agree in some way by suggesting the existence of a desired state of affairs whether predicted or not, as long as it attains human happiness. In view of the above arguments, I use the idea of progress by Sumner that implies to economic advancement (1933:17) and Wagar's betterment of humanity (1969:19) as it shall apply in the Corridor. Let me turn to the evolution of conservation policy and legislature as they impart on the participation, traditional practices, economic progress and empowerment of local people in the Corridor.

3.7 Conservation policy and the GLTFCA

The rhetoric of participation of local people was evidently common among actors in the GLTFCA especially the NPWA, the Provincial and Gonarezhou Park Wardens, the local government authorities and the Chiredzi Rural District Council (RDC) staff. "The community [local people] are key stakeholders", the Mabalauta Park Warden explained, "they are experienced in conservation, they participate and assist in the implementation of the GLTFCA" (pers.comm, Gonarezhou Park Office, March 2006). Similarly, the Chiredzi District Assistant CAMPFIRE Coordinator adds that: "It is the communities [local people] that are major stakeholders in the GLTFCA but we need to communicate in order to coordinate its progress" (pess.comm, 22 October 2006). Here he suggests that coordination is not being done effectively or is being done in a manner that compromises the success of the GLTFCA. But what has been the reality?

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Regarding economic progress, local people in the Zimbabwe sector were seemingly deprived by four legal Acts enacted during the colonial period.[176] For instance, the Native Reserve Forest Product Act of 1928 imposed fees for the commercial extraction of timber but allowed subsistence felling of trees. Instead timber concessions were awarded to European companies and their

[176] I discuss the policies and legislation during colonial and post colonial period in chapter 2, pages 62-70. These include the Native Reserve Forest Product Act of 1928, the Forest Act of 1948, the Natural Resources Act of 1941 and the Tribal Trust Land Act of 1967.

allies (Mandondo, 2000:7; Murombedzi 1998:4-5). It henceforth, suggests the restriction of local people from venturing into any timber extraction businesses with consequences of depriving them of opportunities and enhancement to potential economic progress. In a similar way, the Forest Act of 1948 provided for the establishment and protection of forest reserves managed by the state. These were no go areas for the local people. This scenario suggests that the colonial government not only regulated natural resource use but it also an important user (Murombedzi 1998:4). It is within this context that any efforts by the colonial government to build the capacity of local people so that they could also be players in economic enhancement or entrepreneurs were futile.

An account of the 1960s' new dispensation that entailed the development approach for the African reserves shows that even the promotion of capacity building initiatives by external agencies at local level are frustrated at state level (see Mandondo, 2000; Murombedzi, 1996; Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1991). In spite of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funded initiative's aim to strengthen the capacity (technical, human, financial), and securing participation of local people for well coordinated integrated rural development, the unintended effects generated conflicts among actors. Furthermore, as discussed in *Community Development in Pre-Independence Zimbabwe,* 1985, Mutizwa-Mangiza, with special reference to rural land illustrates that the process involved did not devolve conservation authority to local people but rather centralized it at district level to that of the Commissioners (1985; 1996).[177] Thus, it can be argued that external intervention that of USAID) can have limited prospect of success without the support of local people (CEC, 1988: 62).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The enactment of the Tribal Trust Land Act of 1967 saw the promotion of subsistence other than commercial farming in the communal areas (see Bratton, 1978; Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1985; Zinyama, 2000). Regardless of the provision for chiefs to allocate land for cultivation in the former grazing areas (Dore, 2000:12), already, an outcry of degradation, overstocking and

[177] Commissioners were civil servants who coordinated development activities at district level. Their position is similar to those of district administrators established after 1980 (see chapter 2 for details).

overpopulation was evident. Was it possible that the chiefs could avert this situation? Or was it a strategy to prove that conservation practices by local people and land allocation by the chiefs is futile? The above legal instruments by the colonial government in the Zimbabwe sector not only economically deprived the potential of local people to generate revenue but also to make decisions regarding the use of the natural resources within their areas. I argue that such resource allocation and legal restrictions creates power imbalances among actors (authorities, colonial settlers and local people) that affirm an image of local people as inhibitors of progress. In spite of the colonial policies that put in place restrictions to enhance the capacity of local people into entrepreneurs, the post colonial policies show similar traits in terms of conservation as I shall show in the following sections.

Even post independence policies on conservation does not devolve authority to local levels but centralizes it to the rural district councils as I have illustrated in chapter 2. A good example is the Environmental Management Act of 2002 that centralizes authority to the level of the rural district councils while the Traditional Leaders Act of 1999, vests the planning process to the Rural District Development Committee (RDDC). Therefore, they propelled a further alienation of local people in decision making.[178] In Botswana, Parry and Campbell (1992), point out that benefits alone in development initiatives are not enough to increase participation of local people but that "community institutions should be involved in decision making" (1992:251). However Farvar (2002), has a different perspective to this situation regarding conservation as he alludes to the fact that whether governments directly involve local people or not, recognise their efforts or not, conservation areas by local people exist and shall continue to do so.[179] But he calls for the need to establish the specific contexts that are appropriate to involve other actors in a more collaborative manner, rather than keeping local people as the sole actors.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

[178] I discuss the RDDC, its role and effects on local level planning in chapter 2.

[179] In chapter 4, I illustrate conservation practices in the Corridor which also involves 'conservation fortresses' sanctioned by local institutions.

During my field work in the Corridor, visits to Manjinji pan revealed that the NPWA intends to develop a camp site involving local people. But this initiative did not materialize as one male local leader narrates:

> We held countless meetings with the Parks authorities, NGOs and other government departments here regarding this Manjinji pan. They [Parks authorities] brought in many donors including Peace Parks from South Africa requesting possible collaboration. At least SAFIRE responded but it took them more than a year just to drill those 2 boreholes to supply water to the proposed camp. But the water from these boreholes tastes terribly sour that we only use it for watering livestock. Because not many donors responded, we suspect these people [Parks Authorities] have been lying to involve us in this initiative. Probably the donors have also realized that (Interview with elderly local leader, Manjinji July, 2006).

Because there has not been progress at the Manjinji camp site, local people suspect the motive behind Parks Authorities to involve them is not genuine. So, they regard the lack of donor support as a result of falsehoods by the Parks Authorities to involve them. Again not involving the local people generated a situation where development is regressive, not just to the NPWA to establish the camp site but for local people to benefit from this intervention.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Safari hunting in the Malipati designated area was operational during my field visit. Local leaders I spoke to, however, were not aware of the revenue generated from this safari area in that "there was no readily available information" (pers.com. Chairperson CAMPFIRE Committee, Sengwe, 1 November, 2006).[180] The newly elected CAMPFIRE chairperson for Sengwe, explained that the old CAMPFIRE committee was dissolved by local people because they failed to account for the funding they received through the RDC sometime in 2004. One way of proving his point about the lack of accountability was that: "the old committee members did not handover the books to the new committee as required by the constitution of the ward" (1 November, 2006). When I asked him what the new committee is going to do about it he replied:

> These members of the old committee are also members of this community. We cannot take action that leads someone into jail and leave one's family in poverty especially these days of inflation. No. But we need to know where

[180] The roles of the CAMPFIRE committee are to: consolidate by-laws on conservation in the ward and submit to the RDC for ratification; receive revenue on behalf of and disburse according to recommendations by local people; report problem animals to the RDC and NPWA, enforce local level conservation by-laws; keep relevant conservation records (e.g. minutes, communication, bank statements); disseminate information on CAMPFIRE developments; signatory to bank account, and; monitor compliance of tracts and concessions in a wad.

the money is and we want it back (Interview, CAMPFIRE Chairperson, 1 November, 2006).

The above assertions show that local leaders, demand for accountability but are reluctant to enforce by-laws enshrined in their constitutions to prosecute offenders. This illustrates that even at lower levels (grassroots), accountability and transparency is not fully exercised although effort to do that seems to fail. In the mean time, I was also assured by the authorities (NPWA and RDC) that these CAMPFIRE committees perform their duties effectively and are cooperating with local people in all aspects. Nonetheless the way the Chiredzi RDC handled the disbursement of revenue to local CAMPFIRE Committees in the Corridor, local representation is minimal. The RDC disbursed funds as and when they so wish irrespective of what the new CAMPFIRE Committee Chairperson refer to as "outcries from the community demanding their portions" (pers.comm, 1 November, 2006). Meanwhile, the NPWA took time responding to problem animals which resulted in local people making losses from their crop fields, gardens and livestock "without any compensation" (pers.com, Focus Group discussion, Davata Business center, 4 December 2006).[181] These sentiments of promoting participation in conservation policy discourse and the gap between policy and practice in the GLTFCA arena were just that-rhetoric.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In terms of the GLTFCA, Zimbabwe sector operational plans, the Gonarezhou National Park's (1998 to 2002), plan admits a top down planning process as: "the possibility to become overly prescriptive in the plan with respect to detailed management action" (NPWA, 1998: v). It claims, however, to include local people in decision making by recognizing "the importance of creating improved relations with the surrounding communities [local people] and encouraging their greater involvement in the decision making and implementation of park operations" (ibid: 1998: v). In the first instance, there was no effort made even to share this planning document with local leadership and yet it remains the guiding tool to authorities.

[181] I discuss the effects of problem animal control by NPWA in chapter 6.

When I attended one GLTFCA meeting in Harare at the department of veterinary services in 2007, it became clear to me that the NPWA delayed the production of the successive 5-year management plan for the Gonarezhou National Park irrespective of input from the Working Groups. The old plan (1998 to 2002) was the one being implemented five years after its expiry. Even copies of this plan were not readily available for the technical working groups. No wonder why these management plans are only internal official tools that are not accessible to, or shared with other actors claimed to be partners or to beneficiaries of the GLTFCA initiative.

Against the background of the lack of sharing of information between local people and authority about the development of the GKG, its change of status to a transfrontier park (GLTP) and then to a conservation area (GLTFCA), as well as the relocation of animals into the conservation area affirms the exclusion of local people whether intentional or not. Similarly, Wolmer (2003) observes this scenario as "near next to no consultation of local people" (2003:269) [182] More importantly was the consultation process in the development of the Wildlife Corridor, in which local people argue that their input was not even considered. Instead of the 5km radius agreed to between local people and CESVI, the actual concept note (produced by CESVI and adopted by the GLTFCA authorities) that became the basis for the establishment of the Corridor expanded the area by way of proposing a 15km and 25km radius. "It took us a great deal of effort walking for kilometers in the hot sun, showing these authorities [CESVI] around and attending workshops. Yet all that was not even considered. These people have hidden agendas *Inhloso efihlakeleyo* to pursue (Interview with middle aged male, local leader, Sengwe, 14 March 2006). It seems the establishment of the GLTFCA suggests the strengthening of bureaucracy in conservation, distancing the decision making of local people and the ultimate polarization of local institutions.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

[182] In *Transboundary conservation: the politics of ecological integrity in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park*, 2003, Wolmer observes that authorities have in the name of consultation of local people sidelined the sharing of information on the development process of the initiative.

The Sengwe, Kotsvi, Dumisa and Chilohlela village CAMPFIRE committees in the Corridor were sedentary. Other committee members I talked to said that since no revenue was being generated or received, there was no rationale for keeping such fora on.[183] This affirms the school of thought that the accrual of monetary benefits encourages full participation (Parry and Campbell, 1992:245). Local people, however, recall that the RDC representatives, NPWA, government departments and an NGO called Zimbabwe Trust (ZimTrust), held awareness workshops in the Corridor to mobilize local people to participate in conservation initiatives. "They taught us how to identify good leaders and representatives. They presided over the nomination and election process of our office bearers. Representatives were provided with separate training on how to manage the office. Then we gave the representatives the support they need".[184] As I have mentioned above, only the consumptive tourism (which has become unpopular) was practiced in the Corridor under the CAMPFIRE initiative, which has drastically declined in terms of revenue generation.[185] Sentiments such as "We just await for them to tell us what to do" (pers.com, Ex-councilor, Sengwe, 4 March, 2006); "We do not know what there is for us in the transfrontier" (pers.com, Chairperson CAMPFIRE Committee, Pahlela, 1 November, 2006), reflect the redundancy of grassroots authorities brought about the GLTFCA governance system.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

On a different note, people who call themselves the Makuleke in the South Africa GLTFCA sector had to fight through the courts to win their land claim to the Pafuri triangle (see Christo, 2006:537). The irony however, is the resistance by the GLTFCA authority (South Africa National Parks) in the South Africa sector to grant land rights to the Makuleke people but claiming the initiative intends uplift rural people's livelihoods. While the Makuleke case celebrates a legal victory in the GLTFCA arena, the case with those in the Corridor is challenging. As one respondent from Chilothlela village asked, "If we get settled in other wards far from this place how will we get the revenue generated from the GLTFCA or access these irrigation schemes to improve

[183] These include the secretaries, treasurers and committee members of the CAMPFIRE Committees.
[184] (Interview, Local leader, 1 November 2006).
[185] Wildlife resources are used by directly competing interests, eco-tourists and hunters (Schoon, 2007:10).

our livelihoods?".[186]

I have shown that what happened in the GLTFCA is contrary to the theoretical perspective that development is a process, which is meant to create social products such as upgraded local leadership, a culture of enterprise and innovative action, or enhancement of people's capacity to act in concert, purposefully and effectively so as to cope with the threats and opportunities they face (Kearney *et al,* 1994; Boyle & Walsh, 1994).

It does not seem to me that there is devolution of authority in the GLTFCA arena. Instead it is the reverse that is happening on the ground. The authorities and local people likewise explained that the capacity building initiative in the GLTFCA is not adequate. Writing in Zimbabwe Katerere *et al* (2001), ascertain that the key to ensuring sustainable and equitable use of transboundary resources is management that is based on equitable and enforceable rules and incentives agreed to by all actors (2001:19). In other words, the GLTFCA evokes the effects of the colonial period of governance which subjugates the weaker partners who are the local people in decision making.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Contradictions coming from notions of community, community participation and progress are fundamental in the determination of the empowerment and upliftment of local people. In the same vein, development commentators cited above, who warn us on the hegemony associated in development, did not change on how the GLTFCA was conceptualized, funded and implemented. This conceptualization of the local people as what I called inhibitors of progress reigns. From this scenario, it seems to me that local institutions improved their capacity not to make decisions but rather comply with the top-down approach to development, which might not foster livelihoods improvement of local people in the GLTFCA arena. Drawing on empirical evidence that I present throughout my thesis, I argue that in the context of empowering local people or capacity building regarding their roles in decision

[186] (Interview with middle aged male, Chilohlela, August 2006).

making or participation in the GLTFCA and the Corridor, full participation and economic upliftment as claimed in the policy documents are highly contentious and problematic notions.

And by arguing that local communities living in or close to the conservation areas will participate in its management and benefit economically, rather proponents claim legitimacy for the initiative. "People will be relocated but that demands land, compensation, a supportive budget and support from political leadership".[187] This sentiment also affirms that the development and implementation of the GLTFCA in the Corridor need to be removed, compensated and shall be done. It seemingly evokes a situation that suggests local people reside in the Corridor (in which they have lived for nearly two centuries) as inhibitors to the GLTFCA progress, and do not look at them as partners in its implementation. The lack of a supportive budget and political will to facilitate relocation and compensation in the Zimbabwe prefecture also seem to indicate a limited concern over local people. It remains to be seen how the initiative proves its claim to empowering local people while authorities keep information from the intended beneficiaries.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Similarly, policy and legal changes during pre-colonial and post colonial periods creates more debate on power, chiefs, local authorities, politics, conservation and knowledge. In the mean time, local institutions have been polarized generating conflicts among actors in the Corridor. Almost a decade after the publishment of Ferguson's *Anti-Politics Machine* (see also Bologna, 2008), and four years after Mosse's *Cultivating Development Ethnography Aid Policy and Practice,* their influence into the development arena in this case yields no impact, in that authorities continue to do business as usual. It also suggests that the dissemination of these publications to authorities is not effective hence the protracted gap between policy and practice in the GLTFCA arena. Furthermore, in *The Problematization of Poverty,* 2002, Escobar, explains that "The forms of power that have appeared act not so much by repression but by normalization; not by ignorance but by controlled

[187] (pers.comm, Assistant CAMPFIRE District Coordinator, Chiredzi, 22 October, 2006).

knowledge; not by humanitarian concern but by bureaucratization of social action" (2002:89).

The chapter, therefore, concludes that the planning and implementation of the GLTFCA initiative is constructed on top-down hegemonic development approaches. Its focus on wildlife suggests facilitating the commoditization of wildlife that is market oriented and not people centered initiative.

The governance system of the initiative does not promote the active participation of local institutions but creates bureaucracy and generates conflicts. As a result, the initiative seems to centralize decision-making to authorities in the GLTFCA prefecture, albeit rhetoric of fostering representation of local people implied in its policy. An analysis of the concepts such as 'community', 'community participation' and 'progress' as they apply to the GLTFCA, the National Parks and Wildlife Authority (NPWA) and Sengwe people in development and conservation discourse show that these concepts are not adequately defined. Despite the different interpretation of these terms they are used in the GLTFCA arena. There is inconsistency in the GLTFCA rhetoric of participation, and the gaps in the implementation of its policy of both the NPWA and local people influenced power imbalances which generated conflicts. Local people are hostile to any conservation initiatives implemented in their area. In the following chapter, I present conservation practices by the Sengwe people and the Gonarezhou management plan in the GLTFCA arena Zimbabwe sector.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Chapter 4

Fencing off the problem

18 October 2006. As I approached the homestead of Chief Sengwe, the loud music from drum beat, the cheering, ululating by women, smoke from an open fire that brought with it an aroma of roasting goat meat filled the air with a celebrating atmosphere. When I got to the gate, I was immediately ushered to an arena specially made for guests. I greeted the chief, members of his council and other guests as I was guided to one of the front seats. I sat on a kitchen chair under the shade of a tent supplied by the Environmental Management Agent (EMA) based in Chiredzi town and gazed at the gathering at this important annual event in the Corridor. There were government officials from Chiredzi town, 2 headmen, 4 ward councilors, 8 village heads, NGO representatives, a representative from the District administrator's office, Chiredzi Rural District Council (RDC) staff, and National Park officials, school children mainly from the nearby Puzani Primary and a choir from Davata Secondary school, and hundreds of local residents. This annual event is a graduation ceremony for girls' initiation known as *Zvikomvana or Tikhombana*.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The graduates who are young girls were covered in brightly colored throw over clothes *Muceka/Chikumani* and head gear *Chiandani*, paraded and sang a song. Chief Sengwe gave a short speech in which he encouraged the initiation school as one practice that continues to maintain Sengwe tradition. His speech was followed by entertainment in the form of singing, local dances, drama performances by local groups and school children.

At the high table, where I was honored to sit, guests were served with lunch by the new graduates. They knelt down on the floor and kept their heads down as if hiding their faces to guests. While I contemplated the way they were acting as they served lunch, I wondered about their young ages and that after this occasion they were considered ready for marriage. I later realized that some of the girls were as young as 12 years old (and some were school dropouts). They were taught how to be good wives and were ready for

marriage after this ceremony. The chief's aide interrupted my thoughts, he said: "Sibanda, have you made your pick because the Chief can offer a piece of land for you to establish a homestead, and a field to cultivate" (18 October, 2006). I then immediately realized that I was staring at the graduates, one after the other, as if admiring them. We laughed over it. Around 4pm, the ceremony officially ended but the drinking of local beer *Umqhombothi,* drumming, singing and dancing continued throughout the night.

It is true that this is a social occasion that marks a successful transformation of girls into women but what lies behind this graduation is another aspect of exclusivity in terms of access to natural resources in the Sengwe prefecture.[188] The school for *Zvikomvana* is situated in the nearby sacred forest. By local decree it is a no go area to the rest of other residents in Sengwe. This not only brings about the issue about access and control over natural resources through the enforcement of local institutions but revokes the colonial government conservation strategies known as 'conservation fortresses' (see also Schoon, 2007:14; Murombedzi, 1998:4, Mandondo, 2000:5-6; Hitchcock, 2000:90; Adam and Hulme, 2001:10), by which the ritual sites are off limits to other locals.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This chapter builds on the description in chapter two of the human ecology and explores conservation practices prior to the introduction of the Great Limpopo transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA). Building on chapter 3, this chapter takes a closer look at local people and the effects of the GLTFCA on their livelihoods what the Sengwe people call 'outside our tradition' referring to the modern/scientific knowledge. It goes on to analyse the disjuncture between local (conservation practices), knowledge in conservation in the Corridor with the modern approach to conservation. I show how the establishment of the veterinary fence potrays an image of fencing off the problem, which is the topic of this chapter. Further, it presents details of the processes of interactions, conflicts arising and areas of cooperation among the actors with a focus on local knowledge and practices as they apply to

[188] I discuss on the effects of this social practice on conservation from page 110.

conservation. I argue that the rhetoric around the wildlife resource as a commodity, generated conflicts among various actors. As a result, local knowledge and practices became marginalized.[189] I show how local institutions, other actors and local people generated opposition to active participation in the GLTFCA initiative. The questions this chapter addresses are: to what extent can local knowledge provide alternative frameworks for sustainable uses of natural resources? Why is it that there is frequently a dilemma between scholars, within the development arena, over the recognition and use of so called scientific and local systems of knowledge in the conservation? This dilemma has led to much debate on the role of local knowledge in development and conservation discourse particularly in the GLTFCA.

This chapter is concerned with local ecological knowledge amongst my respondents in the Corridor and selected practices by which the ecosystems and biological diversity are managed. Focus is on the role these practices play in responding to and managing the complex ecosystems in the area, and how they build resilience. I use resilience in this context in a similar way to Holling (1973), who refers to it, as "the capacity to recover after disturbance, absorb stress, internalize it, and transcend it" (1973:4).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

First I discuss and problematise the terms local knowledge then the challenges associated with their use in development and academic circles. Second, a selection of natural resources management and farming practices based on the local knowledge exercised by the local people are identified. Third, it identifies the social mechanisms that either influence or regulate these practices. They include myths, by-laws, taboos, religious belief systems, rules and regulations. Fourth, an evaluation of the practices for their roles as they contribute to the management of natural resources in the Sengwe prefecture is conducted. Fifth, it presents an outline of the scientific approaches to conservation exercised by the GLTFCA. In so doing, it illustrates the effects of the GLTFCA on the local livelihoods and the

[189] Hammill and Beancon (2001) argue that transboundary initiatives "... have a legacy of fueling tensions between various actors, particularly between authorities and local groups, as well as between ethnic groups" (2001:1).

processes of interaction and cooperation. Lastly but not least, the chapter demonstrates how conflicts arose at the interface between GLTFCA and local knowledge and practices as they apply to the management of natural resources.

Some scholars have argued for a pragmatic approach to the integration of local knowledge in development. One such debate is whether or not to include local knowledge in environmental impact assessments.[190] On the one hand, Staunton (1996), argues that local peoples "... may have knowledge of their environment, but may not be putting it to use for a conscious conservation of their resources" (1996:34). This is conspicuous in that Staunton recognizes the effects of local knowledge but is skeptical that people who posses it might not be practicing it as a strategy to conserve the environment. On the other hand, Howard and Widdowson (1996), assets that local knowledge is unscientific, that it is a spiritually based knowledge and therefore somehow presumed to be inferior. In their view incorporating it in environmental impact assessments implies "the imposition of religion" upon citizens and is "inconsistent with scientific methodology" (1996:35). They conclude that local knowledge "hinders rather than enhances the ability of governments to more fully understand ecological processes", since there is no way in which its "claims can be challenged or verified" (ibid: 1996:35). The fear here has more to do with failing to prove that it is not consistent with scientific explanations and not that it is helpful or not to enhance conservation.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Yet other scholars such as Berkes *et al* (2000), argue that local knowledge is similar to modern science in that "it is based on an accumulation of observations, but it is different science in some fundamental ways" (2000:1251). The differences between local and scientific knowledge are explained by Levi-Strauss (1962) as "one [that] is supremely concrete" [scientific], and "the other supremely abstract" that is local knowledge (1962:269). Another school of thought argues that local knowledge enhances

[190] An Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is a study conducted to determine the effects of an intervention and propose mitigatory measures before it is implemented. However, not all intervention requires an EIA but is stipulated in relevant legislation for example Environmental management Act in Zimbabwe sector.

the understanding of science (see Sillitoe, 1998:227 for example). Similarly, there is much overlapping of local and scientific knowledge (see Bologna, 2008:74-77; Hens, 2006:27-28). This raises fundamental questions about whether or not the GLTFCA management plan in the Corridor recognizes knowledge.[191] As well as the relevance, and the exercise of power over which reigns between scientific and local knowledge. We are reminded by a number of scholars that modern science reigns over the local knowledge.

4.1 Local knowledge

Many terms are used to refer to local knowledge by development practitioners and scholars. They include Traditional Knowledge Systems, Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Indigenous People's Knowledge, and Indigenous Knowledge. As commonly used in development literature, the term indigenous is meant to emphasize the culture of the local people of an area, as opposed to a more globalized culture.[192] It has been used to refer to the "unique, local knowledge of particular cultural groups" (Warren *et al*, 1995), while the UNCCD describes it as "people-centered, systemic, experimental, very old, forgotten techniques" (UNCCD, 2005:51). By people-centered UNCCD (2005), refers to local knowledge that is generated and transmitted by people as knowledgeable, competent and entitled actors. Systemic refers to the aspect of local knowledge which is inter-sectoral and holistic while experimental means it is empirical and practical (2005:51). Authors such as Feyerabend (1975) argue that local knowledge can be viewed as "a valuable resource" that allows "its holders to exist in harmony with nature" (1975:1)

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The above show how problematic it can be to define the term local knowledge. What is important to recognize is that local knowledge is not static but continually changing and evolving, as cultural groups innovate, borrow and adapt their traditions to changing circumstances (Agrawal, 1995: 413-415; Dugdeon and Berkes, 2003:85; UNEP, 1998:50). As such, local knowledge therefore can be viewed as a diverse but dynamic pool of locally

[191] I discuss the GLTFCA management plan on page 131 and illustrate that it is based on the scientific knowledge as observed by AHEAD-GLTFCA that the GLTFCA is based on "(2006:8).

[192] Culture refers to symbols through which members communicate their worldview, value-orientations, ethos, and all the rest to one another, to future generations (Geertz, 1973).

shared knowledge. This knowledge covers different aspects of the lives of local people such as ecology, agriculture, medicine and health.

Over the past 20 years some aspects of local knowledge have been recognized worldwide by scholars and development practitioners. Soeftestad (1998) reiterates that local knowledge is important as "it represents the successful ways in which people have dealt with their environments". Further, he argues that tapping into local knowledge can enhance communication between outside agents and local people, and "help find the best solution to a development problem" (1998:6). Despite this recognition, Dudgeon and Berkes (2003) in their work in *Local understandings of the land: Traditional ecological Knowledge and Indigenous Knowledge* (2003), point out that "researchers tended to advocate the external preservation and exploitation of local knowledge by development agencies, without insisting upon the safeguarding of the local cultures that produce it" (2003:78), so does Maruthi and Srivanas (2006:1). Irrespective of these wise words what remains a challenge is translating this into practice.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Nonetheless, a number of organizations including the World Bank, adopt local knowledge into rural development projects by allocating project fund resources to finance local knowledge based activities. They also engage local experts to help design specific components of projects such as those relating to health; agriculture and rural development (see World Bank, 2005). Said (1978) elucidates the histories by scholars in developing countries, on the institutions and disciplines that have naturalized and in other cases antagonized colonialism and patriarchy. He notes that dominancy was one effect of colonization (in his case West by the East) that effectively ignored local knowledge in the colonized people. He brings out the notions of knowledge and power in that "... knowledge of Orientals [those studied] is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires knowledge, ..." (1978:31-38).[193] In a similar vein,

[193] I illustrate in preceding chapters that the GLTFCA is an orientalist intervention in that from the start, it depicts local people as weak partners and other actors including authorities, donors, the private sector and research institutions as stronger partners. Similar to what Said's 2003 edition of his book *Orientalism* describes as "the striking contrast between the weaker and stronger party that is evident from the beginning of the Europe's

scholars such as Bologna (2008) asserts that almost 30 years after publishing his book *Orientalism* the state of affairs in development discourse continues (2008:77). During a focus group discussion, one disgruntled elderly woman remarked that:

> Surely these people [authorities] think that we do not know anything about conservation. And they want to relocate us on that basis to form their Corridor, reap the benefits while we suffer. They found these forests *masango* and rangelands *mafuro* like this not because we are reckless but we know what to do, what for, when and how to do it best (Interview with elderly woman, Dumisa, 3 December, 2006).

The above quotation reflects the level of dissatisfaction among some local people in the Corridor that local knowledge and practices that support conservation remains shunned by some development interventions and that it is another rationale for their intended relocation to pave way for the wildlife corridor. A number of threats exist that can have potentially negative effects on the generation, storage and dissemination of local knowledge. These include poverty, limited local entitlements to natural resources, limited economic benefits, and attitudes of extension services that tend to ridicule or refuse to recognize local knowledge. Lack of recognition takes different forms that are the diversity, gender roles, similarities and differences between local knowledge and scientific knowledge (see UNCCD, 2005:52).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Despite such challenges and threats local knowledge has shown a number of reported successes. These range from rangeland management, pest management, agroforestry, the conservation of biodiversity, rare species, protected areas (including fortresses), and holistic conservation of natural resources (UNCCD, 2005; World Bank, 2003; Colding, 1998; Berkes, 1999). However, these activities are area specific, and the successes are locally based. The major challenge is that in the "scaling up" of these experiences the "local knowledge agenda up comes short" (Soeftestad, 1998:9). We are therefore warned that local knowledge "should not be glorified blindly but carefully evaluated" (UNCCD, 2005:50) in its contribution to discourse in conservation.

---

encounters in what is called the Orient" (2003:334).

It is within this background that the need to "understand and interpret" (Dudgeon and Berkes, 2003:77), "other cultures and their environments as the demands of development require" (Sillitoe, 1998:229) is essential. As observed by Soeftestad (1998), "the validity and usefulness [of the local knowledge paradigm] lies in its successful application within often highly contentious political realities" (1998:3). Because of the different political contexts, the term local knowledge needs to be used with caution.

Local ecological knowledge looks at the ecological aspect of local knowledge. Berkes *et al*, (2000), define local ecological knowledge as a "cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings with one another and with their environment" (2000:1252). This definition signifies interfaces of three fundamental notions of interactions which are knowledge, practice and belief (see for example Berkes, 1999). Consequently, local ecological knowledge "focuses explicitly not only upon the social patterns of relationship within the culture under study and those within the ecosystem, but also upon the patterns of relationship between the two" (Dugdeon and Berkes, 2003:76). Further they argue that the interrelations of social systems and ecosystems generate support for local political and economic autonomy for local peoples (ibid:.2003:76). I agree to a greater extent to definitions and reasons above that advocate for documenting and interpreting local knowledge. This is because they recognize its importance and yet its diversity. In this thesis, I concentrate on the ecological aspects of local knowledge. But I also refer to other socio-cultural aspects of local knowledge as it applies in the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Local ecological knowledge and farming practices of the people living in the Corridor is unique. It continues to be carried out by local people without authorization from parks authorities even within the Gonarezhou National Park and designated wildlife corridor. Let me turn to local knowledge in the Corridor regarding conservation.

Local practices and beliefs stand in the way of conservation objectives from outside. I want to argue that such beliefs and practices should be studied and interpreted in order to be integrated into conservation initiatives. During a tour of sacred areas within the Gonarezhou National Park, an elderly man and a member of the Pahlela village council showed me such areas in Phahlela and Jimson villages. He said that sacred areas belong to the ancestors despite that they are located within the Gonarezhou National Park. Using his walking stick as a pointer, he said:

> You see all this area stretching from the Mudhombo Hill to that other hill in the Western part of Gonarezhou from this point? It belongs to our ancestors and this is where the Spirit medium comes to consult. No one is allowed to hunt or collect firewood here because this place is sacred. No settlement or starting of fire is allowed. Anyone who breaks any of these rules pay a beast as fine (Interview with elderly male, Pahlela, 4 November, 2006).

While the elderly man mentioned that no one is allowed to hunt, he only referred to local people as hunting by the so called professional hunters in Gonarezhou National Park is managed by park authorities. It remains an area of contestation in this instance where local practices come into contact with scientific practices in conservation discourse.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

4.2 Correspondences between conventional resource management and local people

As I have shown in chapters 1 and 2, Sengwe people comprise three distinct ethnic groups (Shangaan, Shona and Ndebele) and other minority groups (Ndau and Venda), local knowledge is also influenced by locals who occasionally return home from neighboring countries where they operate as migrant workers. In this section, I select local practices "that secure a flow of natural resources and services" (Berkes, Colding and Folke, 2000:1252) on which the local people depend. To do so I adopt the four socio-ecological practices and mechanisms in local knowledge and practices identified by Folke *et al* (1998). These are:

1. Practices found both in conventional resource management and in some local and traditional societies;
2. Practices largely abandoned by conventional resource management but still found in some local and traditional societies;

3. Practices related to dynamics of complex systems, seldom found in conventional resource management but found in some traditional societies; and
4. Social mechanisms behind management practices (1998:440).

It is important to recognize that the above list is not all inclusive. It omits other ecological practices such as "territoriality and biodiversity conservation which can limit the size of local human population to resource availability" as observed by Dyson-Hudson and Smith (1978). These however have been taken into consideration within the Corridor in my discussion.

To start with, local people do not view natural resources as state property but they feel they are a dynamic but influential part of the whole ecosystem.[194] Therefore they are an intrinsic part of the environment and critical to people's livelihoods in the Corridor. Nature is viewed as invaluable and is to be managed carefully by people (see also Biesele, 1993). Respondents in Sengwe define conservation of natural resources as processes that harmonize the sustenance of the human spiritual and physical well-being while enhancing ecological diversity. This is translated from *"Izinto siyayenza ukhudcina imvelo lekuphakamisa impilo yethu abantu lemadhlozi"*.[195] Importantly, they view themselves as core in the management of the natural resources. Nor do they dissociate themselves from both the related physical and spiritual aspects.[196]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The term conservation of natural resources literally means *Kuhlaisa zvikumekwa* (Shangaan) or *kuchengetedza zviwanikwa* (Shona) *or ukulondoloza imvelo* (Ndebele). It entails a number of strategies and activities, which include institutions and institutional structures that monitor both the physical and spiritual well-being of the environment and human beings respectively. These, according to my respondents, are not separable. Institutions include laws and regulations inherited from the past translated

---

194 Results from a Focus group discussion Davata, October 2006; Interview with an elderly male local leader, Malipathi, 13 November 2006.

195 Results from a focus group discussion comprising middle and elderly men. (Malipathi, 13 November, 2006).

196 While the GLTFCA characterizes resource use and patterns to enhance ecosystem integrity and functions with wildlife as central to boost tourism (GKG Conceptual plan, 2000:4), local people see a different picture.

from *Nawu wosangula wakale* in Shangaan, *Mitemo yechinyakare* in Shona or *Imithetho ngokwakudhala* in Ndebele. Respondents in the Corridor comprising different age groups and mixed gender indicated a desire to maintain the state of the natural resources both for subsistence and ensuring the sustainability of the resource base.[197] They believe that once you look after natural resources they in turn provide the necessary benefits *Chigonge chithakugongawo* (a Shangaan proverb).[198]

Documentation of local knowledge by scholars and development agencies is erratic. Berkes *et al* (2000), note that a given practice may be "documented from one social group but not the next, or from one time period but not another" (2000:1253). By this they raised a concern about the lack of continuity in capturing practices as well as the possibility of losing linkages and synergies between or among different groups that have been implemented over time, which could be helpful in conservation discourse. The example of the Sengwe prefecture thus contributes towards addressing this identified gap.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

4.2.1 Practices found both in conventional resource management and in amongst some local people

> *Munomunyika yedu, tinosanganisa zvirimwa kuti zvishandise kudya kurimuvhu, uye zvichikura pamwe chete zvakanaka. Chikuru kuchengetedza kusimba kweivhu redu tichidzivirira gukuravhu nenzira dzakasiyana siyana. Mutemo wechinyakare kuno unosunga munhu wese anotema miti zvikurusei yemichero, yeminzwa uye ipizvayo yapfumbutira zvakanyanya* (Interview with Spirit medium Puzani, Sengwe, December, 2006).
> In our area we promote inter-cropping by planting different crops on the same piece of land and enhance productivity to maximize the utilization of soil nutrients. We conserve the soil and its fertility through a number of practices. Local regulations prohibit the cutting down of trees especially leguminous [pod forming trees], fruit trees and any large tree with extensive or big canopies (December, 2006).

The Spirit Medium describes the importance of soil conservation and maximum utilization of soil nutrients to increase harvest and food security. He also laments the importance of institutions in regulating the cutting down of

---

[197] Local people argue that their ancestral spirits reside in the forests and sacred places. They respect and seek guidance from them and they want to make sure that their divine places are secure for the people's wellbeing (Focus group discussion. Malipathi, 3 November 2006), Spirit medium Puzani, 15 November, 2006).

[198] Interview with the Spirit Medium Puzani, Sengwe, 15 November, 2006.

trees and that these are observed by local people. In particular, wetland conservation is practiced intensively in the Banyini area in Kotsvi village.[199] This rich low lying Limpopo basin characterized by rich alluvial soil is a valuable resource to about 60 families who cultivate it during the dry periods of the year between June and November. Local people practice a number of soil and water conservation techniques through agroforestry practices. First, intercropping crops and leguminous acacia trees is practiced. This was confirmed by a middle aged woman, a plot holder in the Banyini wetland who explained to me that: "Crops do well if they are grown within these thorny trees. They provide some nutrition to the crops and we always get better harvests where there are more trees in the field".[200]

In the Sengwe prefecture, it is taboo to cut down fruit trees and any large trees in the Banyini area. The protected species are Cape fig (*Umkhiwa*) *Sycomore fig,* Marula (*Umganu*) *Sclerocarya birrea,* and Sausage tree (*Umvebe) Kigelia africana.*[201] These provide shade from the extended canopy reducing evaporation or water loss from cultivated plants and directly from the soil. Given the hot climatic temperatures of the area, these practices contribute to the moderation of the local hydrological processes. "Sengwe is a hot area and these trees provide shade for the crops. That is why they grow well because the moisture is retained to the ground" (7 July 2006). Acacia trees as legumes help fix nitrogen into the soil while the leaves provide a rich source of plant nutrients when decomposed (USDA, 2005)[202] Second and lastly, crop rotation is also practiced whereby different types of crops with varying root lengths are grown sequentially in order to promote efficient nutrient utilization by plants. "We grow groundnuts, pumpkins, maize, tomatoes, cow peas, *nyeve* (*Cleome gynandra)* and onions in the same plot" (7 July 2006). Plant pests such as nematodes in the soil are controlled

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

199 This is the area I was shown by Mr Dziva during our journey to meet chief sengwe (see chapter 2).

200 Interview with middle aged woman, Banyini valley plot holder, Sengwe, 7 July 2006).

201 See picture 4, page285 that shows an example of such trees that are preserved in the Corridor.

202 Leguminous plants are known to have nodules on their roots where a certain bacteria called *Rhizobium* live in. through chemical reactions in the bacteria they release nitrogen (referred to as nitrogen fixing) which is an important nutrient that promotes plant growth. The growing of such crops improves the fixing of nitrogen into the soil which improves the production potential of the soil.

through crop rotation (Nyczepir, 2003:24).[203] In this case, local people protect wetlands and tree species from degradation and extinction respectively.

Using brushwood as a type of fencing consisting of branches that are gathered by lopping acacia trees not only helps to keep animals away from destroying the crops but acts as a bush encroachment control measure in the rangeland. As the former ward councilor Dziva said during our walk to the chief's place: "These are branches that we cut from bushes or lop from the thorny trees to make our fences. They are good barriers even to problem livestock such as goats which cannot pass through" (Interview with former Sengwe ward councilor, 4 March 2006). See picture 2, page 288. Because local people use this lopping method to remove selected branches, trees are not cut down or destroyed and at the same time they reduce the shedding effect of trees on undergrowth. Opening up space by the removal of the bushes also encourages growth of grasses which improves the amount of grass for grazing in the rangeland (UNEP, 1996:33), for both livestock and wildlife.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Local people in the Corridor observe local institutions which define regulations and rules about harvesting and restricted cutting down of fruit tree species. One can be fined a goat or cow depending on the severity of the "destruction caused" (Interview with Chief Sengwe, 11 November 2006). Traditional courts at the village, which is headed by the village head presides over such cases. Because of effective policing of these rules and regulations, there were no reports of over harvesting of the fruit tree resource.[204] "There has never been a case whereby people over exploit the fruit resource here. People wait until they are ripe before they harvest" (11 November 2006). Similarly, in Botswana, Hitchcok (2000) reports experiences of the Ju/'hoansi ethnic group who declare certain species of plants and animals as 'off-limits' if they are perceived as being few in number (2000:90).

---

[203] Nematodes cause the destruction of roots of plants such that they seize to function properly in the uptake of water and soil nutrients from the soil to the plant ultimately retarding growth and sometimes destroying the life of the plant.

[204] Examples of consumed but protected fruit trees in the Corridor are *Adansonia digitata* (Baobab), *Fiscus species* (Muonde), *Azanza garckeana* (Mutohwe), *Salvadora persica* (Musuma), *Sclerocarya birrea* (Marula), *Strychnos innocua* (Mukwakwa), *Kigelia pinnata* (Mubvee) *and Berchemia discolor* (Munyii).

As I have mentioned on pages 107- 8 local people attach some spiritual value to conservation, sacred areas are an integral part within the Sengwe prefecture. They remain important repositories of cultural and ecological value (Hens, 2006:23; Gerden and Mtallo, 1990:16), honor a divinity (Messerschmidt, 1985:149; Anthwal *et al*, 2006:35) and provide sanctuary to spirits (Gadgil and Vartak, 1976:152-153; Tyler, 1993: 2-4). One belief system in the Corridor is that the spirit mediums of the area require large trees and thickets for shade and dwelling. Another is that bad omens occur to offenders and this myth *Chihlamariso* has worked for a time immemorial to deter would-be offenders. Associated taboos *Svinhu svingapfumeli wiku*, rules and regulations and myths deter community members from breaking the rules. For the stated reasons, local institutions in the Corridor guard sacred groves in their areas of jurisdiction. These are located in the conservation area and used for ceremonies (rain making and other rituals) in Sengwe, Dumisa, and other villages like Pahlela and Mudhombo. Sacred groves thus create 'conservation fortresses' within the Sengwe prefecture. These undisturbed forest patches act as preserved habitats for both flora and fauna.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Nonetheless, other resources in the Sengwe prefecture are also protected by institutions. One has to get permission to access these from responsible authorities. One middle aged woman who is a head of a household explained to me about the monitoring system of natural resource use in place and benefits from accessing the *Ilala* palm. She said:

> Before I harvest the palm from the woodland, we first pay a fee to the CAMPFIRE Committee and they monitor us cut the leaves.[205] I sell palm leaves to complement my household income. I manage to send my three children to school, pay fees, and buy uniforms and stationery from the proceeds. Although our markets are as far as Bulawayo [more than 500kms from the village] the prices are good and the products sell fast. So I do not have to spend a lot of time away from home each time I go sell the palm (Interview with middle aged woman, head of household, Kotsvi, October 2006).

The respondent above narrates a defined system that ensures a controlled harvesting of the *Ilala* palm in the Sengwe prefecture and an indication of the demand of the leaves. She also tells us a story of the effects on her livelihood

[205] Local people elect members for the Ward and Village CAMPFIRE committees to manage issues on the CAMPFIRE initiative in their areas.

from marketing of the natural product. However, in the following chapters, I illustrate how the introduction of the GLTFCA governance structure in the Corridor affects such local systems and institutions. The harvesting of *ilala* palm, *Hyphaene petersiana* for craft production or as a roofing material is done seasonally during the period October to December. Another product derived from palm is sap which is fermented and consumed as wine by the locals. The tapping of sap is conducted rotationally with cut shoots being rested for almost a year before they are extracted again.

In *The performance of Hyphaene petersiana under community based utilisation in Sengwe Communal Lands, Zimbabwe,* 1998, Sola argues that the resting of cut shoots ensures resuscitation of the destroyed stocks so that they recover, shoot and effectively propagate (1998:61-62). Her investigations concludes that rotational harvesting and resting of the palm restores the populations of the palm in the woodland and forest contributing towards maintaining the ecosystem integrity (ibid: 1998:62). During harvesting, old leaves and moribund leaves are removed and left on the ground. Ultimately, they act as mulch that reduces water loss through evaporation from the soil and act as organic fertilizer once decomposed further enriching the soil. However, access by outsiders is controlled by local institutions but free to locals. As a regulatory measure, outsiders pay a fee through the local institutions in order to access the palm resource.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Regarding institutions, this takes us back to the graduation occasion I described above that signifies other rituals conducted in the national park areas which are the local private schools *Zvikomvana* for the unmarried girls. Access to the teaching sites is denied to locals and offenders are beaten by the old women 'teachers' if caught. While this can be viewed as a ritual exercise for girls, it indeed revokes the colonial period of 'conservation fortresses' (see also Murombedzi 1998:4, Mundondo 2000:5-6), by which the ritual sites are 'off limits' to other locals. "No one is allowed into the ritual sites as long as you are not a teacher [selected elderly women in Sengwe] or under training. If you get caught, you pay the price. We first beat you up, then hand

you over to the chief where you will pay a beast for tresspassing".[206] This exclusivity not only determines access to and control of the natural resources but a preservation method for flora and fauna within these designated ritual and sacred areas.

Belief systems, myths and taboos over death are prevalent in the Sengwe prefecture. For example, in my story in chapter 2 about my walk with Dziva, he explained that when a member of a family dies within the homestead, it becomes taboo to continue living at the premises as they consider the place dirty and inhabitable. Bad omens are believed to befall those who continue to live within a dirty homestead.[207] They can only be removed by abandoning the place and relocating to another area. This practice is restricted by land availability, population density, and the subsequent opening up of new areas. Relocation is done within Sengwe but not restricted to the same village.[208] Indeed this is one form of shifting cultivation through simultaneously abandoning both homesteads and cultivating field while relocating to another area.[209] At these abandoned sites however, signs of vegetation regeneration suggest that leaving an area fallow, allows the natural resources to reestablish rendering it a conservation strategy. See picture 3, page 289.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

While bush encroachment has continued to increase in the grazing area, national park area and woodland, here the local people reverse the process through this shifting of homesteads. Abandoned spaces are characterized by fertilized portions from fecal material, ash and organic matter deposits from domestic waste. Some of the effects of these practices are similar to those reported by Fairhead and Leach (1996), in Kissidougou, New Guinea such as the increase in the growth of the woody species that gave rise to forest patches (1996:220-224).

---

206 Interview with elderly woman *Zvikomvana* teacher, Sengwe, 8 October 2006.

207 Interview with former ward councilor Sengwe, 4 March 2006.

208 Characteristic of a transboundary area, population density of about 8.1 people per square kilometer in Sengwe is sparse (CESVI, 2002:8; Mtisi & Chaumba, 2001:7). Compared to the Zimbabwe population density of about 30 people per square kilometer (AREX, 2002).

209 Much of the literature on shifting cultivation shows that it has negative impacts on the environment. These include; destruction of watersheds, the promotion of erosion, desertification (FAO, 1991:13), and overall biodiversity loss.

However, local mechanisms that restrict hunting *Kuhlotha* are breaking down in time and space. Both formal and informal institutions prohibit hunting of wildlife in the Corridor. Local people are aware of the penalties stipulated in the National Parks and Wildlife Act of 1982 as well as regulations endorsed under the CAMPFIRE initiative. This is one form of everyday resistance as illustrated by Scott (1985). Despite the existence of local institutions however, local people are not deterred from hunting. For small wildlife like birds they use catapults *Rekeni* while large wildlife like buffaloes, antelopes and kudus, are captured using wire snares, spears, knob carries, knives, nets and dogs. Before the establishment of the national park, animals were trapped by digging out pits with sharpened pegs placed at the base to harm trapped animals. But with increasing surveillance by the parks authorities, this practice has since stopped. Local people have designated hunting grounds (zones) which they utilize on a seasonal basis. They read animal tracks, breeding trends, migration and daily watering patterns to effectively hunt wildlife. They use wire snares that do not only capture wildlife but increases costs of maintaining the veterinary fence (a source of the wire) constructed to prevent wildlife-livestock interactions for disease control by the parks and veterinary authorities. Irrespective of the existing institutions, hunting continues to be a normal but secret activity in the Corridor. See pages 58-59 in chapter 2.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Known to relevant authorities are the annual salvage harvesting of fish ceremonies *Kutsvova* by local people within the national park areas and other pans. These pans and pools include; the reserves Maguni, Makonde, Manjinji, Chindhlambi and Tembahata pan sanctuaries (under park's authorities) and Zvimunyu and Chinganga pool in the communal area. Local people set dates and conduct rituals at their discretion. The chief's aide monitors water levels in the pans and pools to determine a level that threatens the life of fish. Harvesting of fish is done using various tools including nets of any size (even mosquito nets are used), fishing lines, and cutters *Mabhemba* and spears *Hapuni* or *Jingu*. After the catch, each family contributes a fish towards the chief's ration which is used to feed visitors at the chief's place. Accordingly, these ceremonies act as equitable sharing platforms *Nzira yekugovana nayo,* of available natural resources among the locals ensuring equal access of the

high protein source to all families. Fish as an opportunistic species, can productively colonize the pans and pools when they get refilled by spillage from overflowing rivers during the rainy season.[210]

On a seasonal basis, local people collect thatch grass *Heteropogon contontus* from the conservation area to use for domestic purposes especially thatching. This extractive natural resource use acts as a management strategy to reduce the fire fuel load in the conservation area.[211] A quota system was then established by the parks authorities for the off-take to reduce negative impacts of over harvesting the thatch grass, which is also used as fodder for wildlife. The CAMPFIRE committee also assists in the monitoring of systematic harvesting of the thatch grass.

Local institutions also prohibit the felling of trees for firewood. Instead of cutting down the whole tree, they encourage and monitor the collection of deadwood *Thihunyi thooma.* In compliance local people do not remove the tree stumps from the woodland when collecting firewood. These stumps remain binding the soil with their roots protecting it from erosion. Collected firewood is stocked in a pile *Tsikelo* or *Bakwa* for future use within a homestead.[212] Dry branches of *Coleosperma mopane* and Black wood *Mutsviri* are mostly extracted from the woodland. As hard woods, they burn slowly producing fire that lasts longer. As a result the frequency to collect more firewood is reduced. By collecting dry wood from the forest areas and not cutting down trees, the local people reduce deforestation. This practice reduces the fuel load which in turn reduces the impact of fire on the woodland. It therefore suggests that local people actually mitigate woodland's flora and fauna against destruction from deforestation, erosion and high intensity of wild fires.

I particularly noticed that local people use fire as a natural resources management strategy in the Corridor. They burn woodland when preparing

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

[210] Interview with middle aged man, local AGRITEX official, 3 November 2006.

[211] Fuel load is the amount of flammable material in the woodland. A high presence of fuel load increases the intensity of the fire so does its ability to destroy riparian vegetation and fauna.

[212] See picture 5, page 284.

land for cultivation, hunting and clearing the grazing area to remove moribund and stimulate re-growth of fresh grass. "*Siyasebenzisa umlilo ngxa sifuna ukubulala maizinhata, ukukipha utshani oludhala, lokulungisa amasimini ethu* – We use fire as a management tool such as destroying Ticks, removing moribund vegetation and clearing land for cultivation".[213] Burning is usually done just before the onset of the rainy season towards the end of November. However, the use of fire in the woodland or forest is prohibited by local institutions. One can be fined a beast if convicted of causing uncontrolled fires. Rambo (1981), synthesizes the following advantages of burning woodlands for the establishment of crop fields: Clearance of unwanted vegetation from the field; Alteration of soil structure, making planting easier; Enhancement of soil fertility from ashes; Reduction of soil acidity; Increase in availability of soil nutrients; and Sterilization of soil and reduction of the microbial, insect and weed populations (1981:5-9).

Respondents identified a number of problem weeds that are controlled after slash and burning which include the Black Jack *Pinus banksiana* (*Isinama*). They illustrated that higher yields and better quality sorghum was obtained from fields that were prepared by burning compared to one that was not. However, there were no figures to quantify this observed increase in quality and yield of sorghum.[214] They attributed this to additional fertilization of the soil from the ashes and decreased incidences of diseases and pests like locusts in the fields that were burnt.[215]

Local people actively propagate wildlife through domestication *Kupfuwa*. They take Guinea fowls (wildlife) from the wilderness and domesticate.[216] In so doing, they increase livestock populations within the household as a drought mitigation strategy but at the same time it can be looked at as reducing their reproduction potential in the wilderness. Men collect the eggs from the wild which are then brooded by chickens. A new breed of guinea fowls has thus

---

213 Interview with middle aged male, Davata. 11 November 2006.

214 Interview with 2 men, AGRITEX Officers, Davata. 31 October 2006; and Results from a Focus group discussion, Malipati, 11 November 2006.

215 Fire destroys pests and their eggs thus reducing their incidence within the crop fields.

216 See picture 6, page 290.

emerged in the Corridor. This should not be viewed as if the hunting of guinea fowls in Gonarezhou National Park has been reduced. It is the eggs that are removed from the forest area by men. The local people now view guinea fowls as their second fowls. Similar findings by Frohardt and Muruthi (2001:15) show that the Masaai people in Kenya perceive buffalo to be their second cattle.

According to AREX (2002), the rich alluvial soils locally known as *Ndobolo* do not require artificial fertilizers to improve its production potential, apart from those areas under irrigation. The majority of families with livestock do not utilize animal waste/droppings *Chibala* as organic fertilizer in their crop fields except in vegetable gardens. Rather it is viewed as a by-product of keeping animals secure in the kraals by the locals and not a way of collecting the droppings for use as fertilizer. Once kraals have accrued substantial quantities of manure or become too muddy during the rainy season, they are relocated to shaded areas for example under a tree.[217] Large amounts of organic matter are left behind by this relocation exercise. Through natural agents such as wind and rain, the organic matter is dispersed into the woodland thereby enriching it. The rotational relocation of kraals also increases the fertilization points of the woodland.[218] Coupled with relocation of the homesteads, organic matter accrues into the woodland through local effort improving the soil fertility.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Natural water bodies including springs are protected by institutions in the Corridor. The chief, headmen, village heads and the spirit medium have authority to declare specific places as protected in the Corridor.[219] Natural underground water sources like the Balalume and Davata/Hlangasi springs in Kotsvi village have been protected from both human and animal destruction. Inherent rules *Nawu* from their ancestors prohibit the construction of artificial wire fences around the watering points and use of any metallic objects to draw

---

[217] See picture 4, page 289.

[218] Cattle urine contains about 1.00% Nitrogen traces of P_2O5 [Phosphorous] and 1.0% of K_20 [Potassium] and approximately 2400-2500 liters of urine are produced per year per animal (see Yawalker et. al., 1996). Nitrogen, Phosphorous and Potassium are regarded as the major elements required for improved plant growth and productivity.

[219] They are also mandated under the Traditional Leaders Act of 1999 in Zimbabwe.

water from the spring or surrounding ponds. Similar rules prohibit the extraction of vegetation or hunting in designated spring areas. This protects the surrounding soil from erosion and can enhance the recharge of the springs. Similarly, Norumandwe, (2003), infers that natural resources under local control are managed according to rules that privilege livelihood sustainability, risk-aversion, flexibility, social reciprocities and use values (2003:134).

During the months of December and January, local people harvest butterfly pupa that feed on Mopane leaves. These worms, *Mahlonza or Amacimbi* are a ready source of protein for the household.[220] On the one hand, this harvesting of the worms reduces the breeding potential of different species of butterflies thereby controlling their populations. On the other, by removing the pupa leaf destruction is reduced on the Mopane tree which is a fodder bank for both livestock and wildlife during the dry periods of the year.[221]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

One local elderly man and a member of the village council in Sengwe expressed concern over the attitude of the younger generation *Vatsongwana* which does not take seriously local knowledge *Uthivi* or *Ruzivo* on natural resources conservation seriously *Havatwisisi.* These sentiments were also shared with village council members in Kotsvi and Dumisa villages. This knowledge is shared orally and also through participating in rituals, and ceremonies. Every family member has the responsibility to teach their children that is *Thiro wawena kudhondesa vana vawena* in Shangaan. Local people above the age of twelve participate in rain making ceremonies, fish and Mopane worm harvesting, and firewood collecting, hunting among other social activities. Fieldwork findings support that the younger generation respect local values and customs *Chikale.* However, it was also observed that there was a high degree of migrant labor to South Africa, especially among the 17 to 40 years age group. This level of migration has had an impact on the

---

220 Income is derived from selling dry worms to surrounding towns such as Chiredzi, Mwenezi and Beitbridge. On average, a family can receive annual revenue of between US$200 and US$500 from Mopane worms (see CESVI, 2002:21).

221 There are, however, no reports on the effects of this level of Mopane worm harvesting on the butterfly populations or species diversity (Interviews with Park Warden Gonarezhou 3 November 2006; 2 middle aged men, AGRITEX Officers, 31 October 2006).

transmission of knowledge, as the younger generation disappears into neighboring countries in search for better livelihoods options.[222]

The above local knowledge and practices suggest that local people are stewards to the environment and the natural resources in their area. They create natural resources management zones as they conserve wetlands, natural water bodies, protect threatened species, domesticate and propagate wildlife, utilize fire as a management strategy, fertilize woodland, prevent deforestation, and create 'conservation fortresses'. More profound is that they observe local institutions that consciously guard the sustainable use of natural resources for the present and future generations. All these activities happen in the communal, conservation area and the Gonarezhou National Park regardless the existence of management plans drawn by authorities. Let me look at these plans and their effects on the livelihoods of local people.

LUMINE BIMUS TUO LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

4.3 The Gonarezhou National Park and GLTFCA management plans

This section outlines the management plans for the Gonarezhou and the GLTFCA and their approaches to the management of natural resources in Zimbabwe. These plans are guided by the Parks and Wildlife Act (amended in 1982) and the GKG Transfrontier Park Conceptual plan respectively. In the Gonarezhou National Parks management plan (1992 – 2002), the long term vision of the park is: "to manage the park and effective conservation of wildlife and natural resources" (DNPWLM, 1998:25). The two specific objectives for the park are to develop effective and efficient system for park management, and promote regional conservation strategies (ibid:, 1998:25).

There are four management zones that divide the Gonarezhou National Park each with specific management characteristics, which are: Zone 1: Special conservation zone; Zone 2: Wilderness zone; Zone 3: Wildland recreation zone; and Zone 4: Recreation zone (DNPWLM, 1998:v). The Special conservation zone is where priority for protection is on special natural features or species. Wilderness zone consists of areas where wilderness recreation

[222] Interview with according to one elderly man Malipathi 25 October 2006.

opportunities are subject to a minimum of influence from facility development and intensive visitor activity (for example the Sengwe area). Zone 3, is the Wildland recreation zone characterized by low levels of visitor activity in natural surroundings while the Recreation zone has the greatest intensity of visitor activity typically available year round (ibid:, 1998:vii).[223] It follows therefore that these zones are defined by the area's protection and tourist development needs other than surrounding local people's needs or priorities.[224] The management plan is also divided into five major components which are the regional development, visitor services, resource planning and scheduling, resource conservation and administration.

The regional development component of the plan proposes support for socio-economic development, coordinating land use, collaborative institutional structures and improves relations with local people. Other support services include problem animal control within the local area by the parks authority (1998:vii-viii). Under the visitor services, the management plan outlines the entry points, roads, facilities, day use, campsites, interpretive centers and guiding services. An important aspect proposed in the plan is the development of visitor facilities and services at Manjinji pan (in the Corridor) to collectively manage with the local people (1998:vii-ix). Resource conservation incorporates the research and implementation of appropriate actions for species perceived as overabundant, reversing tree canopy loss and establishing artificial supplies. It also proposes to contain illegal activities in the park such as hunting. Administration covers human resources, capacity building of personnel, developing financial systems and the electrification of facilities. Lastly the resource planning and scheduling deals with budgeting and expenditure.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

At this point, this plan suggests the collective management of the visitors' facilities with local people in the GLTFCA prefecture. It is neither clear about how the incorporation entails nor does it suggest how benefits of such

[223] An example is the Manjinji pan.

[224] There is a criterion that seems to suggest a form of a locally based zoning system which is defined by cultural and other farming practices by local people.

interventions are to be accessed through this collaboration.[225] Scholars such as Mosse (2007) remind us that policy is vague and incorporate the interests of actors involved. In spite of his reminder, it remains to be seen how the implementation of the GLTFCA policy shall involve interests of actors in its prefecture without compromising.

Further, the plan has four aspects of the management of the park and wildlife estate which are:

a) Establishing a monitoring and evaluation system;
b) Managing wildlife outside the parks and wildlife estate;
c) Capture, maintenance and movement of wildlife; and
d) Policies for individual species or taxanomic group (DNPWLM, 1998:28-29).

A component of the monitoring and evaluation system is the prevention of soil erosion and habitat destruction from improper burning regimes. It intends to reduce the total area of the park burnt by uncontrolled fires from 25% to 15% per year (1998:105). This is based on the premise that flora and fauna will not be disturbed allowing the ecosystem to recover from previous effects of fire. As the Gonarezhou National Park warden says: "... uncontrolled fire has destroyed most of the young trees and bushes in areas adjacent to the communal area".[226] Yet practices by local people in the Corridor show that increasing fire incidences remove moribund ultimately improving the area for grazing as grass cover increases. More importantly, though, the capture, maintenance and movement of the wildlife component do not allow the culling of wildlife. It is the parks authorities who design a quota system whereby wildlife populations are controlled by removing overabundant species to other parks or translocation of under populated species into the national park.

Overall, the national parks serve to protect all aspects of the natural landscape, scenery, wildlife and plants, and maintain the natural ecological stability of natural ecosystems for the enjoyment, education and inspiration of the public (DNPWLM, 1998:104). Although the management plan identifies

[225] I explain in detail on how this particular component has been implemented by the national parks authorities in Gonarezhou and how local; people see it and reacted to attempts by authorities to involve them in chapter 6.
[226] Interview with National Parks authority, Sengwe, 4 November 2006.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

"traditional hunting" as a problem in areas peripheral to the park, no solution is given to legalize it. The challenge is, according to the (DNPWLM, "... to define species, location, time periods, techniques, eligibility ..., to put in place a monitoring and reporting system" (1998:105). Lastly, the policies for individual species or taxonomic group focus on the protection of threatened species in order to improve the population in the park and save it from extinction.

Although the Parks and Wildlife Act decentralizes the appropriate authority at the Rural District Council level, as custodians of natural resources including wildlife, does not grant management of the resources by local people. Established management zones under the Act are exclusively managed by parks authorities, and do not accommodate local knowledge and practices on conservation. This suggests that local knowledge and practices are inferior to scientific knowledge practised by the parks' authorities.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The second specific objective of Gonarezhou National Park is the administration of the Parks and Wildlife Act within the GLTFCA. This area within the Zimbabwe sector includes the park itself, conservancies, private land, communal land and the Sengwe wildlife corridor. Let me turn to the GLTFCA management plan and approach as it relates to the management of natural resources. The vision of GLTFCA management plan is:[227]

> To achieve interstate collaboration in the conservation of transboundary ecosystems and their associated biodiversity, promoting sustainable use of natural resources to improve the quality of life of the peoples of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe (GKG Tranfsfrontier Park Conceptual plan, 2000:1).[228]

The vision above suggests a bias and commitment towards the improvement of the quality of life of people from the participating countries. I illustrate throughout this thesis that the intervention has not achieved this vision, 10 years after its establishment and that there seem not to be any systems put into place. The management of ecosystems encompasses, amongst others,

---

[227] A framework of cooperation among the three participating countries is provided by two Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) provisions. These are the SADC Wildlife Policy of 1997 and SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement of 1999.

[228] One of its five objectives is "to enhance ecosystem integrity and natural ecological processes by harmonizing environmental management procedures across international boundaries and striving to remove artificial barriers impeding the natural movement of animals" (Governments of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, 2000:3).

conservation, utilization and control activities. The aim of conservation in the GLTFCA is:

> To maintain the viability and potential of the wildlife and other natural resources", while that of utilization is "to derive sustainable economic benefits" and that of control is to "reduce any detrimental effects on and by wildlife" (ibid: 2000:4).[229]

It asserts that the conservation of wildlife will be attained through: i) Enabling and maintaining natural ecological processes; ii) Ensuring the survival of as broad as possible a range of the naturally occurring wildlife species; and iii) Promoting appropriate land use practices within the protected areas which form part of the GLTFCA (ibid: 2000:4). Notwithstanding that the policy governing the implementation of the GLTFCA conforms to the international and regional frameworks on wildlife and conservation, it is implemented locally. Furthermore, these frameworks are based on scientific/modern knowledge. But, local knowledge is not recognized in the management plans and where such frameworks come into contact with the local situation, conflicts are imminent.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Although the GLTFCA management plan covers an extensive area, it however, recognizes the existence of different forms of conservation status. These include the National Parks, Private Game Reserves, Hunting Concession Areas, and Community Managed Natural Resource Areas (ibid:, 2000:2). It is bound, therefore, to deal with a wide range of issues such as topography and vegetation, wild animal and livestock disease control, and provides guidelines on how the parks shall be managed. Further, it deals with security operations, local people issues, development issues and future expansion. The chapters that follow (chapter 5 and 6), illustrate that this expansion issue can also be viewed as furthering the alienation of local people from their land, access to natural resources, conservation practices that are part of their livelihood threatening household food security.

In accordance to the Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) frameworks, each country revised the relevant legislation and policies to allow

[229] When compared to how people define conservation and their vision about conserving natural resources. There lies an area of conflict between visions of local people and that of the GLTFCA.

coherence within the GLTFCA. The three countries share an ecotourism plan that guide the location of visitor facilities, entry points, revenue sharing, and set standards on the facilities. [230] The plan asserts that human settlement cannot be integrated into the core Transfrontier Park. As I discussed in chapter 1, page 7-11 on the rationale to establish the Corridor, the GLTFCA management plan dictates a wildlife corridor from which human settlements are excluded. A former Coordinator for the GLTFCA, middle aged woman, told me that: "The concerned families shall be notified because there is no way homesteads can be part of the wildlife corridor" (interview, middle aged woman, GLTFCA Coordinator, 12 February 2006).[231]

4.4 Fencing off the problem

The European Union committed €10 million for the construction of a veterinary fence in the GLTFCA arena (see Wolmer 2003:272). Once completed, the veterinary fence between the Gonarezhou and Kruger national park shall separate part of the Sengwe communal area from the core conservation area. The fence, an elephant proof physical barrier, shall not only prevent animal movements across the conservation area and Sengwe communal landscapes and control the spread of wildlife diseases to livestock. Indeed it shall also impede on human activities in that local practices in the park will be stopped. It is the erecting of the fence that seems to suggest that local knowledge is no longer appropriate to the management of the conservation area. There it stands symbolic of the dividing line between local people and the park's authorities, evoking the colonial scene of segregating the locals from the settlers. Indeed, it stands as a symbol of the divide between so called superior knowledge (scientific) to inferior (local) knowledge systems. Overlooking the local area of Sengwe, there it stands boastfully, unshaken, and safeguarding the territory (conservation area) of the authorities. This scenario suggests a conflict of management practices between local people and the national park's authorities, which is between local and scientific knowledge. It highlights the power imbalances that exist between the two types of knowledge.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

[230] This is the Integrated Tourism Plan. See chapter 2, page 43-44.

[231] Notwithstanding this assertion, local peole in the Corridor are yet to be informed about relocations.

In this chapter, I have presented the complexity of the historical and social webs within which local action may be set, and the results of interacting power dynamics between local and scientific knowledge at local level. The above practices by local people in the Corridor demonstrate that they are practical managers and users of natural resources for their livelihoods and they have a fundamental passion towards their management. These practices are carried out at specific sites or zones and during specific seasons. As a result, they illustrate a number of positive effects on both flora and fauna in the Corridor and Gonarezhou National Park. They demonstrate that local knowledge overlaps with practices based on scientific knowledge in the management of natural resources. This overlap contradicts the belief that local people are a threat to wildlife development in the area. Accordingly, local practices do have a bearing on conservation although they have been viewed as inferior by some authorities in the development arena. Ultimately, this creates conflict when local knowledge comes into contact with scientific knowledge resulting in the resistance to any conservation initiatives in the Corridor by local people. The analysis revealed that Sengwe practices are resilient to influence by exogenous knowledge (scientific), as local people continue to implement them even within the restricted Gonarezhou national Park. Nothwithstanding that park authorities did not evaluate or recognize the relevance of local practices in the Corridor, scientific knowledge reigns over local knowledge hence the latter assumed inferior.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The "acquisition of practical knowledge for real expertise" is, according to Flyvbjerg always based on experience from particular case studies (2001:44). The Sengwe prefecture demonstrates practical alternatives in which local people can be key drivers to conservation. It also shows that although scientific knowledge can serve to validate local knowledge, inform local action, facilitate locally led initiatives and collectively manage resources it also undermines it. Drawing on the work of Richards (1995) and Chambers *et al* (1989), I have argued that local people are themselves stewards and experts in conservation. They actively experiment and make critical judgments about natural resource use practices. The Sengwe case also shows that adaptive resource management requires all actors involved to learn and appreciate.

But local knowledge is also undermined as it remains shunned by interventions such as the GLTFCA. The hard part, however according to Tyler (2006), is figuring out how to strengthen local people, by engaging all actors and ensuring dialogue that leads to valid conclusions for policy reforms, all at the same time (2006:14). Regarding power imbalances and ridicule of local knowledge by authorities, he says:

> Because existing relations between the various actors are generally based on power, this change takes time to develop. Actions to build awareness, share knowledge, validate knowledge claims and pilot interventions are undertaken to strengthen these values, using participatory methods which themselves help to change attitudes. Another part of the problem is that the sectoral organization of science, extension and policy does not match the perspective of the poor farmers themselves. They are obliged to adopt multiple livelihood and subsistence strategies ... Therefore, technical improvements in one particular production technology may or may not fit within the diverse practices and adaptation strategies of farmers in marginal areas (2006: 373-375)

The gap between local knowledge and scientific knowledge presents a challenge to the future of the GLTFCA. Whether or not it is an option, to move from the administrative or authoritative to adaptive holistic approaches to the conservation of natural resources, might serve as an option. Or forthwith, transfrontier conservation initiatives move away from emphasizing compliance with procedures, to adapt practices that are informed by both local and scientific knowledge serve as another alternative. As the Sengwe experience indicates, local people have decision-making power and authority to undertake conservation activities that they deem necessary although they need external support.[232] Unless their knowledge and, to a greater extent, the livelihood systems are respected and recognized, the practical link between survival and conservation will be lost along with the wealth of local knowledge.

The following chapter explores the impact of the funding agency on the development process, and how policies are negotiated and translated into NGO discourse. Attention is given to the Managing our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI) and Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association (SEVACA) initiatives the NGO supported and implemented in the Corridor.

[232] (See similar findings by Hichcock, 2000:90)

Chapter 5
Negotiating Change

In chapter 3, I gave an account of a donor meeting that I attended in Harare. It is within the same context that I discuss how the planning of conservation initiatives as they influence and generate effects on the livelihoods of local people.[233] This chapter goes on to describe how the Southern Alliance For Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE)'s policy on gender and women empowerment was developed and implemented, and the complex repercussions it had on livelihoods of local people in the Corridor. The NGO agenda will not be complete without exploring the impact of the funding agency on the development process, and how policies are negotiated and translated into NGO and conservation discourse. Consequences of the NGO's responses to new capital flows, translating development discourse on gender and women empowerment into practice and the effects on local people are discussed.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Attention is given to the Managing our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI) and Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association (SEVACA) initiatives the NGO supported and implemented in the Corridor. These promoted the establishment of Natural Resource Based Enterprises (NRBE), which processes natural resources and develop natural products for the market. From this ideology, the MITI and SEVACA initiatives were adopted by SAFIRE not only to improve the economic status of women, but management of natural resources in Sengwe. I critically analyze how women responded to the social restructuring by the NGO, exploring how the initiatives empower or disempower them, and identifying the disparities between men and women. A number of scholars write that:

> Development projects [initiatives] worldwide have been known to reinforce inequalities in the countries where they have been initiated, not paying attention to the patterns and problems of existing social relations (Thornton and Ramphele, 1988:34);[234] After all, development thinking is in a continual process of change, and it is arguable that what we would see as orthodoxy, and which assumes a certain consistency and uniformity should rather be

---

233 That is the influence from such meetings combined with hegemony in the planning of development interventions.

234 Development agencies are actually institutions, which affect the world around them and spend billions of dollars a year (Gardener and Lewis, 1996:2).

> seen as an area of contestation, a field of argument and debate (Hammami, 2000:16).

The quotes above, by different authors reminds me of one SAFIRE planning meeting, where a debate arose over targets and expected results for one initiative that was under discussion. One middle aged man and manager was emphasizing on officers not to revise downwards the targets concerning the number of enterprises to be supported in the districts. Officers argued that because of the limited diversity of natural resources that the initiative intended supporting, it was impossible to have a high proposed number of enterprises, which they postulated were not achievable. The manager not convinced by the suggestions, said that: "This is the problem with SAFIRE" (pers.com. Harare, 2005), implying that staff is given the platform to debate issues openly and give critique to suggestions. Here the manager had a problem with one of the comments that followed in response to his remark that pointed him as being the problem and not the reverse.

IN LUMINE TUO BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Of course, it was not that the views made by officers were wrong but the manager intended to impose his ideas without contestation. Reactions from such people illustrate the exigency of power not only as expressed in initiatives but in shaping institutional behavior, even within individuals as principals. This chapter shows that development paradigms such as gender are a result of these exigencies of power by exogenous agencies such as donors.

In the following sections, I first look at NGO discourse illustrating how NGOs negotiate for funding initiatives from donors and translate these into their visions. Using the MITI as an example, I draw attention to how SAFIRE brokers a shift in the financing and management policies of two donors who are the Danish International Development Aid (DANIDA) and the Netherlands embassy (Dutch government), which collaboratively funded the initiative. I argue that NGOs negotiate for initiatives to facilitate capital flows, broker for legitimacy with relevant actors to meet their goals albeit rhetoric of empowering women in natural resource based enterprise development.

Further, I look at the SEVACA initiative which is a result of the gender policy shift in SAFIRE. To do so, I do not ask the question – *whether* but rather *how* development works and illustrate whose interests it ultimately attains. The aim is not to debunk but rather to place contemporary development thinking within wider intellectual contexts. As such, no comprehensive record or account of the achievements of the MITI or SEVACA initiatives are given but much on the effects of the initiatives on the livelihoods of local people in the Corridor. On the one hand I offer an account on SAFIRE institutional behavior, and, discuss its policy on gender and practice in conservation on the other.

5.1 Conservationist's new orthodoxy: Gender in NGO discourse

Hammami's development thinking behind the 'new orthodoxy' (2000:16-19), provides a useful starting point for analyzing the social and technical transformations associated with conservation NGOs in Zimbabwe sector.[235] One of the central features of the 'new orthodoxy' is its celebration of the role of the NGOs as the primary agents in its vision of development. In particular, the promotion of gender equality by means of micro-credit-based income generation initiatives is a 'new orthodoxy' in development discourse (for instance Rankin, 2002:12; Fernando, 1997:150-154).[236]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Many analysts note an increase in the number of NGOs in different parts of the world during the past decade or so.[237] Although debatable, NGOs have been commended for facilitating the promotion of local knowledge systems (Fernando, 2003:59-63), and promoting the political changes leading to democratic governments such as in Bangladesh and Zimbabwe (see Lewis, 1997:35-38; Dorman, 2003:847 respectively), defeating the notion of apolitical nature of NGOs.[238] They have exerted a "profound influence on the scope and dictates" of the international law, fostered treaties, promoted the creation of

---

235 Politically, the 'new orthodoxy' represents a form of populism ... (see Hammami, 2000:16-19).

236 The MITI and SEVACA initiatives have deliberate intentions to support women into entrepreneurs through sustainable utilization of natural resources.

237 Much literature dwell on how NGOs emerge under different circumstances. For example (Carroll, 1992; Clarke, 1993; Edwards & Hulme, 1996; 2004; Farrington & Lewis, 1993; Fisher, 1993; Fowler, 1998; Holmén and Jirström, 2009; Kothari, 1997; Tandon, 1991; Dorman, 2003; Princen & Finger, 1994; Rademacher & Tamang, 1993).

238 Dubash and Oppenheimer (1992), argue that NGO activities however, "are typically stimulated by an innovative idea specific policy challenge to be met, a particular opportunity to be exploited or some combination of these" (1992:267).

international organizations, and lobbied in national capitals to gain consent to stronger international rules (Charnovitz, 2006:348). The increasing taking over obligations traditionally performed by government agencies as distributors and administrators of development funds by NGOs is demonstrated by Stirrat and Henkel in their work on *The Development Gift: The Problem of Reciprocity in the NGO World*, 1997. NGOs have acted as organizers of sectors such as health care, education, and rural development (Hilhorst, 2003). As such, NGOs are now central to contemporary development discourse and practice.

Respondents in the Corridor who consist of women and men of age groups between 18 and 50 years of different social and wealth status said that the NGOs in the Sengwe prefecture are responsible for facilitating water development, conserving natural resources, influencing the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA) policy, food aid distribution, health delivery, and providing training in various aspects (capacity building).[239]

University of East Haze
Together in Excellence

In NGO discourse, however, NGOs are looked at with suspicion (see Edwards and Hulme, 1996:969). They are viewed as vehicles that "overthrow the remnants of colonialism or the forms of neocolonialism that have developed since World War II" (Stirrat and Henkel, 1997). For instance, in the Palestine's post Oslo era (1949 to 1967), NGOs transformed from mass movement into a group of elites, professionals and politically autonomous institutions. From this development, they were vilified as exploiting donor funds "for their own enrichment and at the cost of an increasingly destitute population" (Hammami, 2000:16). A perception therefore has grown to suggest that NGOs employ the economically privileged.

Many scholars have noted the role of foreign funding in the establishment and operation of NGOs. Within the Palestine sector for example, foreign funding enables NGOs to develop a degree of programmatic autonomy and institutional security which promotes them to deliver regular services to their constituencies. Foreign funding also act to set NGOs apart from both the

[239] I discussed these NGOs in the Sengwe prefecture in chapter 2, pages 41- 42.

official aid agencies driven by political interests and private consultancy companies motivated by profit.

Notwithstanding the above skepticism, NGO activities however, tend to meet some developmental, rather than political goals. Probably because of concentrated efforts in their constituencies and regular delivery thorough increased contact time and participatory approaches to development (see Chambers *et al,* 1998; Campbell and Vainio-Mattila, 2003). This approach is argued to make development planning and implementation more relevant to the needs of local people. Because of this trend, the so called developed world has through aid and NGOs, taken advantage of this scenario to exercise their exigencies of power. In *Riding high or nosediving: development NGOs in the new millennium*, 2000, Tandon for instance, considers NGOs as agents to exercise international development policy formulations, debates, and alternative approaches (2000:322). Therefore, their actions are local but their influence global, which makes them powerful actors in development discourse.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

It is within these different perspectives NGOs operate in that they actively seek legitimacy at local, national, regional and international levels. More so, donor interests and their dominance are reflected (even in their hidden form) and legitimately implemented by NGOs within their constituencies. By presenting cases from Eritrea, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Bangladesh and Nicaragua, Tvedt (1998), advocates for the need to analyze NGOs as ultimate outcomes of complicated processes where factors like international ideological trends, donor policies and agendas interact with national historical and cultural conditions in complex ways (1998:66-90). The Zimbabwe sector, Sengwe prefecture, which is the focus of this chapter, becomes more relevant for such an analysis.

At the same time, donors and equally NGOs' exigencies of power are executed concurrently increasing their efficacy. For instance, in 2007, all operating licenses for NGOs in Zimbabwe were annulled by the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) led government in fear of

a potential uprising by the people citing poor delivery of services. They were required to reapply to continue operating. And a number of NGOs supporting initiatives that promote the awareness of human rights never got their licenses renewed.[240] Scholars such as Dorman (2003:3) argues that NGOs and foreign donors were particularly suspect of funding civic organizations and that the "operations of some international NGOs were disrupted when they were invaded" by war veterans in Zimbabwe (2003:857). Regarding this situation, the government newspaper, *The Herald,* 2009, reported that:

> President Mugabe threatened to stop letting NGOs operate in Zimbabwe: "I don't know whether this creature [NGO] is for the better or for the worse, but in our country we have seen a situation where they [NGOs] have exceeded, really, their terms of reference and perhaps we might have to reconsider the advisability of having NGOs." He argued that NGOs were disrupting unity and preventing progress (July 28, 2009).[241]

In the above example, the Zimbabwe government came to realize the effects of initiatives (particularly on the increase in Human rights awareness) implemented by NGOs on local people, whom at the same time are viewed as electorates by politicians.[242] As I write, NGOs (within this category) who are specifically funded by the United Sates of America (USA) and the European Union (EU) were not awarded renewal permits as accorded in the Private Voluntary Organization Act of 2000. This is because the interventions generated an increase in the demand for services and accountability by local people. And this is equated to waning support by the ruling party ZANU PF.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Similar experiences were reported in the Palestine sector when a justice minister publicly denounced NGOs announced on the national radio as "a bunch of thieves, fat cats and foreign agents" (see Hammami, 2000:16). But it depends on the context 'thieves' is derived – probably suggesting the way they acquire property/resources, generate new paradigms and or ideas. This trend seems to suggest that under instances where governments fail to deliver services, attention of the public is diverted towards a negative image of NGOs

---

240 Even the media laws were reviewed to exclude foreign media to operate in Zimbabwe. This includes the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Cable news Network (CNN). However, after an inclusive government, the re-emergence of the BBC in Zimbabwe is described as dangerous for business and local media. It will have negative economic and political consequences, and could lead to the total collapse of local media (The Herald, government-owned daily, article dated August 4, 2009).

241 The Herald, government-owned daily, article dated July 28, 2009.

242 The International Bill of Human Rights in 1948 refers to Human rights as the basic rights and freedoms to which all humans are entitled (http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu6/2/fs2.htm, accessed 02 July 2009).

albeit the effects of initiatives they implement on the livelihoods of local people or their effectiveness. Probably NGOs operating under such circumstances grab/steal the limelight from the respective governments through offering better services in their constituencies rendering them 'thieves' to politicians. Irrespective of this limelight, it is challenging to compare the effectiveness of NGOs whose constituencies vary from as small as a ward, to the thinning out of government effort at national level.[243] This leads us to the discussion about the NGO, SAFIRE, which is the focus of this chapter.

5.2 The Southern Alliance For Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE)

Before I discuss SAFIRE, I want to look at its predecessor organization called the Fuelwood Crisis Consortium (FCC). This not only brings out the background about SAFIRE but the context that NGOs are established out of immediate developmental need or otherwise. A main task for analysis, then, is to link the FCC and its successor NGO (SAFIRE) to illustrate that NGOs might also be established because of available and yet redundant funds, but not influenced by an immediate development cause.[244] Further, it affirms the notion of 'insider trading of information', which according to Loubser (2006), is a bad practice in business (2006:3). Within the business sector, however, 'insider trading of information' is considered as "the very root of discrimination" because it does not promote transparency, privileging a minority and disadvantaging the broad majority who do not enjoy the same equality of information or opportunity" (ibid: 2006:2).[245] This means, as implied and as this section illustrates, that the establishment of SAFIRE was facilitated through this window of opportunity. Let us turn to the establishment of the FCC.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

More than 30,000 refugees from Mozambique came into Zimbabwe to escape the Mozambique Resistance Movement (RENAMO) and the Front for Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) civil war.[246] They were settled in 5

---

243 My thesis however, does not enter into such debate.

244 I have argued that development is highly contested arena and problematic. See chapter 3.

245 I shall not discuss more on insider trading of information in this thesis although it is implied in the context of the evolution of SAFIRE.

246 The war started in 1977 and ended in 1993.

camps, which are Mazowe Bridge, Nyamatikiti (both in Rushinga district), Nyamombe (Nyanga), Chambuta (Chipinge) and Tongogara (Chiredzi) and Save Our Soul transit center (SOS in Harare).[247] Except for the Harare based camp, there was a high demand for heating and lighting energy in the refugee camps. Within the refugee setup then, was no organization responsible for the supply of fuel-wood to the refugees. As a result, in 1992 a consortium of NGOs called the Fuel-wood Crisis Consortium (FCC), was established. Funded by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the role of FCC was to source and supply fuel-wood to all refugee camps (except SOS) in Zimbabwe. It collected off-cuts from timber processing companies, and then transported, delivered and distributed them among the refugees. One of its activities was embarking on a conservation initiative that involved both refugees and locals, to mitigate the adverse environmental impacts associated with the large-scale refugee hosting operation. For efficient use of the supplied fuel wood, FCC provided what it regarded as improved fuel-wood saving stoves known as *Tsotso* stoves.[248]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Following the signing of the 1993 peace accord in Mozambique, refugees were repatriated. This had implications on the funding of FCC which largely depended on the UNHCR. Nevertheless, through concealed sources in Help Age International, it was learned that the UNHCR's remnant support funds existed within its portfolio on environmental management.[249] Discenible during this process, however, is that this funding facilitated the formation of SAFIRE albeit claims that "members of FCC formed SAFIRE in 1994" (see SAFIRE, 1997:11).

From the above events, the inception of SAFIRE is not only tempted but successfully and acquiescently established because of the existence of funds that seem to be lying idle and not influenced by an immediate development cause unlike the case of its predecessor. This claim is highly disputable as

---

[247] Chiredzi is my study site.

[248] *Tsotso* means small sticks used as firewood in Shona. The idea was to use less fuel wood and therefore prolong its availability and efficient use. Hence, indirectly protect the environment from further degradation through the felling of trees for the scares resource.

[249] HelpAge International operated in all refugee camps supporting the welfare of the aged.

seen in the subsequent events that I discuss in this thesis which tell us a different story. From a political perspective, SAFIRE emerged from this predecessor FCC at the behest of the UNHCR, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, the hosting Rural District Councils and other humanitarian organizations that operated in the refugee camps in Zimbabwe. While the 'insider trading of information' story is contestable, oral recollections reflect that the close association of the founder and former director of SAFIRE (then a Volunteer to Help Age International), and a finance personnel (then, whom SAFIRE peers nick named *Mbuya, Gogo* or Grandma) within Help Age International, facilitated the establishment of SAFIRE. It is worth mentioning that, *Mbuya* remained as treasurer of SAFIRE until her retirement.

Witnessed by the signing of the newly minted constitution, SAFIRE was launched on the 11th of October 2004 at the FCC's former offices along Baines Avenue in the Avenues suburb of Harare. It inherited the office space, staff and equipment of FCC, and registered as a Trust and Private Voluntary Organization (PVO). Here, I am neither capitulating nor disputing why SAFIRE was formed, nor suggesting an alternative, to any good work it has done. I am rather looking at how (processes that involved its emergence), it came to exist (rightly or wrongly). But this totality according to Foucault (1972) can be viewed as:

> ... discursive totality is treated in such a way that one tries to rediscover beyond the statements themselves the intention of speaking object, his conscious activity, what he meant, or, again, the unconscious activity that took place, despite himself ... we must reconstitute another discourse, rediscover the silent murmuring, the inexhaustible speech that animates from within the voice that one hears ... The analysis of the discursive field is oriented in a quite different way; we must grasp the statement in the exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence, fix at least its limits, establish its correlations with other forms of statements... we must show why it could not be other than it was ... (1972:27-28).

SAFIRE's Vision is: "To be the regional leader and service provider of first choice in benefit driven sustainable natural resources management by rural communities".[250] Its Mission is: "To facilitate the development and application of innovative approaches to diversify and improve rural livelihoods based on the utilization, commercialization and sustainable management of natural

[250] See www.safireweb.org. Accessed 15 September 2009.

resources".[251] In no doubt, its proclaimed achievements (contested in the following sections) generated a perception that it remained "at the cutting edge of new approaches" (this statement turned into a common phrase among SAFIRE staff) in the field of benefit driven Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM).

Similar to the GLTFCA policy in the Sengwe prefecture, SAFIRE claims to "target the alleviation of poverty" in Zimbabwe.[252] It established what it called an organizational think tank consisting of professional and experienced development workers. Similar to the Palestine sector, Hammami (2000) asserts that "long term planning, measurable objectives and reporting requirements meant that organizations have to develop skills in the language, culture and methodologies of NGO projects [initiatives]" (2000:17). The role of this think tank was to monitor changes in the development sector, develop proposals and approach potential funders accordingly. It also marshalled what I will call the organizational networking expedition by establishing and strengthening strategic partnerships and relationships with relevant actors and individuals within those organizations. I particularly noticed that these linkages became a consistent source of information on the strategic directions of relevant and potential donors to which the think tank took advantage of (my emphasis).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

On the one hand, SAFIRE invested and relied on the skills and experience (including the academic enhancement) of its staff and hired consultants. Not that it directly sponsors all studies undertaken by staff but fully utilizes their skills.[253] From an outsider's point of view, staff at SAFIRE is looked at not only as a skilled and dedicated work force but that their opinions or critique is always considered in decisions made on technical issues. Yet internal debates generated arguments and emotions similar to the one I discussed on page

---

[251] Innovative approaches entails research on the clientèle (including the needs and vision), documentation and application of adaptive approaches that singled out the achievements of SAFIRE as leader in the Zimbabwe conservation NGO sector.

[252] SAFIRE's main focus is about enhancing rural livelihoods through improved management and utilization of the natural resource base. See www.safireweb.org. Accessed: 19 June 2009.

[253] I also took advantage of this benefit to pursue studies at the University of KwaZulu Natal in Pietermaritzburg, RSA and this work towards my doctoral studies at FIHSER in East London, RSA.

152. One senior officer from the NGO sector in Zimbabwe said: "*Zveshuwa tinokubhigayi nokuti munonyatsoita zvinoda vashandi pese pamunoita ma-*decisions *enyu* – I envy SAFIRE because you always make decisions based on staff interests and contributions" (per.com, middle aged, Senior ZERO Information Officer, Harare, February, 2007).[254] At times, decisions and policies were unilaterally declared by the so called senior management, despite any outcomes from internal debates.[255] For instance, the former director developed and declared a consultancy policy and the type of decisions to be made by different post holders during an organizational planning and review workshop at the Kadoma Ranch Motel.[256] These became bibles and remain unchanged.[257]

On the other hand, although denied by SAFIRE senior staff, the organization also persistently pursues other areas of development where there is potential for funding. This defeats the impression given by senior staff as one director said: "We [SAFIRE], shall maintain our focus [on conservation] and will not be derailed by donor interests. That is why I am refusing some agricultural initiatives donors who have approached us to implement" (Discussion with SAFIRE director, 2003). His remark was in response to a question, whether or not SAFIRE was going to embark on agricultural and supplementary feeding initiatives. Some scholars have argued that development agencies (in this case NGOs), albeit unintentionally, depoliticize development (Eade, 2003:249), and legitimizes hegemony in such a way to remain relevant to prevailing paradigms and persistently be legible for funding. Sarcastically, during times of poor funding in the conservation sector and financial need of the organization, I infered that agricultural initiatives became cash-cows to SAFIRE.[258] For instance, the fact remains, that it implemented the Sengwe

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

254 Zimbabwe Regional Environmental Organization (ZERO).

255 In the SAFIRE's old organizational structure which is consistent with this discussion, senior management, comprised four people, who are the Director and the deputy, Research and technical services Coordinator and the Finance and Administration Coordinator.

256 These generated so much debate that lead to a unilateral declaration to adopt the drafted document by the director as was. The consultancy policy allows staff to conduct consultancies (30 days per year with full pay), to partners and remit a percentage of their income to the organization.

257 I am not going to critique these policies but only consider how they were developed in this instance and not look at whether they are useful or not.

258 In business, a cash cow is a product or a business unit that generates unusually high profit margins: so high that it is responsible for a large amount of a company's operating profit. This profit far exceeds the amount necessary to maintain the cash cow business, and the excess is used by the business for other purposes (see

Emergency Food Aid Programme initiative (2003 to 2004) in the Corridor and the Market Linkages Programme (MLP).[259] It is true that this identified niche was one area that donors were funding at the time. One cannot blame SAFIRE for being up to trend with events in this regard.

A key feature of SAFIRE regarding conservation is the Community-Based Natural Resource Management approach. This approach promotes the development of natural products and markets, creating institutional, tenure and relevant legal preconditions.[260] SAFIRE's core feature can be summarized in the following quote:

> Its strength was [is] based on the development of natural resources management plans at village level, through supporting ordinary and traditional non timber forest products such as crafts, thatch grass and others, to supporting commercialization of new enterprises that produce products which can compete on the domestic and international markets (www.sifireweb.org, Accessed 19 June, 2009).[261]

SAFIRE has three main Livelihood Enhancement Programmes that were implemented through a number of initiatives in close to 20 districts of Zimbabwe (including in the Corridor). These are:

1. Benefit Driven Sustainable Natural Resources Management Programme;
2. Enhancing Food Security and Cushioning Communities Programme; and
3. Communication, Information Exchange and Advocacy.[262]

A number of donors support SAFIRE such as Danish International Development Aid (DANIDA), Terres de Hommes International Federation, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Canadian Hunger Foundation (CHF), the Dutch government, USAID, UNHCR, *Stichting*

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cash_cow. Accessed: 19 June 2009.

259 The purpose of the Sengwe Emergency Food Aid Programme is to improve nutrition of children in the 0-5 age group (pre-school) age group. The MLP supported the growing of cash crops and secured markets for local people.

260 Natural products are indigenous resources that are found in the wild other than agricultural products (see SAFIRE, 2000). These include marula oil, thatching grass, kigelia extract (sausage tree fruit), craft, mopane worm (caterpillars), Makoni herbal tea, baobab pulp, baobab oil, marula jelly, masau jam.

261 Despite the claim in the above quote, however, these natural resource management plans were never implemented in any of its project areas as claimed at village level. See page 156.

262 See www.sifireweb.org, Accessed 19 June, 2009.

Nederlandse Vrijwilligers (Netherlands Development Organization - SNV), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), and the European Union (EU). Among other conservation initiatives implemented by SAFIRE, the MITI became the major and unique initiative that influenced the organizational policies and strategic direction. Let me turn to the MITI initiative and look at how it evolved the objectives and effects on livelihoods of local people. Further, I look at how it is linked to the SEVACA initiative and discuss whether these initiatives empower or disempower women in the Corridor.

5.3 The Managing Our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI) initiative

> The obvious project [initiative] of choice was one that revolved around the rehabilitation of the refugee-impacted areas along the eastern border of the country. This was submitted to relief donors who had previously been involved with the refugee camps. It is this proposal that ultimately evolved into, and has been funded as, the Managing our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI) project (SAFIRE, 2000:1).

IN LUMINE TUO IN LUCE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Symbolic of natural resources, "MITI" means "trees" in Shona, one of the major languages in Zimbabwe. Co-funded by the Netherlands Embassy and DANIDA, the 5 year MITI initiative was implemented in 5 districts in Zimbabwe from 1997 to 2001 with a total budget of about $4,480,294 United States Dollars (SAFIRE, 1997:3).[263] During this period, it accounted for about 80% of income effort and expenditures of SAFIRE.[264] Because the MITI initiative emerged at a time when the UNHCR funding was ending, and its magnitude of financial contribution to SAFIRE and demand for staff time were significant, I therefore, find it important to discuss its history alongside that of SAFIRE.

Without any doubt, the evolution of MITI not only is synonymous with shaping but rather defining SAFIRE. It also took a relatively long time (18 months) to finalize funding and to start implementing the initiative.[265] During this transition, the following sections illustrate the effects on how it not only influences the thinking behind conservation by SAFIRE or is transformed by the donors but also how SAFIRE negotiated with the two donors to access

---

[263] The districts are Rushinga, Nyanga, Chimanimani, Chipinge and Chiredzi. These districts were selected because they cover a wide range of natural resource endowment, population density and agro-ecological potential.

[264] Effort here implies staff time.

[265] This according to (DANIDA, 2000:48), "created problems for the local ownership, till this issue was addressed during the first Annual Review"

funding as a survival strategy. I concur with Stirrat and Henkel (1997:73), Tvdet (2002:369), and Tandon (2000:322), that NGOs depend on aid and gifts. My point is that the MITI initiative shapes the organizational culture, approach to implementing initiatives, strategic direction, and the vision of SAFIRE. Correspondingly, describing the achievements of SAFIRE was analogous to defining the effects of the MITI initiative. Let me turn to the development of the MITI initiative.

5.3.1 Contesting power: Conceptualization, Planning and donor dominance

Initially, the MITI proposal focuses on environmental rehabilitation of refugee affected areas as stressed by the quotation on page 143 above (SAFIRE, 1997:11).[266] Indications are that the Netherlands Embassy found the proposal to be relief orientated but were ready to fund an initiative that promotes the Community Based Natural Resources Management approach. Thus, only and if there was a change in the focus of the initial MITI proposal would funding be available. This brought in considerable shift in the focus and size of the initial MITI initiative. Accordingly, it is not only to the interest or focus by SAFIRE or the targeted local people the initiative intended serving that call for shifts here but a potential donor. We are reminded by writers such as Williams who postulates that: "Conditionality provides the means through which donors can exercise some influence over the policies followed" (2003:4). So, it is for this reason, then, that we take note of this shift as it shall lead us to the core matter of my discussion - negotiating for development initiatives.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Hegemony by the Netherlands embassy is evident at this stage in the development of the MITI initiative. In spite of the rationale behind these shifts, which I do not dispute, I look at how they are translated into the development of the initiative and the effects on the livelihoods of local people. In order to access funding, SAFIRE had to conform to this donor requirement, which resulted into a revised MITI document. Included among other changes are:

[266] I first discuss processes that were involved with the Netherlands Embassy and then move on to the DANIDA perspectives. I show how each donor negotiates for change not only on the focus of the MITI initiative but how SAFIRE responded to these demands. The initial proposal was submitted to the Netherlands Embassy before it was amended and submitted to DANIDA for co-funding.

1. The inclusion of the Rural District Councils (RDCs) and to target these for capacity building, rather than restricting to local people; and
2. The incorporation of direct financial investment at the local level, in addition to training and capacity building activities (SAFIRE, 1997:17).

By March 1996, the Netherlands Embassy accepted the amended proposal but however, did not have sufficient funding to cover all activities. It pledged to support up to 50% of the costs. Suggestions were made to SAFIRE to approach DANIDA and to seek for co-funding. The Danish embassy in Harare agreed to the idea of co-funding the initiative provided the formal procedure that is centrally controlled in Copenhagen was followed. At this point, the MITI initiative brought together two donors with different approaches to supporting development initiatives, on the one hand is the Dutch embassy which is relatively flexible and decentralized in funding of local initiatives, and on the other is DANIDA, which is centralized away from the country the initiative shall operate in and has strict adherence to procedure. This difference in approach had consequences on the planning and ownership of the MITI initiative.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In the mean time, SAFIRE has to endure financial challenges as funding by UNHCR was coming to an end. The following quote by DANIDA's *Evaluation: Danida's Environmental Assistance in Southern Africa,* 2000, reports that:

> In the MITI case, where the local partner [SAFIRE] was working under time pressure and it was important that decisions be taken quickly, this was subordinated to internal Danida processing. The unfortunate delays in the MITI case were unique – it was one of the first projects being processed under the Environment, Peace and Stability Facility (EPSF) and thus a number of uncertainties existed – but the point is that the structure of the process is such that these kinds of cases can occur (DANIDA, 2000:10).

Considerable time was spent through a verification process by DANIDA, which hired a consultant to work with SAFIRE. DANIDA also called for changes in the original thinking of the MITI initiative. Again, the MITI initiative was changed leading to the production of another document submitted to DANIDA after SAFIRE and the consultant reached a consensus. This consensus is disputable because SAFIRE agreed to the regulations

seemingly to access funding.[267] Of course as Tvdet (2002) writes: "The fact that the system feeds on gift money has created a system that does not develop according to laws or rules in the market-place or in political life, but according to how the system itself manages political and moral dilemmas and conflicts within the channel itself" (2002:369). Reflecting on this scenario, I tend to think along with Mosse (2005), that governance brought by development initiatives is not an imposition but it requires collaboration and compromise (2005:7). He adds that "consultants make policy successful by building ambiguity interpretative flexibility into project designs, thereby opening up to diverse interests" (2005:46).[268] The above discussion significantly highlighted such sentiments as Mosse illustrated in the MITI initiative context as one middle aged, SAFIRE senior staff member points out:

> The Danes brought in their own international team [Consultant], they maneuvered the document, justifying the project [MITI initiative] from DANIDA's perspective, and making numerous references that relates to its [DANIDA] priority areas. We [SAFIRE] were given the chance to comment on it, but we feel being not part of the rewriting process [indicating the changes undertaken from the initial document submitted to the Netherlands embassy]. This time we are fed up with revising the document, that keep shifting our interests that is why we restricted our comments to the absolute minimum. What worries us right now is when the funding is going to come through (pers.comm, middle aged SAFIRE senior staff member, Harare, 9 January 1998).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In policy and development discourse, a number of scholars have argued that development agencies are concerned about policy. However there is a critical view that sees policy as a rationalizing technical discourse concealing hidden purposes of dominance (see Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994), which are the true political intent of development (see also Shore and Wright, 1997; Mosse, 2005).

In the MITI case, both donors, consider the initiative as an experiment and a new approach to conservation that was worthy of testing. Indeed, testing, not on SAFIRE but on local people with consequences on their livelihoods. After all, in development discourse, better theory, new paradigms and alternative frameworks are constantly needed (see Mosse, 2005:1). Another innovation I

---

[267] It requires a detailed [logframe approach] LFA-plan where all inputs are defined and linked to specific outputs up-front (Danida, 2000:14).

[268] See also works by Wood (1998:55).

observe from this discussion is that SAFIRE was able to negotiate, broker the initiative idea and funding mechanisms between these two donors. I argue that the notions of promoting gender equity in conservation supported by NGOs (herein SAFIRE) were not based on the needs of local people but a construct by donors and did not attain all their objectives to empower women in the Corridor. In addition, NGOs negotiate for funding to facilitate capital flows, broker for legitimacy with relevant actors to in part meet their goals albeit rhetoric of empowering women in Natural Resource Based Enterprise Development.

There are a few points to make. In the final MITI document, three fundamental characteristics emerge. First, it is void of the process-orientation approach initially proposed by SAFIRE.[269] Second it is output-oriented, which is regarded by SAFIRE as not incorporating the idea of processes. Lastly, it is not clear on several issues and not coherent with what SAFIRE intended. To reiterate, such statements above by the disgruntled middle aged senior staff member that says: "... they maneuvered the document, justifying the project [MITI initiative] from DANIDA's perspective, and making numerous references that relates to its [DANIDA] priority areas" illustrates the above arguments.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Fundamental questions arise about *what* might have happened if SAFIRE did not comply with proposed changes by the donors, and *whether* there was any chance that DANIDA was going to accept the rejection or simply rule out its financial support are pertinent to consider. It can be stated that the time delays caused by the appraisal process and sternness to adhere to procedure and meet standards, suggest that funding was likely not going to be approved. Surviving on a bank overdraft extended by a commercial bank at Minerva Branch in Harare that bonded SAFIRE's only fixed asset (offices) along Lawson Avenue in Milton Park (then), the demands by donors not only conveyed their dominance but rather, extracted the compliance that gave a

[269] Process orientation looks at different workflows and activities are identified and modeled. It maps the dependencies between activities making them clearer, forming a foundation for organizational development and strategic management decisions. "Since the processes create the result, they are also the first things that have to be controlled and developed" (Lindfors, 2001: 3-4).

sense of financial stability to SAFIRE.[270] It however, does not provide stability to the harmony of SAFIRE's initial ideas nor ownership of the MITI initiative.[271] At the very least, one should not presume that ideas in the MITI intiative are a result of SAFIRE's "innovative approaches to conservation" or the manipulation of the 'think tank' but that of subversion and donor hegemony in conservation discourse.

Apparently, donor dominance and power over the strategic direction and funding of the MITI initiative renders SAFIRE more liable to forgo its intentions depicted in the initial proposal and oblige it to access the much needed funding. I mentioned that the Netherlands demanded for the incorporation of rural district councils and capacity building initiatives in the MITI. Similarly, DANIDA's EPSF that funded MITI was concerned with influencing policy in the areas of sustainable environment.[272] As it says: "The result is to be activities that cover policy issues as well as concrete problems that the population is facing in areas of sustainable environment" (DANIDA, 2000:13). The justification being that: "The Environmental Programme Support Fund (EPSF) is a very recent funding facility. This has meant that close monitoring of performance in addition to the actual programming has been necessary in order to continuously develop policies and procedures" (DANIDA, 2000:20).[273] These observations bring out the important point that what is stressed in the final MITI document is indeed an example of the exigency of power by the two donors.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In its November 1997 signed project document, MITI's development objective (or goal) is: To increase productivity of communal areas based on sustainable use of natural resources, with focus on woodlands and trees (SAFIRE, 1997:24). The initiative has four objectives, which are:

---

[270] Overdrafts are facilities offered by banks that allow drawing money that is above the available balance. These are associated with high interest rates and bank charges. In other words an overdraft is one kind of a loan.

[271] This affirms that NGOs depend on aid and gifts (Stirrat and Henkel, 1997:73; Tandon, 2000:322).

[272] This is one of DANIDA's portfolio funds that support initiatives relevant to conservation.

[273] The continued monitoring by an established Steering Committee and an annual review process was performed by hired consultants while the Netherlands embassy was represented by a local staff member.

1. To develop and promote enterprises based on sustainable natural resource use and management, in order to increase income levels and food security in project areas;[274]
2. To facilitate the development of local level capacity, enabling planning and implementation of Community-Based Natural Resource Management strategies, and securing rights of local user groups, including women and disadvantaged groups, to natural resources in their vicinity;
3. To strengthen the capacity of Rural District Council, its staff, district teams and Councilors on issues pertaining to CBNRM; and [275]
4. To support at the local, district and national levels, the adoption of policies and regulations that facilitate sustainable natural resource management (ibid:, 1997:24).

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The foregoing discussion has, I hope, clarified why negotiating skills of NGOs to achieve their vision is paramount. Regarding the MITI initiative, an expression of power over the whole process of planning by the donors suggests that it is hegemonic. However, the initiative harmonizes interests (as also observed by Mosse, 2005:46), of the two donors and that of SAFIRE by concealing ideological differences (see also Mosse, 2004:26; Dahl, 2000) among these actors. As an experiment, whether relevant or not, the MITI initiative had to be implemented the way the donors preferred and not SAFIRE. At the forefront, this has consequences on the livelihoods of local people. And it is in this sense that the question about relevance is overridden by the need to survive (by SAFIRE) as an organization and the need to experiment by the donors. In spite of this situation, SAFIRE not only managed to access donor funds but had the task to broker the new meaning of the initiative to partner organizations and local people not just for its relevance but legitimacy.

---

[274] It is the belief by SAFIRE that by guaranteeing access to the resource base, would enhance the viability of the business, and is directly related to the level of benefits accruing to local people residing in areas that occurs these resources.

[275] District teams consist of partner organizations that SAFIRE directly work within its project areas. Some level of support was provided in the form of training, transport to project areas, and travel and subsistence to members of the team. These were put in place in August 1997 after realizing that technical support to the field was becoming fragmented and no officer, including district officers (SAFIRE), were taking responsibility of the process and no one was accountable for the slow pace of implementation (Sibanda *et al,* 2000:45).

On the one hand SAFIRE has to concede to the ideas from the donors. On the other, it has to accomplish some of the needs of the constituencies it intends to serve. The challenge is to find out which ones are appropriate not just to the local people but the Rural District Councils (RDCs) and other actors. From the outset, DANIDA kept an upper hand on the development of the MITI initiative including the stressing on gender.

5.3.2 Promoting gender and the empowerment of women: the SAFIRE way

In her paper on *The Reflections on Beijing 95 and beyond*, 1996, Chow advocates that the concerns of women from the developing countries be understood within the context of each country's experience. She suggests that considerations be on the context against "a background of nationalist struggles aimed at achieving political independence, asserting a national identity, and modernizing society" (1996:187). According to SAFIRE, gender is a social construct that defines the role of men, women and children in a given setting (SAFIRE, 2000:7; 1997:18).[276] Whether or not including women issues in development approaches is or is not relevant, what was important to SAFIRE is legitimatizing it.[277]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In a *Debriefing Note* of the MITI initiative, Andersen *et al* (2000), Mujakachi and Wollesen, says:

> The impression of the issue of gender was that it is donor-driven agenda and rural communities now adapt at interpreting 'requirements'. Donor needs to appreciate the cultural roles of men and women in the various traditional communities in Zimbabwe and not use 'mainstreaming gender' as a carrot to acquiring donor funds. There are clearly activities in MITI that do not level themselves to inclusion of women, but women are found taking part in these activities as exemplified by the presence of a woman in the steering committee for the ..., which apart from this position is totally male dominated (2000:6).

---

[276] This it argues should not be confused with women in development which is rather a feminist approach to development that negates the roles of children (SAFIRE, 2000:7). In responding to the draft report of the MITI project, September 2000, SAFIRE emphasizes its interpretation of gender that: "... gender is implicated in divisions of labor, decision making and rules in agriculture and natural resource use, in institutional structure and dynamics, and in household labor allocation and productive activities. This is not just about the exclusion or lack of say that women may or may not experience, but about fundamental aspects of how social life is organized for both men and women" (2000:7)

[277] Cynical observers may argue that some NGOs will simply define their mission to agree with whatever a donor wants, but this is to simplify the issue and also to regard the power relationship as only a one-way affair. This relationship tends to be seen as a predominantly moral and political issue, rather than as a social process that is important to understand (Tvdet, 2002:369).

The above observations by a team of DANIDA consultants reviewing the MITI initiative are consistent with donor hegemony, in the inclusion of gender in conservation and NGO discourse implemented by SAFIRE. Because the initial exclusion of gender concerns in the MITI initiative, suggests that this was not one of SAFIRE's focal areas. Either, there were no immediate issues regarding gender arising from its operational areas and therefore no attention was given to attend to these. Or the local people did not make it clear the existence of such issues.[278] Or perhaps we should say that is why it took considerable time for SAFIRE and DANIDA to reach a consensus. Precisely, one of the key issues in the MITI initiative was to address access rights to the natural resources by the disadvantaged gender groups.[279] In the Zimbabwe sector, the Rural District Council grants such usufruct rights to local people and entrepreneurs.[280] Strategically, a close and constructive relationship with the local authorities is, henceforth, a prerequisite for the successful implementation of the MITI initiative, the Netherlands embassy's position regarding the capacity building of the RDCs.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Meticulously, SAFIRE invests resources (time and money) into the process of incorporating gender perspectives in its initiatives. This, it does by negotiating for different meanings and language as such with different actors. Incorporating gender was a vigorous process that started from within the organization, expanding to other actors. Two staff members (called Gender Focal points) were appointed (a woman and a man), seemingly to portray an image signifying 'gender balance'. The Gender Focal points attended a four-week training course in gender and development. They spent two weeks attending classroom-based lessons and another two weeks conducting fieldwork. After this, they were assumed ready to act as the resource personnel. In-house training to other staff members and simultaneous reviewing of relevant SAFIRE policies was performed to transform them into 'gender sensitive' staff and policies respectively. Such policies include the

[278] Apart from that it is true, at the time, SAFIRE staff were not (knowledgeable) aware of the incorporation of gender issues in conservation.

[279] See objective 2 of the MITI initiative on page 149.

[280] Usufruct rights allows the access of a public good that may be located in a property that belongs to another for instance usufructuary right to use of natural water on private land.

addressing of sanitary issues in the female toilets, paternity leave and staffing for example.[281]

Now SAFIRE was faced yet with another challenge of legitimizing this new paradigm shift, a discourse on gender to local people in its operational areas. Through the extension of grants (district environmental fund) and loans (district environmental loan gurantee fund) the MITI initative brings us to the discussion on promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women as a 'new orthodoxy' in development discourse (see also Fernando, 1997:150-154).[282]

A total of 60 person-weeks of this training were spent seemingly to negotiate for the meaning of gender in development and how SAFIRE was going to implement the MITI initiative. Indeed, NGOs have taken over gender discourse from a class based language and meaning to different actors, legitimizing it. One such spectacular effort is the training on gender to a selected number of enterprise group representatives supported by the MITI initiative. Concerns about relevance become pertinent to be explored further. Indeed, so that when the donors conduct monitoring visits and talk about gender at local level, the trained local people speak the language.[283] Extensive literature argues that development rationale models through technical discourses (in this case gender), objectifies the poor and depoliticizes development (see for instance Long, 2001:92; Said, 1978:31-34; Mosse, 2004:643; Tandon, 2000:321).[284]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

281 Paternity leave of 10 days per year is awarded to fathers after their spouses give birth. In fact, I am the first person to enjoy paternity leave at SAFIRE after the birth of my first born twins.

282 In *Nongovernmental Organizations, Micro-Credit, and Empowerment of Women*, 1997, Fernando documents on the empowerment of women by means of credit based income generating programs in the Bangladesh prefecture. His arguments are concerned with the "articulation of gender interests in development discourse, the limited attention given to the role of institutions in studies on micro-credit, and the irony that the success of micro-credit is due to institutions considered to be obstacles to women empowerment". He also considers that gender is a new orthodoxy in development discourse (1997:150-152).

283 Such local people were within the SAFGIRE context referred to as 'programmable' as proclaimed by one male officer.

284 In discussing *Development Sociology: Actors perspective*, 2001, Long concludes that: "...types of interfaces associated with development interventions ... also reveal the paradoxical nature ... - even promoting participatory programs – which simultaneously opens up space for negotiation and initiative for some groups, while blocking the interests, ambitions and political agency of others" (2001:92). I show throughout the thesis that this is the case in the GLTFCA whereby among all actors in its establishment, it is only the local people whose interests and representations are constantly polarized through practice by every other actor in the Sengwe prefecture.

Rather than looking like an imposed orthodoxy (gender) at local level, the above situation suggests that local people not only act as shields for NGOs from donors but they legitimize capital flow for the NGO machinery. Hiding behind its thesis, SAFIRE incorporated the training on gender in development with other identified training needs to local people. For instance, these include training for transformation, business development and marketing. Conceptually, training to actors became intertwined in existing needs such that it became legitimized within those contexts. In other ways and as far as this analysis is concerned unsuspecting local people are entities to enhance capital flows to NGOs as justified cause for livelihoods enhancement. A platform for a common understanding with actors about gender is ultimately but deceitfully created. I argue that the notion of promoting gender equality in conservation supported by NGOs (herein SAFIRE) is not always relevant nor is it based on the needs of its intended beneficiary (local people).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

At the organizational level, and in terms of the implementation of the rest of the initiative, MITI can be described as riddled with confusion, poorly coordinated and incoherent and inconsistent in approach. For instance in 2000, a mid term evaluation exercise conducted by an internal team, known as the Dry Run, found out that communication and coordination of the initiative within SAFIRE and other actors was poor. The report read:

> A gap in communication and coordination exists between the SAFIRE technical services and the District Project Officer [DPO], the District Project Officer and the rural district council, some district teams [DTs] and the village level institutions and the district natural resources committees and the project members [beneficiaries]. This is affecting implementation (Sibanda *et al*, 2000:31).

At one review workshop in July, 1999 at Mazvikadei Club in Harare, the former director of SAFIRE said: "The MITI project [initiative] approach is very clear and simple" (July, 1999). One outspoken officer remarked that: "May be it is not clear to these degreed officers" [referring to his peers]. He was of course sarcastically implying that as much as the written approach is concerned, it seems clear, to the director but in reality, it is not appropriate (to actors concerned), affecting the performance of staff. An important observation by Mosse (2003) is that implementation of initiatives is not

generated by policy applies (2003:3).

Whether consciously or unconsciously, the start up and consequent two and a half years of implementing the MITI initiative was also characterized by unresolved disagreements on the strategy, methodology and type of enterprises to support as reflected by frequent, lengthy and heated debates in the head office gazebo. Statements such as "*Musangano wanhuwa* – The organization is stinking" or "*Vakomana, hapana* confusion *inopfuura iyi* – Boys, there is no confusion which supersedes this one" reflect different points of departure.[285]

Another inconsistency which does not give credibility to the MITI initiative's claimed achievements is that baseline data which was intended to provide a benchmark of the status at the start up of the initiative was only collected in two of the five operational districts at the end of the second year. And this was analyzed a year before the initiative ended. Here, I am not contesting the accuracy of the results from such an exercise but the timing of activities and significance of effects claimed by the initiative that are questionable in this thesis. In fact, less than 50% of the enterprises supported by the initiative that were developed, utilized the data to make decisions about the enterprises (see Sibanda *et al,* 2000:20). This important observation in the Dry Run is that there were no generic, gender-specific goals incorporated in all enterprises. Whether this was done consciously or unconsciously or else imposed might be irrelevant on local people.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In spite of the existence of a developed computerized database in the organization, no one utilized this advanced system of capturing, and analyzing data or reporting.[286] But it had to be the responsibility of the M&E officer to make available such information based on this data for the production of donor reports. Too often the directors demanded data from enterprises but

[285] Comment by a middle aged man, Field Officer who was based in Chipinge district and later relocated to Mutare town before leaving the organization, 1999) and (pers.com, SAFIRE project officer, Rainbow Lodge, Nyanga, November 2000) respectively.

[286] The computerized database developed in Microsoft Access was developed over a year by a consultant whom I assisted as M&E Officer. Although finalized it was never utilized even by management which had invested substantial funds into its establishment.

nothing was forthcoming. During one review meeting, the disgruntled middle aged M&E officer remarked that: "Data capturing is everyone's responsibility. No data is coming through and you are doing nothing about it. Management is docile", while complaining about the reluctance of all those responsible and management regarding the capturing of data from operational areas. Rather annoyed by the outburst, the director replied that: "I assure you that management will take this seriously" (middle aged man and senior management SAFIRE staff member, Harare, 2001).

It was after this encounter that job descriptions were reviewed and became mandatory that all officers and managers collect data from MITI operational area. Nevertheless, the capturing of data was not done in a manner agreed or suitable to utilize the electronic data base. Probably there was less time, or need felt, to functionalize the database. And it never was utilized in SAFIRE in spite of a year long investment into its development. This leads us to the discussion about the effects of the MITI initiative on the livelihoods of local people including in the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

5.3.3 The effects of MITI on the livelihoods of local people

In Chiredzi district, which is my study area, the MITI initiative supported six so called Natural Resource Based Enterprises composing two, non-consumptive tourism ventures (Manjinji pan in Sengwe and Chibememe Earth Healing Association – CHIEHA in Sangwe), water bottling, salt extraction (Sengwe), carpentry and Guinea fowl production (in Malipati).[287] See results from the Dry Run for the Chiredzi district on page 288. To ameliorate the state of affairs of the MITI results in this district, only one enterprise, that, of the highly contested Guinea fowl production was running at the time of conducting the Dry Run. It involved the supply of fencing materials and the ultimate fencing-off, individual trees, local people in Malipati indicated as sleeping sites for the Guinea fowls from the wild. It later became clear during my field work that local people persuaded SAFIRE to fence off these trees not because they

[287] Chibememe Earth Healing Association (CHIEHA) is located in Sangwe Communal Lands that surround the GLTFCA. It operates four main areas: of land management, income generation, food security, and environmental and cultural awareness.

intended protecting the tree or the Guinea fowls but rather their livestock from predators. As one elderly man said: "Ah, why not. We wanted to fence off our kraals and protect livestock from *Zvikanga* or carnivores coming from the Gonarezhou National Park".[288] Because when a household wants a protein supplement to their diet or cash to buy necessities, trap the guinea fowls in such a way that they do not scare the rest away.

It also occurred to me, during my fieldwork, that the fencing of trees was not by any definition an enterprise but what Chief Sengwe also says about how local people legitimizes and participate in development initiatives to gain material things. See chapter 6, page 181. Indeed, policy also facilitates flows of resources to other beneficiaries (e.g. Mosse, 2005:232). Surely, the claim by SAFIRE, that it "promotes innovative approaches" in Community Based Natural Resources Management or is "at the cutting edge of development", by fencing individual trees in the Corridor can be challenged. What is missing in this is the attempt to justify the fencing of trees by SAFIRE as a conservation measure for improved production of guinea fowls.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Having said this, however, it is necessary to note that in the Corridor, these wild birds spend the day in the Gonarezhou National Park to return during the evening to roost on the trees within homesteads for security reasons. One elderly woman in Malipati explained that:"These birds are clever. I think they view homesteads as safe places, so they come to rest at night, and early in the morning before we wake up disappear into the national park"(Interview with elderly woman, Malipati, 8 April 2006). I affirm that this not only is a lack of innovation in conservation discourse but a reflection of the level of irrelevance of the MITI initiative in the Corridor. And, blame cannot be leveled against the donors' technical input in the development of the MITI initiative, for performance of such enterprises. Accordingly, this contested innovation at local level can only be the responsibility of the implementing agent. Here one should re-emphasize that in policy discourse, this is in accordance to Mosse's forth proposition on policy that: "Projects do not fail, they are failed by wider

[288] See page 219, chapter 6. Interview with elderly man, Malipati, 11 March, 2006.

networks of support and validation" (2005:19). See chapter 3, page 84.

At the Manjinji pan, two boreholes (holes or shafts) sunk by SAFIRE were only installed with mechanical pumps 2 years later.[289] This became an internal joke as described by one former district officer (known as Mhazi among peers), based at Chiredzi town as "the two holes that SAFIRE drilled" while lobbying for funding to install the water pumps. Regarding the CHIEHA initiative (which was also established before the MITI imitative), "MITI has also supported the community [local people] initiated bicycle ride as a fund raising donation by providing vehicles and T shirts for this activity" (Sibanda *et al,* 2000:1). While seemingly valid, such a perspective can be viewed as an activity to ganner legitimacy in Chiredzi district.

Likewise, the water bottling intervention in Malipati never took off and remained as a concept other than an enterprise. Another example where the MITI initiative claims success in the Sengwe prefecture is the salt extraction enterprise, an activity that was (ongoing even before the MITI intervention), only conducted by elderly women.[290] Discernible during my fieldwork in the Corridor is that, it is taboo for men to be directly involved, nothing could or was necessary to change this state of affairs. This was enforced by local institutions, which were observed by local people. Whether or not the MITI initiative existed, this practice prevailed. In other words, there was no value added to this existing enterprise. Even to refer to the promotion of gender equity as advocated by the MITI initiative in this regard is misplaced. In view of the above, the issue about gender or the participation of the 'disadvantaged groups' in natural resource based enterprises was determined by the nature of the resource, prevailing local norms and not that the male members dominated or restricted access to such resources an subtle assumption by the MITI initiative (see SAFIRE, 1997:18; Sibanda *et al,* 200:34).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

[289] See chapter 1 where I discuss the role of NGOs and specifically looking at SAFIRE from the local people's perspective.

[290] The process called *Kusurudza* involves the digging of soil, filtering it with water from which the extract solution is dried to crystallize into salt. Salt is consumed or sold to other households in the Corridor.

In the mean time, tension between the local authority (Chiredzi RDC) and SAFIRE started to build as the effects of the MITI initiative became inevitable. It became public knowledge during one Rural District Development Committee (RDDC) meeting in Chiredzi, when a SAFIRE representative was asked to give a report of what the organization was doing in the district. After narrating intentions/plans other than actual effects on the ground, the officer was warned that the organization might be expelled from the district if it continued not to perform.[291] In retrospect, this affirms that SAFIRE's input and its conservation initiative, MITI in the Chiredzi district was thus irrelevant, particularly in the Corridor. Overall the MITI initiative claims a number of positive effects on the livelihoods of local people not only in the Corridor but elsewhere.

Claims by the MITI initiative are also that it established a total of 30 natural resource based enterprises.[292] Another claim is that of attaining 26 areas covering 133 villages implementing community resource management plans (CRMPs). In practice, however, the problem was that these plans were not implemented in any area due to a number of reasons. These include: the poor representation during their development by local people (lack of participation); lack of appreciation of the developed plans (not appropriate); incomplete plans; lack of support from relevant actors/district teams; and the lack of financial support towards identified activities or strategies. The plan therefore was not adopted at local level. It is also true that most of the claimed CRMPs were not even fully developed although they are reported as operational in donor reports.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Further, the developed permit systems by the initiative intended to regulate access to natural resources, as well as the by-laws at local level were not enforced due to lack of benefits accruing to those policing them. As one middle aged disgruntled man who was a member of the Dumisa Village Resource Management Committee (VRMC) said that: "You [refereeing to me],

---

[291] The middle aged man in question was based in Chiredzi, later left SFIRE and joined The Africa Wildlife Foundation (AWF).

[292] These also include those discussed above in Chiredzi district.

go to work everyday and at the end of the month you get paid. Why should I work everyday without getting any pay? (Interview with middle aged man, VRMC member, Dumisa, 8 April, 2006). It is henceforth unfounded to argue that these management plans developed at village level, promote gender equity or better access to natural resources by the MITI initiative.[293] Although the MITI initiative facilitated enterprise groups and local people to document by-laws that define their user rights on access to natural resources in their areas at the approval of the rural district councils, efforts to pursue policy debates and the ratification of revised RDC by-laws did not yield any results. The problem is also that these documents that lie not ratified, with time might become obsolete.

Another untypical claim by the MITI initiative, is that it improved real incomes of 3,000 households (families) by USD600,000 (Gondo, Undated p 5-6; SAFIRE, 2000,4). This calculation, as argued in many of SAFIRE review meetings, only shows the total amount of money that accrues to enterprises and do not account for any costs incurred. So, this is not real income but revenue, which does not tell the reader any significance of the effects towards improving livelihoods of local people. Since there was no baseline data collected during the first two-and-a-half years into the implementation of the initiative, the effects of the hyper inflation and concurrent devaluation of the Zimbabwe dollar was not taken into perspective. In addition, the fact that 40% of the enterprises failed to operate renders that, the real income figure is difficult to justify. The irony however, was that the M&E Officer made calculations using authentic mathematical formulas, existing bank rates and discounting factors to give the impression the initiative deserves more funding.[294] We are warned by many scholars that in development, the use of numbers is dangerous (for example Escobar, 2002: 21-213).[295]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

293 Explicitly, by-laws and regulations at local level existed even prior to the establishment of SAFIRE. See chapters 2 and 4 for details. These by-laws were already documented during the implementation of the CAMPFIRE initiative in the Corridor.

294 A bank rate is the interest rate charged by a bank for loans and a discounting rate is the rate at which member banks may borrow short term funds directly from a reserve bank (http://www.investorwords.com/414/Bank_Rate.html. Accessed 26 September 2009).

295 See chapter 3, page 77.

In this light, the above claims by SAFIRE about achievements of the MITI initiative are highly contestable and suggest that the MITI initiative did not achieve all its objectives. Following this line of reasoning, it does not address the conservation or economic concerns at local level, is irrelevant albeit rhetoric of "increase income levels and food security" and "securing rights of local user groups" accorded in the initiative.

Yet despite this concurrence of claims by the MITI initiative to empowering women, is another case in one Sedze ward-Nyanga district that:

> A "firm" [enterprise] had more than 300 producers (comprising mostly women about 75%) each of whom sold about 2,000 bundles of grass a year, providing an average annual income of about Zimbabwe Dollar ZWD 10,000 [equivalent to about US$200 at that time]. This was nearly twice the income these farmers get from the commercialization of maize, which was the main cash crop in the area. The expectation and hope was that this general approach would be replicable and thus be of benefit to a large number of similar groups of rural poor, however ... (Gondo, undated p:6-8).

While the above assertions by SAFIRE show that mostly (75%) women benefited, there was no follow up or records to show how the acquired incomes were utilized at the household level. This gap does not easily articulate gender and equitable benefit sharing among the 'disadvantaged' as claimed. An inconsistency in reporting that does not give credibility to the MITI initiative is the lack of mention that throughout the whole life span of the initiative, this "firm" managed to make only a one-off sale of their thatch grass product (to Botswana) and subsequently stopped operating. One wonders why it would stop operating if it was making significant money. Even efforts by SAFIRE to establish a warehouse (storage facility) in Sedze were futile. Members of the so called firm stopped contributing their labor and SAFIRE had to hire a contractor to finish off the works.

LUMINE BIMUS TUO LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In 2003, on my way from Nyamaropa area in Nyanga district, while coordinating an initiative that intended to establish a network that facilitates exchange of experiences on drought mitigation strategies by various actors, I passed by this warehouse. My colleague, a driver I nicknamed Pabs, laughed at this warehouse. With a broken down front door and window panes, local people did not utilize the warehouse at all for its intended purpose. I also noticed that it only served as shelter to stray goats as evidenced by heaps of

droppings that had accrued over time. While on the one hand SAFIRE, concludes that: "the disadvantaged gender groups [referring to women], lack entrepreneurial skills" (see Gondo, undated page 6), events show that the enterprise was not profitable and the construction of the warehouse not appropriate on the other.

Gardner and Lewis (1996), point out that: "by understanding the sexual division of labor, access to, resources in the household and women's double burden of productive and reproductive work, development planning frequently lead to the marginalization of women" (1996:64). This statement was not made in the spirit of anti-development but instead against the development that does not benefit local populations. Writing in support of such sentiments and against such conservation initiatives worldwide, scholars such as Mosse (2005), argue for the need to: "...understand that women exert power and assert interests as economic agents" (2005:59). Regarding the Sedze 'firm', it did not improve the status of women as claimed. According to the above authors, this could be another case where an intervention increases the double burden of women by preoccupying them with collecting grass in the wild, construct a warehouse that will never be utilized, consume part of their time to attend training workshops only to gain knowledge that is not ultimately applied. The warehouse is one of such interventions that stands out to what the Senior Parks Wadern in Manjinji refers to as "white elephants".[296] I argue that the MITI initiative did not achieve all its objectives despite rhetoric of 'empowering women in natural resource based enterprise development" implied in its project document.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

More profound, however, is a concept note that was not funded, which proposes to expand the MITI initiative to cover all the districts in Zimbabwe. Irrespective of the above contested achievements of the MITI intiative, it justifies an expanded phase. It states that:

> The project [MITI initiative] found itself working with nearly 50 different community [local people] groups, [of which nearly half - 40% were not viable and failed to operate] on an enormously diverse range of enterprise opportunities, for almost all of which there had no products actually

[296] See page 177.

> developed, and little or no market exploration conducted. Project implementation was adversely affected by the deteriorating in the economic and political environment ... Delays in disbursement during the first year of the project also resulted in delays in the field activities by nearly nine months. (Gondo, undated, page 5-7).

Accordingly, DANIDA (2001) concurs with the above assertion by saying that: "the focus on enterprise development neither provides a holistic approach to environmental issues nor can encompass the majority of the poor" (2001:49). What happens therefore is that after 5 years of implementation, a lesson used to justify an expansion of the second phase of the MITI initiative to "move from the experimental pilot phase into a full-blown implementation, with relatively greater numbers of beneficiaries, and much higher level of cost-efficiency regards to outputs" (Gondo, undated page 5), is challenged. Notwithstanding that there was no clear linkage between established enterprises and the sustainable harvesting of the resource base and it, generated conflicts in natural resource use. These conflicts might have consequencies that promote over-exploitation and ultimate degradation of the resource endowment.[297]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Certainly from the above, it can be concluded that the MITI initiative has potential to increase degradation if no regulatory measures are put in place. It can be argued, therefore, that to seek for a full blown MITI initiative (second phase) suggests to promote a potential nationwide degradation expedition by the NGO in conservation discourse. Thus the rhetoric of determining sustainable levels of harvesting natural resources by the MITI initiative is equivalent to what I call romanticizing effects on the livelihoods of local people. What is remarkable abouth these claims is the limelight that SAFIRE generated in the Zimbabwe sector.

Scholars such as Odero (2004), laments such limelight from the MITI initiative. Using a case of five enterprises, he argues that, not only do changes in supply, demand and governance offer new opportunities for indigenous and local communities to earn more from the natural resources to manage as common-pool resources, but that markets must also be structured

[297] Resource use conflicts are generated from competing demands for domestic consumption, household marketing and supplies to enterprises as raw materials.

to allow a commons to emerge and flourish, and create a social and ethical commons for market activity (2004:16).[298] Further he claims that:

> After visiting the Chapinduka-based marula enterprise (in Rushinga district), members of seven households from Mushezheveti Village came together to set up a community-based enterprise. This enterprise depends on the 400 plus households living in Ward 3 for supply of the marula fruit, which is common in many parts of the district. In 2003, the group established an oil pressing plant within the community. Within a few months of operation, the group was able to supply one tonne of oil to the African Biodiversity Company (2004:12).

What is not coming out is that, SAFIRE literary gave the group money to buy kennels from other local people (mostly elderly women who crack nuts in their spare time), and through a training exercise, produced this 1 tonne of oil. Ever since this training session, not even a drop of oil was produced, nor did the group use the income to purchase more kennels but rather shared amongst the members. Instead of utilizing this revenue to acquire the raw material that sustains the enterprise, they shared among themselves and requested for another grant from SAFIRE, which never materialized. A nut cracker that was designed in Harare, which members paid for, was gathering rust at the former chairperson's homestead, unused.[299] The problem was that it was inappropriate.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Moreover, the marula oil pressing machine, which was on loan, was never paid for by the group. Subsequently, following non-peformance of the enterprise was later abandoned by its members, the machine taken and replaced with another jatropha oil pressing machine by SAFIRE. This jatropha oil pressing machine was also never put to use. My last visit to this enterprise was in 2008 and nothing was operational. What is significant here is that the enterprise closed down hence the initiative failed in that regard.

In its end of project report, SAFIRE indicates that out of the total (US$4.5 million), budget for the initiative more than half of it, 60% (US$2.7 million), was consumed by the SAFIRE machinery while less than half 40% (US$1.8

---

[298] These enterprises are: Makoni Indigenous Tea Producers Association; Mazhanje Pulping Groups; Musingagotsi Masawu Enterprise; Marula Enterprises, Creative Oils Investments; Sengwe Vamanani Craft Producers Association; Biriwiri Women's Craft Association.

[299] This machine was assumed to improve the cracking of kennels over the traditional stone crushing. Local people in Rushinga said that the machine performed poorly and they resorted to using the traditional method.

million), accrued towards activities targeting local people (2001:71). This is justified as due to the high costs associated with staff time and consultancies and other running costs. I particularly noticed that the breakdown shows that of the claimed 40% accruing towards activities at local level, part of it goes to training and other workshops. These services also include those offered to other actors such as district teams. It implies that a lower percentage accrues towards local people. Therefore, not all of the claimed 40% funding of the MITI initiative was committed towards activities that promote gender and empowered women.

When I consider the negotiations that took place between SAFIRE and the two donors to fund the MITI initiative, the proportion of the total budget that accrued to SAFIRE *vis a vis* to local people suggests that SAFIRE was negotiating for the funding of its machinery. In other words, the accrual of the bulk of the financial resources towards SAFIRE translates to the focus of the fund and not otherwise. I recall that the ultimate funding of the MITI initiative transformed the status of the organization from surviving through a bank overdraft to full operation.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In the Corridor, however, the MITI initiative had some positive effects on the livelihoods of local people. And that a number of local people turned into entrepreneurs (although their businesses folded too soon), were able to fence trees transforming them into safe livestock kraals while others had themselves turned into gatherers of wild resources to supply raw materials to a few entrepreneurs. I affirm that the MITI initiative generated unintended effects on the livelihoods of local people.

Despite the above contestable claims of achievements, however, the synthesized lessons learned from even non-performing enterprises, SAFIRE proposes the need to support a national level marketing association for natural products. Ferguson writes, that there "... always seems to be someone ready to try again with yet another project" albeit their failures (1990:8). Another noticable new text was the increase in the funding of new interventions implemented by SAFIRE irrespective of contestable

achievements of the MITI initiative. SAFIRE received a total of USD75,000 from IFAD and the Bio-trade initiative of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) to establish a Southern Africa Regional Natural Products Trade Association.[300]

Seemingly seized by the former director, this Association later became a breakaway initiative that facilitated the establishment of yet another parallel NGO called the Southern Africa Natural Product Trade Association (SANProTA).[301] Yet the claimed change in income levels of local people remain unnoticeable, suggesting a reinterpretation of opportunistic behavior by individuals or principals pursuing their own endeavors and a proviso over claims in NGO discourse to support the needs of local people. Events such as these affirm that NGOs "are vilified as exploiting donor funds for their own enrichment and at the cost of an increasingly destitute population" (see Hammami, 2000:16 for instance), and that their activities "are typically stimulated by a particular opportunity to be exploited or some combination of these" (Dubash and Oppenheimer, 1992:267).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In spite of the ambiguities and contradictions of claims by the MITI initiative, from an outsider's perspective, it (SAFIRE) looks glamorous. Not because there were obvious intended effects on local people's livelihoods but its ability to expand areas of operation, acquiring fleets of new vehicles, offices and staff houses, supporting staff on secondment in the rural district councils, providing collateral funds and creating linkages for local people to commercial banks, and facilitating policy discussions at local level with relevant actors. Training workshops in locations such as expensive hotels, information dissemination platforms, publications and other flagship materials, look and learn tours (educational visits), sponsoring of local people to attend exhibitions etcetera, are other landmarks of the MITI initiative.[302]

---

[300] The role of this regional Trade Association was to improve the profitability of producing exportable natural resource-based products.

[301] One way of looking at this state of affairs is that SAFIRE was denied this seized opportunity to expand and improve its capital base as the former director established and manned an independent organization altogether. SANProTA later changed its name to PhyToTrade Africa.

[302] In 2002, SAFIRE supported a number of local people to attend the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg in RSA.

In NGO and policy discourse, SAFIRE accrued resources to influence policy at local and national levels. It simplified and translated the Traditional Leaders Act of 2000 (Zimbabwe) from English to vernacular languages, and publicized the translation of the Act. This it did in such a way that its vision, mission and intentions for the relevant authorities were legitimized as was gender and the empowerment of women in conservation. SAFIRE was instrumental in making contributions in the much contested land reform discussions and other natural resource policy considerations to Zimbabwe sector. One such national workshop conducted in 1999 was on by-law formulation at the Trout Berg Hotel in Nyanga district following which SAFIRE claims the CAMPFIRE Association produced guidelines for their partners.[303] Because of this achievement a number of international organizations such as the IUCN and UHNCR on many occasions seek SAFIRE services, albeit contestable claims of the effects of the MITI initiative on the livelihoods of local people. It affirms the image of local people as what Said (1978), regards as subjectives of development (Orients) of who facilitates the flow of capital to NGOs without benefit accruing to them despite rhetoric of economic improvement of local people.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

I have shown above that claims by the MITI initiative to empower women continue to be flawed. Enterprises benefited a number of local people operating the businesses. These did not show any control over the harvesting of natural resources that supplied raw materials to their businesses. Neither did they have any influence on established VRMCs. Nor did the enterprises facilitate a ploughback system (a process referred to as plough-back of profits) that SAFIRE claims created a linkage that supports contributions of the businesses to the management of the natural resource base. So, entrepreneurs continued to gain at the expense of local people. It can be infered that there might be no guarantee on the continued supply of raw materials for enterprises as there were no sustainable harvesting levels of the natural resource base established by the MITI initiative. Despite the contentions in the claims of the MITI initiative, SAFIRE implemented another

[303] An association of district councils implementing CAMPFIRE initiative.

conservation initiative in Sengwe - the SEVACA initiative.

5.4 The Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association (SEVACA) initiative

With its head office based at Malipati business center in Sengwe, SEVACA is an association composing about 241 women, from 15 village-based organized groups.[304] It is lead by an executive committee with 15 representatives drawn from the village groups.[305] The SEVACA initiative is funded by Terres de Hommes through the funding agent *Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelinssamenwerking* (HIVOS) and implemented by SAFIRE. Using *Ilala* palm *Hyphaene spp* and *Isisi* creeper *Cocculuc hirsutus*, SEVACA members produce a variety of craft that include the Shangaan baskets, hats and mats craft which are collectively marketed through the association.[306] The goal of SEVACA is: to increase annual incomes of participating women within Sengwe Communal Lands by at least 200% through sustainable production and marketing of natural resource based crafts.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

From the outset, SEVACA had 5 objectives that are to:

a) Set up a system and facility for improved production and marketing of crafts within Sengwe Communal Lands;
b) Strengthen the capacity of local resource management institutions to monitor and regulate resource harvesting to promote sustainable use;
c) Improve Sengwe women's access to, and participation in good governance and economic decision making for self-empowerment;
d) Research into diversification of the craft base for craft production; and
e) Develop the project institutional structure in a manner that is participatory, sustainable, in consistence with the needs and aspiration of the local community (SAFIRE, 2003:4).

---

[304] These are active members as reported by SAFIRE in 2003 at the end of the project. Vamanani is a Shangaan word for women. It was registered as an association in the 2003. An association is defined as a formal organization of people with a binding constitution signed by members. These numbers have since declined as funding of the initiative stopped.

[305] The groups are Masukwe, Pahlela, Malipati, Makanani, Gezani, Bondela, Pukupela, Davata, Puzani, Gwaivhi, Samu, Dumisa, Chishinya, Maose and Mhlekwani.

[306] Produced craft is centrally marketed locally in Zimbabwe and neighboring countries such as Mozambique and South Africa.

Looking at the objectives of SAFIRE, the SEVACA initiative fits under objective 1, and objectives, 1 and 2 under the MITI initiative discussed above. It anticipates achieving the following outcomes:

i) A functional institutional arrangement;
ii) Improved natural resource-based craft production system;
iii) Marketing strategies for craft production;
iv) Natural resource management strategies implemented;
v) Participation of SEVACA membership in Community Based Organizations decision making and good governance; and
vi) Efficient and effective business monitoring and evaluation system (SAFIRE, 2003:5).

Concerns about women in the SEVACA initiative are explicit. Objective 3, for example, assumes that women in the Corridor have limited access to, and participation in good governance and to economic decision making for self-empowerment. This pre-conceived idea and bias in conservation discourse is not uncommon. Women not only make decisions at household level but are influential at village and ward level in the Corridor.[307]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

To improve the efficiency in the coordination of the SEVACA initiative, 3 subcommittees responsible for marketing, finance and fund raising, and staff and disciplinary committee were formed. While it was recommended these subcommittees meet regularly this did not happen. One elderly member reiterated that: "We never got to meet regularly due to the lack of transport, the long distances to proposed venues and other commitments by members".[308] Similarly, SAFIRE (2003) concurs with this in its end of project report that: "It has been very difficult for SEVACA Project Officers to move around collecting craft products from groups because the vehicle was down for about four months" (2003: 17). As such, coordination efforts by these structures were ineffective.

---

[307] It is henceforth not always true that women being not members in local institutions translates to that they are not represented nor that they do not influence decisions made by those institutions. See chapter 1, page 16.

[308] (Interview, elderly woman and SEVACA member, Dumisa, 8 April 2006).

Again, and atypical of conservation initiatives in the Corridor, another institutional structure was formed. This is an advisory body called the Advisory Committee. Although constituted at the inception of the initiative, this committee remained docile for the first 2 years.[309] Two years after this docility, however, SAFIRE (2003) points out that "the Advisory committee has become so authoritative that it often challenges or even reverses decisions made by the SEVACA executive committee, which became a cause of concern (2003:13). It therefore, goes without saying that instead of working directly with already existing local institutional structures in the Corridor, the SEVACA initiative created other strata of parallel structures with overlapping mandates to the existing ones generating conflicts and increasing bureaucracy at local level.[310] Again, the contention is that such claims that the SEVACA initiative establishes institutional structures, which are consistent with the needs and aspirations of local people is seeking legitimacy at local level.

As in the case of the MITI and the GLTFCA initiatives, the trend to create new structures, which generate effects that seem to suggest polarizing already existing institutions and increasing bureaucracy continued in the SEVACA initiative. When bureaucracy on the one hand is strengthened by such conservation initiatives in the Corridor, conflicts among institutions at local level also increase. Certainly, such interventions limit the participation and access to benefits by local people. When I asked members of the SEVACA initiative about its effects on their livelihoods, a middle aged former secretary said:

> SAFIRE *yakanaka inoita kuti isu vanamai tiwane mukana wekuti tibudurire. Izvozvi tavekukwanisa kuzvimiririra. Tinoendesa vana kuchikoro, kutenga mabhuku nezvishandiswa mumba kubva kumari yatinowana ku* SEVACA.
> SAFIRE is a good organization because it provides us [women] with an opportunity to improve our livelihood. Now we can stand on our own. We manage to send our children to school, buy books and household necessities from income we generate from the SEVACA initiative (pers.comm, former Secretary SEVACA, Pahlela, 8 June 2006).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

[309] The Advisory Committee composes local leaders in the Corridor (the chief, Headman, Councilors and Government employees).
[310] Structures such as the VIDCO, WADCO, CAMPFIRE Committees and or local leaders.

SEVACA acquired a 1 tone open truck, constructed an office at Malipati, connected a telephone line and employed 9 local people.[311] A number of training sessions were arranged by SAFIRE and other actors such as CESVI and the Ministry of Youth Development, Gender and Employment Creation (MYDGEC), for SEVACA members and their employees.[312] With time, SEVACA became a learning point to other women's initiatives in the Southeast Lowveld. Sharing her views on the successes of the SEVACA initiative, a middle aged SEVACA member pointed out that: "In 2003, we hosted a group of 12 women from Beit Bridge district and discussed how we operate our business. We also went around 4 village based groups to show them how we produce our craft to improve their quality, which was poorer than ours".[313]

SAFIRE with its seemingly high propensity to developing Community Resource Management Plans (CRMPs) facilitated one for the Corridor.[314] It also incorporated conservation activities implemented by other agencies such as CESVI into the plan. Typical of not embracing failure in its area of focus, SAFIRE blames the lack of financial resources for this non operating CRMP in the Corridor and not its inappropriateness. One concerned field officer for a local NGO has this to say: "We developed a CRMP for Sengwe. But I do not know why we need this tool when traditional [local] institutions are managing the resources using other methods. Is it a problem for SAFIRE to work with local institutions?"[315] The CRMPs developed under the SEVACA initiative remain obsolete within the GLTFCA arena. The fact remains that, it never worked.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

311 Employees include an Office manager, Book keeper, driver and Conservation Enforcers and Resource monitors Three Conservation Enforcers and Resource monitors were appointed by the Chiredzi Rural District Council to monitor resource use and management.

312 Training was provided in: Role of committee members; Costing, pricing and marketing; quality control; natural resources assessment and management; Business Book keeping and Business Management.

313 (Interview with middle aged woman, SEVACA member, Davata, 4 March 2006).

314 A community resource management plan (CRMP), which is usually presented as a matrix in SAFIRE, defines the rules, actions, strategies and regulations that govern the management of natural resources in a particular area. It also shows responsibilities for specific identified actions and determines the time span for such actions followed by regular reviews.

315 (Interview with middle aged man, CESVI Project Officer, Davata, Sengwe, 1 November 2006).

Scholars such as Odero (2004) make assertions from an outsider's point of view (rather postulations). This thesis disputes such merits regarding the MITI and SEVACA initiatives. For example, he says:

> SEVECA has made major strides through increased ability to respond to the market through quality improvement. With assistance from SAFIRE, the group also established Village Resource Management Committees (VRMCs), which are responsible for drawing up natural resource management plans for their villages. The association liaises with the VRMCs to regulate the off-take of resources from the woodland (2004:10).

By the second year of its implementation, SEVACA was already experiencing a negative cash flow (SAFIRE, 2003:12). The former secretary of SEVACA concurs that: "Things were not moving because buyers were not forthcoming and it was costly to transport craft from producer groups to the center".[316] Figures provided by SAFIRE (2003), however, show that total sales through SEVACA were Z$155,000 (15,5%), while that through other channels was Z$1,000,500 (84,5%), illustrating the irrelevance of the SEVACA initiative relative to the unformalized ongoing marketing. In other words, selling craft through the association lead to a reduction of income to women in the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Typical of the MITI initiative that claims increases in real incomes for households, the SEVACA records only show incomes and do not reflect any sense of business reporting to include costs. In this regard, SAFIRE (2003) laments that: "Income levels increased by over 100% and could have surpassed the target had it not been for the slump in tourism the country [Zimbabwe] is undergoing" (2003:21). A constructed image of a profiteering initiative is shown here albeit the true accounting of incomes. I have illustrated how some of these figures are reached at in my discussion of the MITI initiative. Not only were the sales from craft much lower than expected but other infrastructural drawbacks contribute to the poor performance of the SEVACA initiative. SAFIRE consorts that:

> The level of infrastructural development in Sengwe is still far from being desirable. The roads are in bad shape causing frequent breakdowns onto the projects vehicle. These breakdowns in turn cause cancellation or rescheduling of planned activities. Communication networks are the worst. It

[316] Interview with middle aged SEVACA former Secretary, Pahlela 8 June 2006.

> is for example, very expensive to arrange a single executive committee meeting (SAFIRE, 2003:20).

From the outset, there were no remedies put in place to reduce the effects of the infrastructural drawbacks mentioined in the quote above. Without such remedies, chances for the SEVACA initiative to be a self-sustaining business and empower women in the Corridor are hard to attain. In other words, the SEVACA initiative in this regard did not achieve all its objectives.

Three years into its implementation, SEVACA was not able to encourage all its members to actively produce and market craft through the Association. Results from my survey show that 87% of women in the Corridor, harvest *Ilala* palm, produce and market craft regardless of their membership to SEVACA. To add, and according to records at the Malipati office, in 1999, at Puzani craft producer group, only 3 women out of a membership of 27 were actively producing crafts (SEVACA, 2000). It also shows that groups that operated far from the Malipati craft center such as those in Makanani, Gezani, Bondela, Pukupela and Gwaivhi, recorded nil sales through the Association because they were inaccessible. They continued selling their craft through other channels (also refered to as side marketing) instead of the craft centre. Already, the establishment of the initiative was not generating incentives to the already disadvantaged - the other producers by making them inaccessible. Regarding this situation, SAFIRE says:

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

> It must be noted however that although business performance is not that bright for SEVACA as an association, individual members of the association have actually recorded significant increases in income through craft sales. They have managed to penetrate the regional market especially the neighboring Mozambican market. Members have entered this market either as individuals or as smaller groups (SAFIRE, 2003:18).

What is suggested in the quote above is that new markets were being developed or accesed. Even this claimed market penetration turned out not to be true. Respondents said that they were selling craft in South Africa and Mozambique before the inception of SEVACA in the Corridor. An elderly woman and former chairperson of SEVACA confirmed that:

> I always traveled to South Africa and Mozambique illegally [crossing at points where there are no official border posts or through official crossing points but without valid papers], to sell my craft, before SEVACA project was implemented here. I could go as far as Durban to sell mats, baskets

> and hats. These products are in demand during the months of October through to end of November. I realized that this is the hottest time of the year and hats sell fast. Tourists who visit the beach not only want the hats to protect themselves from the sun but other craft like mats and baskets to take home as souvenir (Interview with former Chairperson, SEVACA, Pahlela, 8 June, 2006).

To claim that women penetrated the regional market is indeed treacherous. Despite this claim, SAFIRE further contradicts itself by writing that:

> Because of the harsh economic conditions and drought, [that] some members of SEVACA broke their own constitution in search of survival strategies. Some members crossed the border into neighboring Mozambique with their items where they fetched fairly competitive prices. This meant that they resisted selling their crafts through the association, which offered lower prices. Sales records show that the bulk of craft products were sold through direct sales instead of selling through the association (SAFIRE, 2003:20).

On the one hand, it is the same agency that reports about infrastructural hindrances that should be eased in accessing other SEVACA groups. On the other, it claims that marketing through an association provides better leverage to bargain for better prices and access more lucrative markets. This inconsistency in conservation discourse and reporting is not uncommon. Equally challenged in this thesis is the claim that the quality of "craft by Sengwe women has increased by over 100%" by SAFIRE (2003:21).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

At one time, for instance, there was a Japanese buyer who wanted a specific basket made, provided a sample and placed an order of 100 baskets. On her return, she found that that SEVACA women had instead of matching the provided sample produced larger baskets. When asked about the reason why they changed the order, they said that: "We thought her basket sample was too small and decided to increase its size".[317] Devastated, the buyer did not purchase any baskets. This case brings up the skepticism about exposing local people to the private sector. The buyer invested time and money traveling, to bring the sample but was unsuccessful in acquiring the order. This scenario affirms Odero's (2004) argument that "... these opportunities [new economic] must be weighed against the risks to which companies [private sector], like communities [local people], may be exposed" (2004:16).

[317] Interview with elderly SEVACA member, Pahlela, 6 June 2006.

The design of the SEVACA initiative, stipulates that is to be handed over to Sengwe women during the third year (2003) of its implementation. This did not happen as planned. Tension became intense in late 2003 between SEVACA leadership and SAFIRE due to delays to handover the SEVACA vehicle and remnant funds to its members. On the one hand the donor (Terres de homes) delayed to release finances to facilitate this process. The former SEVACA driver had harsh words about SAFIRE. He said that:

> Although our vehicle had a mechanical problem, why did SAFIRE stay with it for 4 months? Why did it also delay giving us our money? I know it was playing around and it made profits from the interest. You [referring to me as an affiliate to SAFIRE then], were using our car and further wrecking it, because when you returned it, was grounded within 1 month on the same diff problem. We could not repair it and that is why we had to sell it anyway. We know you NGOs. You are clever [seemingly to mean crooks] (pers.com, middle aged former secretary SEVACA, Malipati, 11 August, 2006).

While SAFIRE claims that the training it provided is 'need based' to transform SEVACA into a 'self-managing business entity' (SAFIRE, 2003:14), what happened suggests otherwise. After the handover, the SEVACA executive committee agreed to report on a monthly basis on activities and expenditure to SAFIRE. However, SAFIRE continued to extend support suggesting that it neither performed to expectations nor empowered women in the Corridor. All this was done to shift attention from the fact that the initiative did not generate intended effects on the livelihoods of Sengwe women. Within this context, claims in reports produced by SAFIRE hardly merit credibility. I argue that NGOs negotiate for funding and implement conservation initiatives such as the SEVACA to facilitate capital flows, broker for legitimacy with relevant actors to meet their organizational goals and not to empower women.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Besides the tensions above, I also learned during my fieldwork that at local level misuse of the initiative assets was also going on. According to one disgruntled elderly member of SEVACA, the vehicle was being abused by some members without the knowledge of the executive committee. She said: "The Driver and two other members are trading other merchandise to Mozambique. They always overload it. The car no longer gets regular service and it is traveling long distances on very rough roads. That is why the vehicle's rear diff always has a problem" (Interview with elderly SEVACA

member, Malipati, 11 March, 2006).

Not only had the executive committee lost loci of its authority but the advisory committee as well. Internal squabbles increased as SEVACA prematurely terminated contracts of employees when they started to demand hefty compensation which the initiative could not afford. The demise of the tourism industry and political disintegration in the Zimbabwe sector contributed to the further decline in the SEVACA initiative and to a standstill initiative in the Corridor. These findings are similar to those in Lesotho found by Ferguson (1997) that some unintended effects of the Tshaba Tsheka intervention generated tension between officials and local people (1997:228-231). And he concludes that:

> ... the development apparatus in Lesotho is not a machine for eliminating poverty that is incidentally involved with the state bureaucracy. Rather, it is a machine for reinforcing and expanding the exercise of bureaucratic state power, which incidentally takes poverty as its point of entry and justification – launching an intervention that may have no effect on poverty but does have other concrete effects. At the same time, a development project can effectively squash political challenges to a system, ... a kind of anti-politics machine ...to suspend politics from even the most sensitive political operations ... (1997:232).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Ferguson's inferences regarding such initiatives that do not benefit local people brings us to a conclusion that the SEVACA initiative (and the MITI that was experiemental) did not empower women or attain all its objectives.

5.5 Experimental nature of initiatives in development and conservation discourse

The forgoing discussion has, I hope, illustrated the tendency of donors to be formalistic, which in the long term has effects on the start-up of interventions. These delays generate consequences on the ownership of the initiatives. With due considerations, however, donors might not accept and fund a proposal from NGOs without expressing their interests (whether hidden or not) on the other hand. I have also illustrated that not all donors are prescriptive but some are flexible and can adjust to the needs and focus of NGOs, for instance the Netherlands Embassy in the MITI initiative. But where two or more donors fund an initiative, the focal donor to whom the benefiting NGO reports to have

the over authority over its implementation. Not only does it dictate the operational framework, its interests (agendas), terms of funding, but also the reporting structure of the initiative.

It is however possible for NGOs to broker both the financial disbursement and reporting systems for an initiative as illustrated by SAFIRE. In addition, the resilience and ability of the NGO to broker, negotiate meanings and to generate new paradigms in development discourse sustains its legitimacy at all levels. In so doing it not only mobilizes capital flows to attain its vision but facilitates the translation of its donor agendas in initiatives with consequences on the livelihoods of local people. When this is happening, local people are not only guinea pigs in the development experimentation endeavors of donors but they also act as what I call shields to influence capital flows to the implementing agencies (NGOs).[318]

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN

Regarding the flow of capital from donors, I have shown that 60% of finances in the MITI initiative is consumed by the SAFIRE machinery, while 40% finds its way to other operational activities that also include those at local level. In other words, SAFIRE accrues revenue in the form of aid, spends 60% on itself, and then the remainder 40% as lose change on local people and other actors. Accordingly, financial allocations to such initiatives accruing to the local people seem to suggest the level of commitment of such development interventions in conservation and NGO discourse. Yet they (local people) are indeed, constituencies that NGOs draw legitimacy. Thus, irrespective of their niche and whether or not interventions make an impact, NGOs are concerned with their survival.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

At the same time, not only do local people have the ability to analyze legitimacy and development agency expectations, from interventions, but act accordingly for material gain – another form of participation in development (see Chambers *et al*, 1998). Conservation initiatives in development discourse do not always deserve the merits they claim to achieve. I illustrated that

[318] In the MITI initiative, donors are experimenting on natural resource based enterprises albeit promoting gender and women in conservation implied in the objectives of the initiatives.

claims of achievements are a construct of the intended effects rather than a reflection of reality, and a creation of images that justifies funding of new development approaches and paradigms. It can be argued therefore that the promotion of natural resource based enterprises under MITI and SEVACA in the Corridor, do not foster the improvement of the livelihoods of women. Both the SEVACA, MITI, like the GLTFCA, has not only established new institutions at local level but has increased bureaucracy in conservation of natural resources in the Corridor generating conflicts. In the following chapter, I discuss the effects of such institutions, their jurisdictions, and authority as they interact and their effects on the livelihoods of local people in the Corridor.

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Chapter 6

"Kicking us on the stomach"

This chapter builds on chapters four and five. It engages one of the major contentions of this thesis that: the planning and implementation of Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) are top-down, polarizes local institutions creating imbalances of power that generates conflicts among actors. And the rhetoric of 'socio-economic improvement' and 'participation' of local people conceals the hegemony in the planning and implementation of the GLTFCA. Considerations are on the oversights of the GLTFCA's plan, which has also overlooked gender and women empowerment in conservation discourse. By presenting empirical material that explores the importance of resources for different users, the chapter provides and identifies potential impediments to the existing institutional framework for resource access. Particular attention is given to Chief Sengwe the local leader to illustrate how such powerful individuals and their councils are excluded from the implementation of the GLTFCA intervention.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

On 11 March 2006, around 08:00hrs in the morning, I picked up two National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (NPWMA) officials (the Warden and Senior Warden), from their Gonarezhou National Park offices to attend a meeting. I organized this meeting to discuss issues around governance in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA) Zimbabwe sector with local leaders at the Malipati guest house. Chief Sengwe extended his apologies to me the day before, when I went round in the Corridor to confirm the meeting was on to all invited guests. The chief was invited to attend another meeting in Chiredzi town. This was not unusual as impromptu meetings called by the Zimbabwe National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) district and provincial party structures were the order of the day.[319]

[319] I explain Chief Sengwe's position that is politically challenging on page 182.

Because the two wardens from the NPWMA and I arrived earlier than other attendants, we started talking about events in the GLTFCA. When I asked them about access to natural resources and associated conflicts, the Senior Warden said: "Elephants are causing destruction on vegetation not local people" (11 March 2006). Regarding a sense of ownership of conservation initiatives by local people in the Corridor, the Senior Warden told me that local people treat initiatives with mistrust. "There are a lot of white elephants here in Sengwe", the Senior Warden explained.[320] He continued saying that:

> Look at what is happening in Manjinji, the World Vision which was working with the community installed a windmill to improve water supply in the area and handed it over to them a year ago [2005]. Now that it has broken down, the community is busy writing letters to the World Vision requesting it to supply spare parts and repair the windmill. When you look at the whole thing [implementation of this initiative], communities were even trained in maintenance works so that they can repair the windmill whenever it breaks down. They were also organized to have a functional management committee, which is responsible for mobilizing a maintenance support fund from community members in Manjinji. Up to now no one is keen to contribute any money to this fund. The World Vision is no longer operating here, what are they going to do [local people]? Who is going to repair the fallen apart windmill? One thing they are forgetting is that it is not the World Vision that drinks water coming from that windmill after all (11 March, 2006).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In his explanation, the warden regards the broken down windmill as a white elephant irrespective that efforts to repair it were underway as I later got to know. He however, provided no clue as to why people treat interventions with mistrust or in this case, by not committing themselves financially to repair the windmill. It later turned out that there was Z$400,000 (officially equivalent to US$100 at that time), which then was only sufficient to cover bus-fare to Chiredzi town only. One disgruntled middle aged man who is a pump minder at Manjinji says: "We make contributions but people are now tired. Inflation is destroying our effort because each time we raise something, tomorrow it is worthless" (Interview with middle aged male, Pump Minder, Manjinji, 7 April 2006).[321]

---

[320] He was referring to structures that were left behind after implementation of development interventions that are no longer being utilized for a number of reasons.

[321] Zimbabwe's government began to release inflation figures in February after the country switched to using multiple currencies when hyperinflation -- which reached at least 231 million percent in July last year [2008] -- rendered the local dollar unusable. (Newzimbabwe.com, 05/30/2009).

When I further asked the two parks authorities about local institutions responsible for conservation in the Corridor and how they function, at first, they both laughed. Then I asked them the reason for laughing. The Senior Warden answered saying that: "Look, each initiative brings along its institutional requirements, within which it is supposed to operate and to collaborate with existing institutions. This, I think, is not necessary because they [development initiatives], always take for granted already existing systems of managing natural resources at local level" (11 March, 2006). This brought in cynicism about the governance of the GLTFCA and their positions as authorities regarding the governance structure of the GLTFCA, and what was happening on the ground. Immediately, I asked them about the GLTFCA structure, how it is organized and operating. Their tone suddenly changed.

In his reply, the Park Warden defended the GLTFCA governance in place that: "What do you expect when we are now talking about a multinational project [initiative]? There are three governments involved in this project, so the local institutional structures have to be reconstituted" (11 March, 2006). In my thoughts I wondered how existing institutions might be reconstituted and each time there is a new initiative. Here the park authorities suggest the GLTFCA is exempted from working with local institutions in their original form or status, because it is an initiative that involves more than one government.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The cynicism shown by the parks authorities is not untypical of the GLTFCA policy, which introduced other institutional strata increasing bureaucracy in the governance of natural resources. These new strata generated conflicts among actors. In his speech delivered at Inwent-IUCN Workshop on Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa into Guidance and Networking (18-20 June 2003), Fakir, argues that: "... TFCAs can easily transform themselves from monuments of prosperity to exclusion and abandonment of the hopes of many of the poor who have tied or anchored their future to these vehicles of resource mobilization and development" (2003:1).

As a starting point, let me look at how Chief Sengwe views development initiatives regarding conservation in the Corridor.

> We have never stopped any development project here even those we knew from the beginning they are going to fail. Even your MITI and SEVACA projects especially the crèches [referring directly to me and the initiatives implemented by SAFIRE, an NGO which I was affiliated to-see chapter 1 and 5], we knew these do not work here but as usual, would gain something when these projects finally come to an end. It has always been the trend here. As far as I can see, the transfrontier [referring to the GLTFCA], is a once-a-life-time monster because it is going to take us away from our homes, our land and all our inheritance. The wild animals will have their freedom, the tourists can see them without being disturbed by our presence, and the hunters will kill wildlife as they please, while the lodges reap all the profits. Where are we, in this mathematics [meaning formulation, situation or puzzle]? Is this development supposed to be? Now you see, this is what they really want [while pointing his finger to the ground and stressing his argument] (Interview with Chief Sengwe, 28 March 2006).

Chief Sengwe brings out important issues about: i) the effects of development initiatives and institutional behavior of the agencies; ii) the ability of local people to forecast the end results (effects) of initiatives in their area; iii) the dispossession of land and other resources from local people that evokes the colonial period characterized by appropriation, and more importantly; iv) the commoditization of wildlife for the promotion of tourism which he suggests to disregard the socio-economic welfare of local people. His view of development (conservation in particular), as a failure in the Sengwe prefecture is brought up in the statement that says: "this has always been the trend here" (28 March 2006).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Chief Sengwe's metaphor of the GLTFCA as a-life-time monster illustrates not only the effect of the initiative on relocation but also portrays an image of the magnitude of the initiative's power over that of local institutions. This brings up the context of asymmetries of power among actors in the Corridor that has created conflicts. He asks two pertinent questions: "Is this how development is supposed to be?" And "where are we [local people], in this initiative?" According to Chief Sengwe, while local people are able to determine the effects of other initiatives in the Corridor, as far as the GLTFCA is concerned, they only realized later that their perceptions to gain something after the initiative ends are defeated. Let me bring up the attention of the reader to the position of Chief Sengwe, who is also a focus of my discussion in this chapter.

6.1 Chief Sengwe

Chief Sengwe's position is politically challenging. He is the paramount chief in the Sengwe area and represents traditional leaders in parliament.[322] As a resident within the preferred (by local people) 5km radius to the Limpopo River, he shall be relocated from the current homestead to establish the proposed Corridor. Over a number of times, he was accused by the ZANU PF government of supporting the opposition in Zimbabwe. It became public knowledge that his monthly allowance and that of other chiefs in Chiredzi district were stopped by the government for being sympathetic to the opposition.[323] He, however, received packages designed for chiefs from the government. See chapter 2, page 70. When I asked him about these government gifts he has acquired, he replied with a question that: "if it was you, were you going to reject them?", and I said "No. I was going to take them". "Then that is it" he closed the subject of discussion.[324]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The increased presence of government state agents, the police and the army raised suspicion about security in the Zimbabwe context. It should be brought to the attention of the reader that immediate response by the chief, to calls to attend meetings by ZANU PF authorities is indeed to protect his legacy and should not be interpreted to mean allegiance to that political machinery. His attitude to outsiders is skeptical. However, because of the trust he built towards me and his knowledge that I will present his ideas in my thesis, he provided answers to most of my questions saying: "There are too many eyes watching me and ears that want to hear even my cough [he said laughing], but I trust you anyway" (28 March 2006). As I mentioned on page 39, chapter 2, I missed a number of appointments with him due to impromptu meetings that kept him traveling away from his constituency too often.[325]

---

[322] A paramount chief is the highest-level traditional (usually tribal) chief or political leader in a regional or local polity or country typically administered politically with a chief-based system http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paramount_chief accessed 24 June 2009.

[323] Although traditional leaders hold largely ceremonial powers they still wield immense influence in rural areas. Chiefs are currently getting allowances of Z$2 million a month while headmen are getting Z$1 million a month. Chief Ziki of Bikita, Chief Masivamele and Chief Sengwe all from Chiredzi had their allowances withdrawn over the past two months after the government accused them of backing the MDC. See (http://www.zimonline.co.za/Article.aspx?ArticleId=1749, Thursday 26 July 2007).

[324] "Coercion, backed up by the distribution of incentives to select groups, dominated the rules of the game" by the ZANU PF government (Dorman, 2003:863).

[325] I also illustrated in preceding chapter 2 and 3 that the authority of chiefs in the Zimbabwe sector resonated as the government of the day so decides and seemingly in response to waning support.

Much debate still rages on how to implement the already formulated GLTFCA policy, especially in the Zimbabwe sector. Regardless of financial constraints, concern is on how representative or informed the policy formulation process is looking at what is happening on the ground especially regarding the establishment of the Corridor. The chapter at one level seeks to assist in analyzing this concern, yet at another it broadens to develop globalization of governance as hidden in the development of TFCAs such as the GLTFCA. We are reminded by writers such as Williams (2003) and Wolmer (2003), who stand out among many authors to illustrate that the relationship between aid and conservation is problematic. As such I raise the issue about donors and their role in the implementation of the GLTFCA.[326]

Donors have an influence on the rate at which the GLTFCA is implemented. For instance, progress in Zimbabwe was reported as slow by the other two parties (South Africa and Mozambique). In its March 2004 newsletter, the Kruger2canyons.com reported that: "Multilateral agencies and conservation groups are refusing to fund the Zimbabwean component of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park".[327] The source says the World Bank, the European Union and other conversation groups have refused funding "until things change politically in Zimbabwe" (ibid: 2008). It was also during the same period, that the German government provided around £9 million for the GLTFCA initiative under the condition that it is spent in South Africa and Mozambique and not Zimbabwe (see Wolmer, 2003:260).[328] Indeed, he adds, "by definition, transboundary initiatives provided a regional rather than national focus and thus allowed donors to channel money into the region that they were politically unable or unwilling to give to Zimbabwe alone" (2003:268). Hardly surprising then that with economic challenges and relatively low financial reserves of its own, Zimbabwe might not be able to invest in the GLTFCA and work according the implementation plan.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

---

[326] See page 76-77.

[327] See (www.Kruger2canyons.com accessed 1 August, 2008).

[328] See page 52-53 above. The donors are demanding the restoration of the rule of law, respect for property rights, upholding of human rights, a roll-out of credible democratic reforms and macro-economic stabilisation before giving money to government. The country [Zimbabwe], battling to even meet the civil service salary bill from its depleted coffers, is unlikely to afford repayment of outstanding arrears with the IMF. (The Financial Gazette, Thursday, 14 May 2009).

Wolmer (2003), points out to an important argument regarding the planning and implementation of TFCAs in Africa. He says:

> As large scale regional planning and investment initiatives [like the GLTFCA] spanning differing institutional frameworks and with varying degrees of collaboration between the state, private sector and civil society they superimpose further layers of politics and raise important questions about power, control, authority, accountability and legitimacy at a variety of scales (Wolmer, 2003:1 my emphasis).

The quotation above by Wolmer, gives a starting point to further examine the governance, which include relevant institutional structures regulating access to and utilization of natural resources, and their interactions in the Corridor. In the following sections I critically look at the decision making processes, how these are implemented and the existence of systems for power sharing. Considerations are on how decision-makers are held accountable, the existence of conflicts and how actors react to or resolve these.

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Conflicts in the GLTFCA arena emerged from the outset of its implementation that led to hostility among local people towards conservation initiatives in the Corridor. Escobar (1995), writes that resistance was [is] one of the many ways in which the third world groups [in this case Sengwe local people] attempted to create new identities [what I call inhibitors of economic progress] (1995:216). These findings are similar to those amoung Malayan peasant farmers who adjusted to changing policy and legislation, which threatened their sources of livelihoods in Sedaka village (Scott, 1985).[329] As Chief Sengwe observes:

> When we started the CAMPFIRE program, many organizations came and we organized meetings with local leaders at village and ward level to discuss the project. It was transparent as far as I can see it. Our local Spirit medium, Puzani was consulted too. Traditional rituals were performed before the project could be implemented. Now you see this is what we always do.... The GLTFCA is like a thief. It came unexpectedly. We were mislead and then taken by surprise. This is not good. So, is this what you call consultation? Is this the best way of making people participate? How do you expect the community to participate when you want them to be removed from this place [to create the Corridor]? (Interview with Chief Sengwe, Sengwe, 8 May 2006).

The remarks above by Chief Sengwe, tell us that the impasse started at the initial consultation stage, in the implementation of the GLTFCA. Major issues

[329] See page 61, chapter 2.

he raises here are on: i) Consultation, compliance with local protocol and respect for local institutions; ii) Transparency; iii) Local people being misled and not taken along the roll out of the GLTFCA initiative; and iv) the involvement (participation) and cooperation of local people in the intervention. His views of the lack of transparency are in his statements that say: "The GLTFCA is like a thief. It came unexpectedly. We were taken by surprise" (8 May 2006). These statements seem to suggest that although they realized that they were not sufficiently consulted and at the same time misled, they do not have authority to contest. This takes us to the discussion on governance in the GLTFCA.

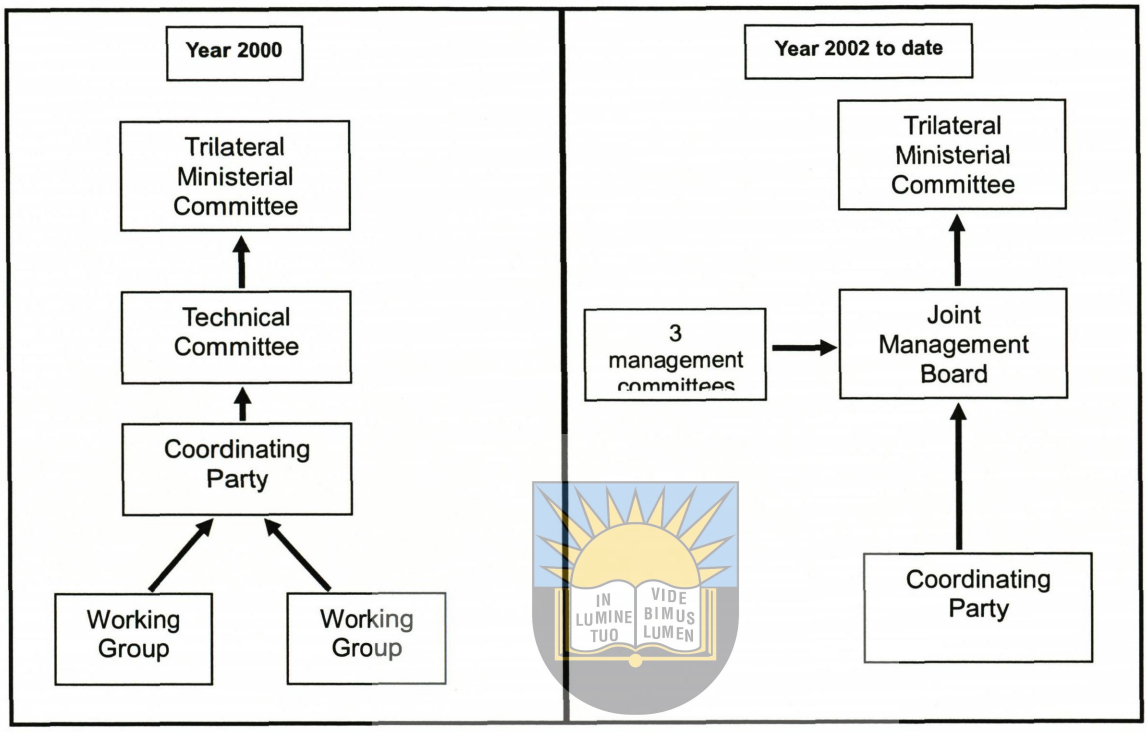
6.2 Governance of natural resources in the GLTFCA arena

The situation (in the Zimbabwe sector) of local people living within the Corridor is uncertain. Although debates continue they await relocation which has not taken place almost 8 years after the GLTFCA Treaty was signed. But local people do not know to where, when and under what conditions they will be relocated because communication has been absent from the authorities albeit rhetoric about the importance "... to disseminate accurate information to quell understandable fears in communities about forced relocation and dampen any unrealistic expectations about the benefits the park will bring to the communities" (GLTP Treaty, 2002:10).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This section brings us to the different levels of actors and strata of institutions as they are involved in the planning and implementation of the GLTFCA. That is from the household (as an institution), village, ward, and district, national, regional and global level. Focus is on what institutions and power exists and how it is exercised to influence the development of TFCAs. I start by looking at the governance structure as the GLTFCA policy dictates, then move on to the local governance structures in the Corridor. See figure 6.1, below.

Figure 6.1: The governance structure of the GLTFCA (2000, and 2002 to date)



Key: ——→ Direction of reporting

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Source: GKG Conceptual Plan (2000), GLTFCA Treaty (2002).

In the figure 6.1 above, arrows show the direction of reporting by the different institutions in the GLTFCA governance structure. What matters is however, an understanding of their jurisdictions (Murphree, 2004:6), issues surrounding accountability (Paavola and Adger, 2005:356; Ribot, 2004:3) and their effectiveness (Narayan, 2000:115; Ribot, 2004:17). Let me move on to discuss how the above GLTFCA structures and institutions evolved, and look at how their loci of authority is exercised in the development of the Corridor.

After the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding among the three parties in 2000, the first GLTFCA governance structure was commissioned. It had a four tier strata composing the Trilateral Ministerial Committee (see article 8 of the GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000) at the top, followed by the Technical Committee (article 9), the Coordinating Party (article 10), and at the bottom but lastly the Working Group (article 11). This structure was operational only for 2 years. In 2002, the Xai-Xai Treaty, established a three

tier strata with the Ministerial Committee (article 10) at the top, followed by a Joint Management Board (article 11) and Coordinating Party (article 12), at the bottom.

The roles and authority of the Trilateral Ministerial Committee remain unchanged as the overall policy body that monitored progress in the implementation of action plans for the Transfrontier Park among other responsibilities.[330] Decisions made by the members were by consensus (see GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000:8). Reporting to the Trilateral Ministerial Committee was the Technical Committee, composed of senior representatives of the Competent Authorities and/or their respective Ministries of the Parties. Like those of the Trilateral Ministerial Committee, decisions of the Technical Committee were by consensus. Chaired on a rotational basis, members met at least twice a year, or more frequently, depending on the urgency of the issues tabled for discussion.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The Technical Committee, however, was dissolved in 2002 and replaced by the Joint Management Board that reports to the Trilateral Ministerial Committee.[331] It consists of eight members with the following representatives: i) two from each of the National Implementing Agencies of the Parties; ii) one from the national institutions responsible for borderline control of the Parties; and iii) one appointed as deemed fit by each of the Parties. Suffice is to say that unavoidably, representation of local people is not possible at this interface, within the Trilateral Ministerial and the Technical committee as well as the Joint Management Board level.

Reporting to the Joint Management Board are three management committees which provide advisory services on conservation, safety and security, finance, human resources, legislation and tourism. The Coordinating Party is claimed to promote accountability and sustain momentum in the Transfrontier Park implementation process (see Xai-Xai Treaty, 2002:8). Among other roles, it ensures that: an effective Joint Management Board is maintained, with full

[330] These roles and authority are stated in both the GKG Conceptual plan, (2000:7) and the Xai-Xai Treaty, (2002:8).
[331] See article 11 of the Xai-Xai Treaty of 2002.

representation by all the Parties and that a working programme focused on achieving the objectives of the Transfrontier Park is sustained. (ibid: 2002:9).

At the lowest level of the old institutional structure was the Working Group, composing of representatives appointed by the Competent Authorities of the Parties and/or representatives delegated by the relevant Ministries of the Parties.[332] In this tier, representation of local people in each country having one Working Group is instituted. The three of them make up the Tri-nation Community Representative Committee (TRINCRECO). From the outset, while TRINCRECO accepted to be incorporated into the governance structure of the conservation area, it however, expressed concern that: it "... would make more sense if its interests could be protected from through establishment of its membership on the Joint Management Board ... and that such a membership be maintained on a permanent basis to exercise regarding the conceptualization of new and concrete ideas...". [333] It seems the TRINCRECO representatives identified the gap in the authority by this committee and were lobbying for such. However, this did not yield any results because no representation was granted by authorities.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In spite of its existence, and although making recommendations are guaranteed, TRINCRECO receives guidance and supervision from the Technical Committee regarding its activities. The Working Group is entitled to ensure full participation by all appropriate actors in the preparation of policy recommendations, resource management plans, and other relevant documents relating to the initiative.[334] It also liaises and collaborates with other relevant regional initiatives, such as the Maputo Development Corridor, in the establishment, development and management of the Transfrontier Park (GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000:8-9). While there is a structure that seems to represent local people, it does not support that they make any decisions; hence the implementation of recommendations from members is not guaranteed. Let me turn to experiences in the Tanzania and Kenya's

[332] See GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000:10-11)
[333] See www.tbpa.net/workshops, accessed, 20 September 2006.
[334] See section 11 of the GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000:10-11).

Kilimanjaro Heartland TBNRM looking at its governance structure before I go on to discuss views by my respondents in the GLTFCA prefecture.

In 2001, Muruthi and Frohardt, analyzed transboundary natural resource management efforts in the Tanzania and Kenya sectors in terms of the social, political, cultural and institutional context. Their *Study on the Development of Transboundary Natural Resource Management Areas in Africa: Kilimanjaro Heartland Case Study,* 2001, chronicles the conservation experience. Recounting at a period of over 30 years in which the Africa Wildlife Foundation (AWF) was operating in Amboseli-Longido area, they elucidate that the applicability of transboundary natural resource management is elusive. They argue that "the opportunity costs of wildlife game and protected areas are fairly high to local people, in terms of lack of access to water, user rights and lack of or limited shared revenue" (ibid: 2001:14).

However, in contrast to the GLTFCA policy, they show how the March 1998 enacted wildlife policy in Tanzania (Wildlife Utilization section, item 2.4.3:10), that facilitates the decentralization of wildlife management at local level through the establishment of wildlife management areas (WMA).[335] At village level, wildlife management is selected as a land use and economic activity thus providing opportunities for strong local control (2001:12-13).[336] Because, the Heartland area covers private ranches, they joined up to form a Wildlife Association (for example the Amboseli-Tsavo Group Ranch Wildlife Association).[337] This has not been the case in the Corridor where only conservancies and protected areas fully participate.

In the Kilimanjaro heartland prefecture, it is claimed that "traditionally under-represented voices (women for example)" are considered by employing women (2001:34). However, no attempt is given to provide the numbers of

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

335 Section 3.3.8:22 – Recognizing the intrinsic value of wildlife to rural people and section 3.3.9 – Sharing of benefits also provide opportunities for benefits accruing to local levels (see Tanzania, 1998: 10, 22-23).

336 This situation is similar to what used to happening in the Corridor during the implementation of the CAMPFIRE initiative in Zimbabwe sector (see page 2).

337 These are similar to the Conservancies in the Zimbabwe sector (see page 10). But these are under threat as government policy. In Kenya there are group ranches that are established under the Group Lands Representative Act of 1968 (sub section 4), which provides for group titles and user rights over land resources (2 Muruthi and Frohardt, 2001:15).

those employed or their level of income. So, to conclude that under-represented voices are included does not tell us anything besides a step taken towards ensuring "a balanced representation of stakeholders" (ibid). They conclude that the policy environment although slow to accommodate the speedy development of the Heartland initiative, is supportive of the TBNRM concept. This brings us back to the discussion on the GLTFCA governance structure.

My respondents of different age groups and gender in the Corridor said that they know of the existence of the GLTFCA institutional structures but are not satisfied with their effectiveness and representation. Comments such as those below show this:

- They always decide on what to do but we do not always follow what they want (Interview with elderly man, Pahlela, 6 June 2006).
- We just wait for them to tell us what to do (Interview with middle aged man, local leader, ex-councilor, Sengwe, 4 March 2005).
- We do not know what there is for us in this transfrontier - *Ahitivi kuri kune yini shahina/ ahitivi kuri hingaphuneka hiyini kona kwale* (Interview with middle aged man, CAMPFIRE Committee member, Pahlela, 1 November 2006).
- They always meet in nice hotels to decide our future. They do not even know how we survive here. It is worse this time because we did not vote for the ruling party [ZANU PF], and I know we are paying for that (Interview, middle aged single mother, Sengwe, 19 May 2006).[338]
- After all, it is their project. They are the ones who gain and we suffer (Interview with middle aged woman, Dumisa, 8 April 2006).
- We are fed up with people who always talk as if they represent us when they are there to pursue their agendas (Interview with an 18 year old young man, Chilohlela, 21 April 2006).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

[338] Victimization and victimization of members of the opposition was extensive and beyond control in Zimbabwe sector post the 2000 referendum when the majority of people rejected a government doctored constitution which the electorate viewed as giving much authority to the executive. "Individuals and groups that did not prove loyalty were excluded socially, politically and through violent attacks on their homes and workplaces. This polarization extended into villages, churches and schools" (Dorman, 2003:863).

- They always grow fat while we grow thinner, time after time - S*viphuna varangeli tsena, hina ahikumi tshumu/ varangeli hivona vashurako tsena, hina hile vusiwanini mikari hinkwayo* (Interview with elderly woman, Kotsvi, 14 July 2006).
- They do not respect existing traditional [local] structures [Chief, Headmen and Village Heads] (Interview with elderly man, member of the village council, Dumisa, 8 April 2006).
- Resource management plans are not compiled by us, but by them [referring to SAFIRE]. It is a waste of time giving them anything because they always change them to suit their interests. Look, the Corridor has expanded from 5kms to 15kms and there is talk of 26kms [referring to the concept not compiled by CESVI] (Interview with elderly man, Chief Sengwe's Aide, Davata, 1 September 2006).

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In spite of the knowledge of the existence of the GLTFCA institutional structures, the above quotes, which reflect many other respondents, illustrate the level of dissatisfaction with its governance patterns. Furthermore, they suggest some level of gross mistrust, lack of sharing of information at local level, representation and a sense of disassociation from the GLTFCA initiative by the local people that defeats its conceptualization and policy. Nevertheless, the above quotes also suggest that the GLTFCA governance structure is consistent with the strengthening of bureaucracy that polarizes the decisions made by local people, generates conflicts over access to and utilization of resources and the benefits of the initiative in the Corridor. Sentiments such as "We do not know what there is for us in the transfrontier" by a middle aged male CAMPFIRE Committee member and that: "They do not respect the existing traditional structures" by an elderly male, member of the village council, illustrate the level of redundancy of grassroots authorities and to some extent, lack of hope brought about the GLTFCA governance structure in the Corridor.

On one hand, the GLTFCA proposes to "promote alliances ... by encouraging socio-economic partnerships among local communities ..." (GLTFCA

management plan, 2002:2). On the other, local people have developed bitterness towards any conservation initiatives in the Corridor as one elderly male in Pahlela puts it: "They always decide on what to do but we not always have to do what they want" (6 June 2006).

In addition to the above sentiments, my respondents also believe the polarization of local institutions to be politically motivated. For instance a middle aged single mother said: "It is worse this time because we did not vote for the ruling party [ZANU PF], and are paying for that".[339] Throughout my fieldwork, respondents said that they did not participate in the planning of the GLTFCA but were passive in all aspects of the implementation process. For example, when the initiative changed its status and names from the Gaza-Kruger Gonarezhou (GKG) park, to Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP), and then finally to the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA), local people were not given an opportunity to contribute nor made aware of these processes.[340] Local people also stressed that feedback from authorities although necessary has not been forthcoming and they remained uninformed. One disgruntled elderly woman from Dumisa says:"We need to plan our future, so we need to know what these authorities are discussing about us and the park [GLTFCA]" (8 April 2006).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

My respondents in local leadership positions in the Corridor, argue that it is the Joint Management Board, which continue to make decisions unabated. They said that these decisions always overshadow those of the established Community Working Groups at local level or the TRINCRECO. For instance when I asked them about whether or not they were informed by authorities concerning the launching of the GLTFCA and subsequent translocation of elephants from Kruger to Limpopo National Park, respondents said that no communication was made but they had to flow with events.[341] This persistent

---

339 With waning support to the ZANU PF party by the electorate, the government was operating like a military Junta to get the government machinery running (http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/mar22_2008.html#Z10 21 March, 2008).

340 Similar observations are made by Spierenburg and Wels (2006:10) and also Parry and Campbell (1992:251), in the South African sector. This level of inconsistency by the GLTFCA authorities in the two countries affirms that the planning and implementation of the initiative is consistent with hegemonic development discourse, is top-down and does not promote participation of local people.

341 More than 1100 wild animals were translocated from the Kruger National park to the Limpopo National Park 0n

lack of sharing of information between authorities and local leadership is surprising considering the representation of local people in the governance structure which provides avenues of communication. As one disgruntled elderly man and local leader, says:

> In 2002, we [leadership] got the news last minute that there will be an official opening of the GKG and the former president of South Africa was coming to officiate. Of course some of us as local leaders were picked up by some NGO representatives and attended, but without a clear vision of what was happening (Interview with elderly man and local leader, Sengwe, 13 November 2006).

This quote reveals the gap between the GLTFCA policy rhetoric on the one hand and practice on the other[342] Of this scholars such as Kearney *et al* (1994) have stated, that development "... is a process, by which is meant the creation of social products such as upgraded local leadership, a culture of enterprise and innovative action, or the enhanced capacity of people to act in consent, purposefully and effectively so as to cope with the threats and opportunities they face" (1994:22).[343] Indeed, the capacity of local people to act in consent is suggested by some quotes by local people such as: "After all it is their project" and "They are the ones who gain and we suffer" (see pages 189-190). According to local leaders such as Chief Sengwe, GLTFCA Zimbabwe sector is equivalent to the infliction of pain to local people. He said: "they are kicking us on the stomach".

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

6.3 "Kicking us on the stomach"

It is not only the governance structure that has effects on local institutions but other actors influence the GLTFCA policy. These are the NGOs in the Sengwe prefecture. In relation to issues of representation, power and its related dynamics, local people consider NGOs to having overriding power to influence conservation policy. Inferences by Wolmer (2003) indicate that bilateral and multilateral donors, international NGOs and multinational companies and sub-national entities often by-pass state authority structures (2003:262).[344] In 2006, Duffy made similar argument saying that powerful

---

the 2nd of June and during the first 2 weeks of September 2003, to increasing their populations in Mozambique, while reducing populations in South Africa (see Wolmer, 2003).

342 This thesis recognizes the different types of participation from passive to interactive (see Chambers, 1998).

343 In their work on *EU LEADER I Initiative in Ireland*, 1994.

344 I discussed some of the effects of donors on the implementation of the GLTFCA on page 62.

international conservation NGOs and consultancy companies or facilitating agencies often exercise considerable power in collaborative management arrangements (2006:91-94).[345] A good example is that of the Integrated Tourism Development Plan developed by a private consultant that is the guiding tourism plan for the initiative. See chapter 2, page 43-44.

I have illustrated in chapter 5, that the exigency of donor power is not only expressed in initiatives but in shaping institutional behavior, even within individuals as principals in NGOs. And that it is influential in determining the visions of NGOs in conservation discourse. Another example is that of a former director of CESVI whom I interviewed before I resided in Sengwe for my 8 months fieldwork.[346] During the interview, he requested me to find out any opportunities to support agriculture projects in the Corridor. This was one illustration of divergent interests by NGO agents in the GLTFCA arena that do not reflect people's concerns or priorities. Such divergent interests of NGOs and other players that have been implemented in the Corridor generated conflicts such as the one mentioned by the Rural District Council authority that:

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

> We do not know what CESVI is doing now. It could be in Mozambique, or it has gone regional. I do not understand its motive. It appears there was some fighting over some confusion by the Malilangwe Trust and World Vision during awareness of the GKG" (Interview with Assistant District CAMPFIRE Coordinator, Chiredzi, 22 October 2006).

Even local authorities are not always aware of what is happening on the ground especially among different NGOs working in their areas, as illustrated in the quote above. See chapter 2, page 42.

Apart from facilitating the establishment of new institutional structures in the Corridor on the one hand, NGOs and local people reviewed the performance of these structures and devised ways they could be improved. These platforms, created by NGOs obliged local people to deal publicly with issues of governance, an experience which sometimes was not well represented on the performance of the conventional administrative mechanisms of the state

[345] In chapter 2 I have illustrated the role played by consultants in the GLTFCA arena during the planning stages.
[346] I discussed some of the works of CESVI in the Corridor on page 7 in chapter 1.

(see for instance observations by Vernooy *et al*, 2003:222).[347] On the other hand, NGOs are said to strengthen local peoples' capacity to actively participate in conservation discourse especially as they act as brokers of the GLTFCA initiative among different actors that include the authorities and donors. They also brokered the translation of development terminology and interpretations that bring meaning as well as legitimize initiatives at local level.[348]

Accordingly, NGOs have leverage to influence policy with consequences that seem to suggest promoting the betterment of local people's livelihoods. A distressed chief Sengwe said:

> I blame CESVI. It came here many times. Right now there are 2 Project Officers in Sengwe. What are they doing? Of course, nothing. They took us in their big vehicles moving from place to place. We decided as a community [local people] that the so called Chipise to Sengwe wildlife Corridor be established at a 5km radius from the Limpopo River. We seemed to have understood each other [local people and the NGO authorities] during several meetings here. They went away and the next thing they tell us is that the Corridor is going to run either at 15km or 25km radius [in fact it is 26km]. This is the highest degree of insensitivity of NGOs here. So, who is going to remain in the Corridor? Wild animals have suddenly become more important than people. There lies their interest - *Hisvina vasvirandako*. And they think we are blind - *Vahleketa ku ahisvivoni*. They are kicking us on the stomach - *Vahiraha makhwiri* [He said this hitting the ground with a stick and throwing it away to illustrate his distress], (Interview with Chief Sengwe, Sengwe, 8 May 2006).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This example by Chief Sengwe illustrates how actors such as NGOs bring about conflicts and dissatisfaction among people in the Corridor by "inflicting pain", which is also locally expressed as *Isvi sviyatikomba.* It also raises the important issue about the recognition of rights in the Zimbabwe sector. Section 16 of the Zimbabwe Constitution 2005 under the subsection Protection from deprivation of property, 16.1.a.i, states that:

> (1) ...no property of any description or interest or right therein shall be compulsorily acquired except under the authority of a law that- (a) requires- (i) in the case of land or any interest or right therein, that the acquisition is reasonably necessary for the utilization of that or any other land - B. for purposes of land reorganization, forestry, environmental conservation or the utilization of wild life or other natural resources [and is liable to a reasonable compensation as]; (c) subject to the provisions of subsection (2), requires the acquiring authority to pay fair compensation for the acquisition before or within a reasonable time after acquiring the property,

---

[347] See their work on *Challenges of Participatory Natural Resource Management Research,* 2003.

[348] As I illustrated in chapter 5 on natural resource based enterprises, gender and women empowerment.

interest or right (Zimbabwe, 2005:9 -10).[349]

The acquisition of land in Zimbabwe sector requires the issuance of a legal notice this also applies in the Corridor. But this important step has not been taken, nine years after the signing of the GLTFCA treaty that establishes the Corridor. While it is legal to relocate people under the subsections (d) and (e) it requires the acquiring authority to: "apply to the High Court or some other court if the acquisition is contested; or enables any person whose property has been acquired to apply to the High Court or some other court for the prompt return of the property if the court does not confirm the acquisition, and to appeal to the Supreme Court" (ibid:, 2005:10). Probably there were no such claims because relocation is yet to be conducted.

As the pressure mounts, the Zimbabwe sector has to fulfill its obligations in the establishment of the Corridor to clear any human settlements within. Whether it is politically right or wrong, the Zimbabwean government is accountable to the other Parties in the GLTFCA arena. Statements such as: "What is going on?" by an elderly man and local leader in Sengwe, reflect the absence of transparency among relevant actors. Other local leaders like Chief Sengwe were also not well informed of any relocation plans in place, their rights over land they occupy and or any subsequent compensation to the 740 affected families in the Corridor. The disgruntled chief explained that:

> CESVI took us on a field trip to the Makuleke people across the river [referring to South Africa] and we were able to learn from them on how they benefit from the GLTFCA. Those people [the Makuleke people] have rights to their ancestral land. We do not have that in Zimbabwe and the government can always remove us as and when it pleases. They can even victimize anyone who might want to contest in court our rights to this land. It is impossible to adopt what happens on the South African side. I do not think we will be able to have such rights over the Corridor when we relocate to another area. Only if it was initiated here, then I think that way we can benefit. But our government is deaf and the judiciary heavily politicized - *Hulumende yahina ayi ingisi, emabandla eminawo nawona ane tipolitikisi*. I do not think we will even be compensated. So, who will listen to us? (Interview with Chief Sengwe, Sengwe, 8 May 2006).[350]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

[349] "acquiring authority" means the person or authority compulsorily taking possession of or acquiring the property or the interest of right therein (page 12).

[350] The ZANU PF government "began sidelining independent judges and replacing them with those more acceptable to the regime. Chief Justice Gubbay was forced to resign .... Other senior judges were encouraged to resign by the Attorney General". ... Treatment, which had been restricted to political opponents ..., began to be extended to all non ZANU PF members, nuns and priests, teachers, whites, farm workers, (judges as whites) and urban residents" (Dorman, 2003:858, 856).

Chief Sengwe raises a fundamental issue in the above quote, which is that the issue about human rights in the country is a highly contested arena. A number of reports have shown that the judiciary in Zimbabwe has over a number of times ruled cases in favor of the ZANU PF elites irrespective of the gravity of such cases, against those who are known to be loyal to the opposition.[351] Nonetheless, regarding the Makuleke case whereby the courts granted the land rights (on the Pafuri Triangle), Chief Sengwe was not informed about, the legal battle that transpired between the local people there and the South African National Park (see also Spierenburg and Wels, 2006:6-9). It is reported that the Makuleke people then entered into a partnership with a private company called Wilderness Safaris to collaboratively manage a tourist venture in the Pafuri triangle. The dangers of such partnerships especially at local level are not hard to distill. See also Spierenburg and Wels (2006:295), for instance.

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This according to Spierenburg *et al* (2008), is an unfair concession between the local people and the private company because "the contract does little to hold the private sector partner to a certain level of performance and does not contain clear exit clauses that would allow the Makuleke to extract themselves from an unprofitable relationship" (ibid:2008:92). Indeed, these so-called partnerships seem to be affiliations of convenience. Similarly, in *Reinventing a Square Wheel*, 2002, Wilshusin *et al.*, argue that "Where protected areas bring up memories of elite control and colonial power dynamics, they can symbolize legacies of imperial domination" (2002:23).

Other critical scholars, argue that the private sector-local people alliances can also be viewed as "post-colonial discursive constructions that are based on the use of private capital in order to establish zones of influence, without

---

[351] The Human Rights Watch, The International Crisis Group, the Zimbabwe Election Support Network, and the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum cited procedural irregularities, political intimidation and violence, and partisanship among top security officials, among other factors that infringe human rights in Zimbabwe (http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/mar22_2008.html#Z10, 21 March 2008). In a similar vein, the director of the Harare-based Research and Advocacy Unit, Tony Reeler, says a review of investigations by numerous rights groups shows that torture and gross human rights violations in Zimbabwe have been perpetrated for decades on what he calls an epidemic scale. He says this indicates that, at the very least, the state condoned the abuse. "You can be accused of crimes against humanity in two ways. One is that you are actively involved in the commission of those things. The second is that you do not take active steps to prevent it. Omission is also very important" (Bobb, 2009).

incurring direct costs" (Tevera and Chimhowu, 2003:35).[352] Work by Wolmer *et al,* (2003), affirms that conservation and business obviously do not necessarily work collaboratively and when they do it can be to the detriment of local people other than investors (2003:97). As we contemplate on the concession in the South Africa sector, the affected families in the Corridor do not know how they shall be compensated and how the so-called partnership expounded by the GLTFCA is going to be structured.

Chief Sengwe in the quote on page 196 refers to the Zimbabwe government as deaf, not only because the voices by local people through different institutional structures and fora are silenced but their concerns are brushed aside. The ineffective communication by authorities in the Corridor facilitates the continuation of the impasse unabated. As one disgruntled middle-aged man a former member of the Community Working Group in Sengwe says:

> I do not know when and how the relocation is going to take place ... I also do not know what is the status regarding the final boundary line for the Corridor fence, whether it is the 5, 8, 15 or the 25km radius [actually 26km] that people talk about. They [authorities] do not tell us anything until they are up to something - *Avahibyeli handle keloko varine lesvi valavako kahina.* We remain in the dark and even if you ask the Parks Authorities, they always say they do not know. I know that they know but they do not want to tell us but are waiting for instruction from somewhere (Interview with a middle aged man former member of the Community Working Group, Sengwe, 9 August 2006).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Even those in the representative local level institutional structures introduced by the GLTFCA initiative, do not have information about the decisions made by authorities. The respondent above is, however, confident that park authorities are informed but are not passing on the information to local people in the Corridor. Similarly, Hammill and Besançon in 2003, argue that "as the loci of control for planning projects [development initiatives] moves further away from the physical location of the protected area to capital cities or even to foreign countries, the potential to exclude local communities [local people] in decision-making and benefit sharing increases" (2003:5). They further asset that the establishment of transboundary protected areas is primarily driven by high-level, non-local forces such as government departments or national or international conservation NGOs. As we analyze these established institutions

[352] In their work in *Situating the Maputo corridor: a regional perspective*, 2003.

such as the CCG, there is a danger of overlooking the household in conservation discourse. Yet it experiences the consequences of any action implied to in relevant policy and legislature in the GLTFCA.

The household in the Corridor and Zimbabwe sector is a recognized institution regardless of the gender of its head. It has rights to own land, hold it under long-term lease or customary agreement, and or rent it from colleagues. Institutions (both formal and informal in the Corridor such as the Traditional Leaders Act) provide the "framework of law or custom through which these private rights are recognized".[353] As such, management of private land is closely tied to land-management practices at household, village, ward and district levels. For example, a household in the Sengwe prefecture invests in labor demanding improvements such as stumping, fencing off and construction of conservation works such as storm drains.[354] These practices anticipate long term benefits accruing to the household. But these rights shall be nullified when relocation is finally implemented to establish a settlement free wildlife Corridor. Once disrupted, the household food security might not be guaranteed. Katerere *et al* (2001) argue that "the switch from agriculture to tourism as a source of livelihood makes communities vulnerable to shifts in the tourism industry which are outside their control" (2001:20). As a result of this uncertainty, local people's resilience might be compromised as such.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In order to safeguard their sources of livelihoods, households in the Gonarezhou National Park, have collectively lobbied authorities to access grazing for their livestock. For instance, in 1980, local people in Mufunjwa village negotiated with the parks authorities to access land for grazing in part of the Gonarezhou National Park. After lobbying through the local councilor, the Chiredzi Rural District Council and NGOs in the district, they were allocated a total of 92km^2 of the Gonarezhou National Park area adjacent to the village for grazing. This area has previously been illegally used by local people for grazing during times of drought as explained by the AGRITEX Officer residing in the area: "Even when there is drought for 2 years this area

[353] See Tyler's (2006:12).
[354] I discussed conservation and farming practices in the Corridor in chapter 4.

can withstand the pressure (1 November, 2006).[355]

Correspondingly, the veterinary fence that separates Mufunjwa village from the park area was moved further into the park to create this space. This is similar to what Tyler (2006) refers to as "the building of consensus and presenting a common political position in dealings with more powerful external agents" (2006:14), by local people is shown here. But the movement of the fence was construed to redefine the demarcation of the park boundary by local people. This was reiterated by one elderly woman in Mufunjwa village who said that: "They changed the boundary of the national park by removing the veterinary fence. It is our land now" (Interview, elderly woman, Mufunjwa, 8 July 2006). This scenario can also be another example of miscommunication and or misinterpretation of events relative to legislature and policy regarding conservation among actors in the Corridor.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Even local government officers resident in the Corridor (AGRITEX and Veterinary officers), equally misread this shift of the location of the fence. For example, during my study visit to Mufunjwa village (in the company of AGRITEX, Veterinary and National Parks Officials), the AGRITEX officer said: "The boundary was here. It has been shifted some 15kms (to that point) into the park area" (Interview, AGRITEX Officer, Mufunjwa, 1 November 2006). The Gonarezhou Park Warden corrected him by remarking that:

> "No, there was never a change in the park boundary but a shift in the position of the fence. A change of the boundary can only be possible if it is gazetted by the government, and this has not been done. In fact there is no such an effort to change the status of this 92km^2 area. It is part of the Gonarezhou National Park" (1 November 2006).

The above remarks by the parks authority tells us that it is possible, that this offer for the grazing area can be reversed by the authorities.

With time, however, it turned out that new homesteads, grave sites and cultivating fields emerged in this park area. Sometimes the absence of solid transfer of rights and gazetting of land to local people might result in socializing ownership and intentions. And what happens in the Mufunjwa area

[355] The officer did not provide a clear indication of at what stocking rates he was arguing his point.

is in contradiction of the original plan and understanding between the parties. An elderly man in the village remarked that: "We agreed this is grazing land. But is this not land taken away from our ancestors? We will do what we want because when they established this park [Gonarezhou National Park], there were no negotiations in the first instance" (Interview, elderly man in Mufunjwa, 3 November 2006). This brings up another dimension to the divergent visions authorites can have relative to those of local people regarding land issues and conservation. Authorities assume that local people intend to utilize the designated area for grazing yet locals intend to own the land which according to the elderly man above is rightfully theirs.

On the one hand, implicitly, this situation is exacerbated by the reluctance of the parks authorities to conduct regular follow up operations. According to the parks authorities, the local people have since changed the landscape of this area, a decision they took upon themselves. Scott (1989) argues that such kind of collective action is a form of resistance, whereby local people use passive ways of having their grievances heard without confrontation and violence such that no one can be victimized by authorities for instigating such action (1989:8). Therefore, local people in the Corridor have the ability to claim restitution (of their ancestral land) by disguising, a legitimate cause to authorities, and in this case requesting land for grazing through the park authorities.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Another case whereby local people in the Corridor exercised power to determine their destiny regarding the conservation area is that of Chilohlela village, which is located in a land mine field. Authorities created a platform for local people to decide either to stay on the current location "... at their own peril, or be relocated to another area" (Interview, Parks Authority, Malipati, 11 March 2006). Citing possible increase in human-wildlife and wildlife-livestock conflicts in Chilohlela village, local people opted to be relocated to a new area under the condition that they are adequately compensated and provided with necessary infrastructure as stipulated in the GLTFCA Treaty. At the time of writing, park authorities acknowledge that the local people shall be resettled elsewhere. However, this particular exercise is yet to be implemented as in

the rest of the Corridor. One parks authority at the head office in Harare remarks that: "I think the government will see what it can do to these people since they agreed to be resettled for the better implementation of the GLTFCA" (Interview with National Parks Authority, Harare, February 2007). But the question about what will happen to the 740 families in the rest of the Corridor remains to be considered.

This protracted disorder fosters the interests of more powerful groups through subversion of instruments and legitimacy of the state (see also work by Bayart, 1993:8). In spite of the loss of authority by local institutions, parks authorities continue their claim to collaborating with them. The Senior Park Warden, for instance, says:

> We work with ward CAMPFIRE Committees very well. They assist us [NPWMA], in reporting problem animals for our action. They also contribute towards the development of quota systems for hunting in Naivasha. They used to invite us when they were disbursing funds from hunting dividends in the villages. We work with the Chief, Headmen and Village heads alongside their councils. They assist us in passing important information to their constituencies. They link us with Puzani the Spirit medium of this area. Unfortunately we have not worked with SEVACA or the VRMCs you talked about.[356]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

With the advent of dwindling loci of authority by local institutions, policing of formal institutions in the GLTFCA arena at local level remains a challenge. Being the custodian of resources in the district, the Rural District Council do not have the capacity to manage natural resources without collaborating with local institutions in the Corridor.[357] Probably it is pluralism of institutions and actors at district level, which partly explain the state's recentralization of authority at the Rural District Council level rather than devolution to any lower levels. I spoke to officials at the Rural District Council and provincial offices in Masvingo, who argue that the local authority (RDC) does not have sufficient financial and human resources to implement conservation initiatives at the local level. Nor do they have the effective means to provide enough services to meet the needs of their constituents. As one authority says: "*Izvi ndezve kungokiya-kiya* meaning - This is about working in a tight budgetary constraint and performing piece meal operations" (Interview with local authority officer,

[356] Interview with Senior Park Warden, Maliphati, 11 March 2006.
[357] See comments from one of my respondents on page 54.

Chiredzi, 22 October 2006).

At the same time, the Chiredzi district council has leverage in conservation as it works with conservancies, national parks and has been implementing the CAMPFIRE initiative for more than 5 years. It has been receiving and disbursing remittances from conservation activities including problem animal control and trophy hunting in the district. Presumably, this should provide sufficient experience for it to deliver expectations in the GLTFCA. On the one hand, the RDC is caught in between collaborating with park authorities who manage the GLTFCA (that seem to paralyze authority of local institutions). On the other, given its inadequacies to provide relevant services in the whole district, and that it is supposed to collaborate with these polarized local institutions, its position as the local authority is compromised.

Ultimately, this presents another scenario in conservation discourse whereby the governance system established by the GLTFCA has consequences that disempower local institutions. These according to its policy should be strengthened to collaborate with local authorities (National Parks and RDC). This could be seen as the re-centralization of authority at that level from the state. Tension has since increased between local people and authorities (RDC and National Parks) not only because of the loss of authority by local institutions but also that the local people have not realised any benefits from the GLTFCA initiative almost 9 years after its establishment. Another reason why local people are bitter about the services by the parks authorities is the lack of control of problem animals. Problem animals from the Gonarezhou National Park destroy crops, livestock and are a threat to human life. This problem, however, requires prompt action from the parks authorities as it affects the livelihoods of local people in the Corridor.

I was assured by the parks authorities that they are always available to deal with problem animals in the Corridor. Despite the assurance, local people told me that the authorities took a lot of time to respond to such calls by local people. Further the authorities told me that incidences have since declined as the lion population in the park was decreasing, which is a concern, other than

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

being a solution to livestock-wildlife conflicts in the view of local people. Indeed, it has all to do with the effects on tourism as suggested by one park authority who says: "One of the major attractions in this park [Gonarezhou National Park], is the game viewing of lions".[358] In the extreme, it later became clear to me that local people are also contributing towards the dwindling lion populations in the GLTFCA, as they try to protect their livestock from carnivores coming from the Gonarezhou National Park.[359]

During 2006 for instance, local people in Gonakudzingwa small-scale area lost a total of 115 livestock to carnivores *Zvikanga* within a period of 3 weeks (Interview with Veterinary Officer, Gonakudzingwa, 31 October 2006). Angered by this increased human-wildlife and livestock-wildlife conflict, and the delayed responses by parks authorities, local people protect themselves and their sources of livelihoods through their own means. They trap these animals using donkey carcasses as bait laced with insecticide Thiodine 3. A disappointed elderly man and small-scale farmer reiterate that:

> It is becoming a non-starter calling upon these problem animal control unit based at the Gonarezhou National Park offices. They do not care. They come to us after a long time when things are really bad. So, who will protect our wealth [livestock] and us from these dangerous animals? We will continue to do what is to be done, our way and they can continue their way. That is a fair game, is it not? [360]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The above statement by the elderly man who is a farmer in Gonakudzingwa area reminds us of the resistance of local people to factors that threaten their sources of livelihoods.[361] Yet the parks authorities link all mortalities regarding lions to the Bovine Tuberculosis reportedly on the increase in the Kruger National Park (see Michel *et al,* 2006:92-96). Other problem animals local people have to cope with include baboons (prey on goats), elephants (destroy crops) and hyenas (which prey on cattle). Indeed, development effects occur, Ferguson writes: "behind the backs or against the wills of even the most powerful actors" (1994: 18). This brings in possible repurcussions on the future of tourism when actors fail to perform their roles in the implementation of the GLTFCA in the Corridor. The implementation process of the GLTFCA

[358] Interview with Parks Authorities, Malipati, 22 March, 2006.
[359] Interview with elderly man and, farmer, Gonakudzingwa, 31 October 2006.
[360] Interview with elderly man, farmer, Gonakudzingwa, 31 October 2006.
[361] See other forms of resistance by farmers in the Malaysian prefecture by Scott (1985, 2000).

suggests the changing of goal posts despite its rhetorical claims about empowerment of local people. To this I must add that the parks authorities above continue to claim legitimacy at local level when they suggest that they respond to problem animals in an efficient manner.

6.4 Claiming of legitimacy and the shifting of goal posts

The rhetoric of participation in the GLTFCA is according to one school of thought not seen in practice. And, by arguing that local people living in or close to conservation areas will participate in its management and benefit economically, "rather proponents claim ... legitimacy for the initiative" (Spierenburg and Wels, 2006:295). I contend that instead there has been pressure on local people to be loyal citizens who should be able to accept decisions made by authorities without resistance but by their resilience. In their analysis of public private partnerships paper in the GLTFCA, Spierenburg and Wels (2006) speak of "the massive political pressure for tangible progress to be seen" on authorities by the Parties and donors, which kept issues of local people being sidelined in the Corridor. In the same vein and among other effects, Chapin (2004) argues that the promotion of TFCAs "... is a way to escape from local partners that the organizations considered not such good ecological stewards after all" (2004:21). In this context, what is happening in the Corridor affirms that the polarization of local institutions as an unintended effect of the GLTFCA initiative that creates the image of local people as inhibitors of economic progress.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

As the drift in the loci of authority over access and utilization of natural resources in the GLTFCA arena, moves away from local institutions, I contend following scholars such as Tyler (2006), who argue that the old ideas of command and control, of blaming poor people for mismanagement of natural resources, have been overturned (2006:4). I further disagree with scholarship that argues that the paradigm shift in conservation has moved from top-down, to the adoption of bottom-up, participatory approaches, aimed at ensuring sustainable use and management of natural resources (see Ribot, 1999; Fakir, 2001). Neither is it true that there is a paradigm shift in conservation away from costly state-centered control towards approaches in which local

people play a much more active role as advocated by scholars such as Murphree (1991, 2001) and Shackleton and Campbell, (2001). As I have illustrated in chapter 3, the GLTFCA brings in a new paradigm in conservation discourse: authoritative conservation and commoditization of wildlife. It goes without saying that the rhetoric of bottom-up, participation, social and economic empowerment in the GLTFCA prefecture is only to claim legitimacy. Devolution in the Zimbabwe sector is claimed in the GLTFCA prefecture despite the fact that authority is decentralized at the Rural District Council which has limited capacity to practise it and support the implementation of the initiative.

I have shown that after the establishment of the GLTFCA and its effects on institutional structural changes, as well as subsequent demarcation of the proposed wildlife corridor, authorities-local people, NGOs-local people, livestock-wildlife and local people-wildlife conflicts have been on the increase. Similar to the intangible impacts of dams on local people, the GLTFCA prefecture generates such effects which are difficult to measure and express in economic terms. They include, the cultural trauma [of involuntary relocation], political identity, freedom, and mobility (see Adams and Hulme, 2001:13-16). Indeed as this chapter shows, this is typical of what Hammil and Besançon (2003), argue that transboundary conservation areas have a legacy of fueling tensions between various actors and that formal transboundary agreements can cause more inter-state disputes than they alleviate when there is reluctance on the part of authorities to cede authority (2003:1-3).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

An expert in international development and a pioneer in participatory methodologies Chambers (1989) wrote "we, development professionals, are fortunate to have such a well-grounded, authoritative, and accessible contribution to learning and change". With this he elaborates the comparative advantages of development agencies over local people being accessible to technical knowledge, technology and financial resources. He argues that, these equip development professionals to influence policy and creates disparities in power at local level rendering local people as vulnerable.

Recent work of Jones and Chonguica (2001) brings out a clear argument that powerful outside interests dominate the implementation process in the GLTFCA arena, diluting and diminishing benefit and marginalizing local people in terms of decision-making (2001:12). I tend to think along with Wolmer (2003), who through diverse investigation of, among other things, aid, sustainable development and environmental crisis, came to the conclusion that "the newly minted ecological integrity and political authority are being superimposed on complex, contested, and variegated landscapes with preexisting overlapping institutional authorities and political constituencies, and patchworks of differing land uses and tenure regimes in transfrontier initiatives" (2003:1). Further, I have illustrated that in the Corridor, there is heterogeneity and multiplicity of actors, institutions and management structures with overlapping and at times unclear mandates and jurisdictions that have generated conflicts.

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

More profound, however, is that this chapter shows that donors have the power to determine the rate of implementation of transfrontier conservation initiatives particularly the GLTFCA. In view of the above scenario, questions about the role of the donor community arise. This trend suggests the varied focus by external funding agents and donors towards actors implementing the conservation initiative in pursuance of other interests of a political nature.

Correspondingly, the private sector and international finance institutions have found common cause with global environmental organizations, with donor-recipient governments forced to "follow the stream' (Magome and Murombedzi 2003:26) and implement conservation initiatives that fulfill variegated interests. Therefore, funding agents and donors have the ability to shift goal posts in the implementation of initiatives to fulfill their agendas in conservation discourse as observed in conditional granting of aid. It is like the rabbit and carrot game, where governments and other agencies in developing countries, forgo their priorities. A disturbing feature about this is that when governments forgo their visions and or priorities they injure their own people – the already marginalized local people. As Fakir (2003) put it that: "... the closest metaphor to proximate the fears and feelings of powerlessness that marginal people or

people without means experience from TFCAs where monumental initiatives of potential 'displacement' [in the Corridor] take place at their door step is that of the experiences with large dams" (2003:2-3).[362] This has been so far the case in Sengwe.

Much of the literature on development optimistically links poverty reduction and environmental objectives in the past 15 years. Thus beneficial link is however set to be realized (For instance World bank, 2002, United Nations, 2002). One of the valuable lessons of the Sengwe case is that local institutions should be self-governing, and local people irrespective of gender, should have a significant voice in the operations of those institutions. This provides yet another milestone for adaptive conservation and in development practice. While the GLTFCA policy emphasizes local people's participation in the initiative, it is seldom made unequivocal in practice. Its governance system polarize local institutions, generating conflicts and did not achieve all its objectives given that almost a decade after its establishment, local people have not benefited.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In the following chapter, I present concluding remarks of the thesis. I draw together the arguments of each chapter and reflect on the key issues relating to the development of TFCAs, and institutional processes in conservation and development discourse.

[362] See Bond (2001:235)

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Over the past two decades, the implementation of transboundary conservation initiatives has increased in southern Africa region. Among the intended effects of these initiatives is the protection of biodiversity and promote the non-consumptive tourism. Evidence on the ground however suggests that the creation of opportunities for local people in these initiatives has been challenging. However, given the inequality of land distribution and inherited conservation fortresses expounded by colonial governments, the expansion of transboundary conservation initiatives cannot be separated from the need to take control over and access to natural resources not only by post colonial governments from local people who derive part of their livelihoods from these areas. It therefore remains an area of contestation by different actors with varying visions, authority and power operating in these initiatives. While a sector of scholars, authorities and development practitioners believe that transboundary conservation initiatives promote socio-economic upliftment and alleviate poverty of local people living under marginal conditions, reality has proved otherwise. The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA), Zimbabwe sector, is the initiative being studied in this thesis. It is one in which local people have not benefited almost a decade after it was established and which has left them with an attitude of hostility against any conservation initiative in their area (Corridor). The Zimbabwe scenario is unique. Its dynamic political and economic environment brought significant changes and challenges to conservation and the implementation of the GLTFCA in particular, through controversial land reforms.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The thesis has argued that the GLTFCA initiative centralizes decision making processes and is constructed on top-down hegemonic development approaches. The initiative's implementation process suggests the facilitation, promotion and the commoditization of wildlife albeit rhetoric of 'socio-economic empowerment' and 'participation of local communities' implied in its policy. Consequences of the governance structure it imposes in the Corridor, polarizes existing local institutions and structures. Within its prefecture, it criminalizes local farming and conservation practices leading to the

disfranchisement of local people but other powerful actors. Whether this was, intentional or not, but fact remains that subsequent events have shown that local people have not benefited from this intitiative almost a decade after its establishment, therefore it has not achieved all its objectives.

Throughout the thesis, I illustrate that the Sengwe to Chipise Wildlife Corridor is indeed not just a corridor to guarantee a free passage of wildlife, tourists, associated industrial investment, and authorities (including research institutions and NGOs), in the GLTFCA sector within Zimbabwe, but a symbol of emptiness, an area void of opportunities for local people.[363] It conforms to the so called Cape to Cairo vision by Cecil Rhodes rendering yet another symbol of re-colonization this time through conservation and economic enhancement of the development industry which really is the economic deprivation of local people. It not only denotes the colonial mindset in the context of subjugation of local people living in marginal areas, who have survived the neglect of both, the colonial and the post colonial government alike, land appropriation and other resources but the promotion of a market oriented conservation intervention. This ulterior motive has been systematically implemented.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The main findings and conclusion of this thesis around this initiative are as follows: Firstly, the design of the GLTFCA has unintended effects on the ability of local people to make any decisions. This is rhetoric of bottom-up and participatory planning approach implied in its policy. Second, the consultation process conducted by authorities in Sengwe was perfunctional and inconsistent suggesting a lack of effort to incorporate the concerns at local level in the initiative's plan. Thirdly, local representative structures and institutions are as a result polarized, keeping authority and voices from local people away from the initiative. Hence they remain sidelined and muted.

[363] Emptiness of their presence (settlement), access to natural resources, which are a source of their livelihoods or their conservation practices.

Fourth, the sources of livelihoods for local people within the Corridor become inaccessible, further threatening the food security at household level in the already marginalized area. Fifth, is that local conservation practices are prohibited and some criminalized, in the Corridor suggesting the equivalence of disfranchisement of local people. Lastly but not the least, a proposed wildlife fence once established, marks the final exclusion that signals local people to stay off and stop interfering with activities in the GLTFCA. It is a symbolic and actual fencing-off the problem. Therefore, the image of local people as portrayed in the policies of this initiative can only be seen as that of being inhibitors of economic progress in the GLTFCA prefecture. Events also systematically suggest that the effects of the initiative fulfill the ulterior motives of authorities and other actors whose activities remain not interfered with in the Corridor.

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The celebrated clearing of the boundary fences between South Africa and Mozambique, and the yet to be finalized Corridor will not only reintroduce migratory routes for wildlife as advocated by the GLTFCA and conservationists but their expanded freedom. This freedom, however, translates to the giving away of freedom and other opportunities unwillingly by local people. In return, local people are promised elusive benefit. In fact, other alternative migratory routes exist but authorities have opted for the Sengwe to Chipise Corridor which tells us that the mere presence of local people in the GLTFCA is not recommended. It is seen as a threat to the tourism industry, and therefore mitigated against. As the GLTFCA rolls out leading to its final erection of the wildlife fence, a conclusive demarcation of the initiative from local people and their possessions will be created.

In chapter 2, I suggest that the implementation of the GLTFCA is consistent with the promotion of the commoditization of the wildlife. However, exogenous agents promoting this notion have come to see local people as potential inhibitors to this process of promoting the tourism sector through the areas of botanical interest. A number of critics and authorities have indicated that in the Sengwe prefecture, the production of wildlife is more economically rewarding than keeping livestock. Because local people have not benefited from the

GLTFCA, wildlife production in the Corridor becomes a potential threat to the livelihoods of local people.

As put across by one disgruntled resident in the Corridor such as the local leader in Malipati cited in chapter 1, page 11, that: "This is about wildlife liberation and more suffering to us" (Interview, elderly male local leader, Malipati, 15 August, 2006); "We just wait for them to tell us what to do" (Interview with male local leader, ex-councilor, Sengwe, 4 March 2005); and that "They always grow fat while we grow thinner, time after time" (Interview with elderly woman, Kotsvi, 14 July 2006), not only show us the extent of discontent, distancing themselves from the intervention, and loss of hope, but a loss of say or decision making in the initiative.

In terms of policy, I have argued forcefully that the governance system during and post colonial period continue to alienate local people by (re)centralizing power at district level despite rhetoric implying decentralization of governance in the Zimbabwe sector. This loss of authority is indeed, a loss of recognition not just by the GLTFCA governance structure but by the state, rendering local people vulnerable to conservation initiatives. In other words devolution as claimed in is authoritative (Metcalfe, 2003; Chambers, 1989), and is driven by outside interests (Jones and Chonguica, 2001) that dominate the implementation process in the GLTFCA arena, diluting access to benefits and marginalizing local people in terms of decision-making. This affirms that the GLTFCA promotes the protection of biodiversity and the expansion of the tourism industry, while objectifying and neglecting the priorities of local people (see also Wolmer, 2004; Whande, 2007). As a result, however, there has been seemingly perpetual loss of jurisprudence by local institutions, which has lead to hostility towards conservation initiatives in the Corridor, for instance, Metcalfe (2003), Muphree (1999, 2000), Murombedzi (1998), Hammill and Besançon (2003), Simon (2000), Wolmer (2003), Fakir (2003), Whande (2007), Spierenburg *et al* (2008), Tandon (2000, 2009), and Spierenburg and Wels (2006).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Ultimately, this has assured continued state control at village level in spite of the rhetoric of decentralization in natural resources management in the Zimbabwe sector. Similarly as in colonial period, the image of local people was portrayed as subjectives and agents in degradation discourse, which was in fact an effect of the policies expounded by the colonial government. In policy and development discourse, a number of scholars have argued that development agencies are concerned about policy. There is a critical view that sees policy as a rationalizing technical discourse concealing hidden purposes of dominance (see Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; Mosse, 2004, 2005), which are the true political intent of development initiatives (see also Shore and Wright, 1997; Mosse, 2005). Typically, the GLTFCA, MITI and SEVACA initiatives have illustrated that the exigency of donor power is not only expressed in interventions but in shaping institutional behavior, even within individuals as principals in NGOs in conservation discourse.

Critics of development such as Escobar, argue that, authorities use power to control knowledge (2002:89). This power, I also argue, is typical of how the GLTFCA superimposes the so called scientific or modern knowledge in the Corridor, while alienating local knowledge, and criminalising local practices, which might provide alternative frameworks to foster the protection of biodiversity. I have shown in chapter 4, that none of the conservation and farming practices by local people have had any influence in the concepts of the Corridor's management plan. This concept of the Corridor evokes the colonial methods of management of resources through total exclusion – the 'conservation fortresses' which might eventually become a no go area for local people.[364]

Accordingly, a historical perspective in this thesis challenges the assumptions made about the role of local knowledge in conservation discourse, in the GLTFCA and suggest that fencing-out local people is not untypical here. This has not only generated conflicts where local knowledge comes into contact with the GLTFCA modern knowledge but created resistance and hostility

[364] Corridor being turned into a 'conservation fortress'

among local people such that they secretly legitimize actions that are illegal in the GLTFCA arena – typically that of hunting (see Scott, 1985). Drawing on the work of Richards (1995) and Chambers *et al,* (1989), I have argued that local people are themselves stewards and experts in conservation. We are reminded, however, by such writers as Hichcock (2000), Chambers (1989), and Tyler (2006), that local people should have decision-making power and authority to undertake conservation activities. I concur with scholars such as Wolmer who argues that TFCAs have a reputation of promoting 'neoliberal' development initiatives in conservation and development discourse despite rhetoric of community participation and socio-economic development (2003:266).

I have shown that another consequence of the final establishment of the Corridor is not only the displacement of local people from their ancestral land but the fragmentation of existing social networks. These networks are one platform of sharing information among peers and a stable wealth sharing mechanism that has direct effect on the food security of poor households. Once this linkage is broken by relocation it is the poor households that become even more vulnerable, therefore placing their sources of livelihoods at risk. As the Chief Sengwe put it: "As far as I can see, the transfrontier [GLTFCA], is a once a life time monster because it is going to take us away from our homes, our land and all our inheritance" (Interview with Chief Sengwe, 28 March 2006).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

A further conclusion of this thesis is that the presence and interests of all actors other than those of local people, in the GLTFCA arena have been strengthened by the initiative. This confirms the thesis assertion that the design of the initiative has effects that promotes the best interest of outside actors. Considering that not even a written commitment has been issued by authorities on relocation, any proposed compensation mechanism or how local people access the intended benefits reflects that the priorities of local people are rendered secondary in the initiative.

This thesis has shown that the Sengwe arena is a political field where by, various actors play a game through expressing and exercising their varied interests, power and authority. It is only after gaining legitimacy at local level that they seem to deliberately ignore the interests of local people. Instead, they present themselves with unlimited opportunities for investment (including conservationists and the private sector to generate employment through development of tourism). While they play this game, it is the local people who not only lack expertise and skill but necessary resources to either participate or access the benefits of the GLTFCA initiative.

From the Ugandan proverb that I discussed in chapter 6, captures the above scenario, with the elephants being the stronger actors who are the governments, donors, and the private sector, while the grass are the weaker actors - local people.[365] Although one can argue that not all the grass underneath the meeting elephants suffer, in the GLTFCA, it is implied.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Therefore, TFCAs such as the GLTFCA are a contested political playing field among governments, the private sector and donors. With the multiplicity of actors with varying interests and overlapping loci of authority over access to and utilization of natural resources in the Corridor, local people's interests are left on the way side (see also inferences by authors such as Spierenburg *et al,* 2008:90).

Because of political reasons, almost a decade after the establishment of the GLTFCA, the Corridor has not been established in the Zimbabwe sector. Without sufficient finances committed, and the political will in the Zimbabwe sector towards the relocation of local people to conclude the establishment of the Corridor, they continue residing within. The longer this situation lasts, the longer it takes to achieve the intended effects of the initiative and the establishment of the recommended link the Zimbabwe sector has into the rest of the GLTFCA.

[365] See Jabs (2007: 1498) and Hargreaves (2004: 98) for example.

The case of conditional funding in the GLTFCA prefecture affirms that the typical actions by funders or donors in the conservation initiatives are not apolitical. Correspondingly, the private sector and international finance institutions have found common cause with global environmental organizations, to exert their hegemony to donor-recipient governments (Magome and Murombedzi, 2003). I have argued that, financial donors have a way to steer development processes and fulfill their agendas in conservation discourse as observed in conditional granting of aid. I adopt a similar example of the rabbit and carrot game, where governments and other agencies in developing countries, forgo their priorities, and willingly disenfranchise their own people - in pursuit of the TFCAs. In other words by Fakir, says: "the closest metaphor to proximate the fears and feelings of powerlessness that marginal people or people without means experience from TFCAs where monumental initiatives of potential 'displacement' [in the Corridor] take place at their door step is that of the experiences with Large dams" (2003:2-3).[366] This has been so far the case in Sengwe.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In chapter 3, I illustrated that the planning and implementation of the GLTFCA initiative is constructed on top-down hegemonic development approaches. That facilitates the commoditization of wildlife, which is market oriented and not people centered. Its governance structure also promotes the establishment of new institutional strata creating bureaucracy resulting in the polarization of existing local institutional structures. Consequently, this promotes the centralization of decision-making to the state, despite repeating rhetoric of fostering representation of local people in the initiative. In the Sengwe prefecture, the GLTFCA has exacerbated migration of local people to neighboring countries such as Mozambique and South Africa in search of better opportunities, albeit the rhetoric of 'improving the quality of life' of local people implied in its policy.

[366] See Bond (2001:235)

My analysis of the concepts such as 'community', 'community participation', and 'progress' as they apply to the GLTFCA, the National Parks and Wildlife Authority (NPWA) and Sengwe people in development discourse show that these concepts are not only problematic but also adequately defined. In spite of this discursive interpretation of these terms they are used in the GLTFCA arena. Almost a decade after the publishment of James Ferguson's *Anti Politics Machine* (see for instance Bologna, 2008), and four years after David Mosse's *Cultivating Development Ethnography Aid Policy and Practice,* and nineteen years after Fairhead and Leach's *Misreading the African landscape,* their influence into the development arena in this case yields no impact. Authorities continue to do business as usual.

The historical perspective in this thesis has strongly challenged assumptions made about the role of NGOs in development and conservation discourse. I have illustrated that as NGOs negotiate for aid and meanings to evolving development paradigms, they seek legitimacy at all levels and at the same time spearhead their interests. Indeed, it is the local people who become subjects of this discursive process. They are used to act as shields from donors by NGOs and experimental guinea pigs of new development paradigms in conservation and development discourse. Therefore, in the Corridor, the notions of promoting gender and the empowerment of women in conservation initiatives supported by NGOs did not achieve intended effects. But the initiatives generated unintended effects that did not improve the living conditions of women nor changed the disparities between men and women in the Corridor. Having said that, the use of aid funds in these initiatives reflect not only the interests of the donors and NGOs but the significance of capital flow in these agents of development.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

It may also be asserted, with some justification that the case of SAFIRE and its MITI initiative suggests that the effort to secure funding in the Zimbabwe sector and particularly in the Corridor was used to attain the goals of the implementing agent. In pursuing this argument, it is important to note that the significance of the accrual of most of the financial resources towards SAFIRE's operational costs not only suggests the focus of such funding but

reproduces donor dominance. This dominance, in part explains why development sector (in this case conservation initiatives), do not improve the 'socio-economic' wellbeing of the marginalized. Scholars such as Ferguson (1990) and Bond (2001), remind us that development does not always benefit local people.

As self propelling development machines, NGOs, are bound to have access to financial resources to continue functioning. However, their skills, linkages to sources of information (networks) and the use of practical problems on the ground gives them comparative advantages to negotiate for aid. I conclude therefore that although by no means exclusively so, it is absolutely critical that NGOs be understood from the inside workings. This entails a detailed analysis of organizational systems, practices and conflicts in order to grasp the origin, formation and development of NGO action (Helliker, 2006:317). This thesis therefore, is a discursive work, in which I engage the historical reconstruction and is exploratory of the development process of establishing the NGO-SAFIRE and the initiatives implemented. It provides alternative areas for further inquiry, specifically provoking new research agenda on NGOs from the 'actor oriented' approach.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The case of SAFIRE's Managing our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI) and Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association (SEVACA) initiatives implemented in the Corridor show how they generate complex repercussions on women. Their claims that they empower women are not held up by the effects presented in this thesis on the livelihoods of women. It is further shown that the unintended effects of both initiatives are more pronounced than the intended. These effects suggests that their conceptualization are hegemonic, experimental and do not foster the improvement of economical concerns of local people. They remain inappropriate in spite of rhetoric of "increasing income levels and food security" and "securing rights of local user groups" accorded in the initiatives documents. Neither do they, reduce the disparities between men and women nor increase the incomes of local people.

Statements on page 156, such as: "Ah, why not. We wanted to fence off our kraals and protect livestock from *Zvikanga* that were coming from the Gonarezhou National Park" (interview with elderly man, Malipati, 11 March 2006), "We are fed up of people who always talk as if they represent us when they are there to pursue their agendas" (Interview with 18 year old man, Chilohlela, 21 April 2006), and "We have never stopped any development project here even those we knew from the beginning they are going to fail. Even your MITI and SEVACA projects especially the crèches, we knew these do not work here but as usual, would gain something when these project finally come to an end. It has always been the trend here" (Interview with Chief Sengwe, 28 March 2006), show the level of irrelevance of such interventions. Therefore, the major effects of the interventions (for instance MITI and SEVACA in the GLTFCA arena), in the Corridor, generated conflicts at local level and did not foster the empowerment of local people as claimed in the GLTFCA policy. Ultimately, locals are hostile about any conservation initiatives in their area.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

It is also shown in this thesis that the MITI and SEVACA initiatives, created other institutional structures increasing bureaucracy, and did not change the status of access and utilization of natural resources. Rather they generated conflicts between these new institutions and existing ones as their areas of authority overlapped. There is no evidence to show the flowing of benefits from enterprises into conservation of natural resources. On the one hand, the poor performance of supported enterprises means that the Natural Resource Based Enterprises (NRBEs) are not viable in the Corridor and on the other, their implementation was exogenously constructed hence inappropriate. Because the majority of local people were transformed into gatherers of wild resources, I persuasively argue that NGOs negotiate for funding to facilitate capital flows, broker for legitimacy with relevant actors to meet their interests and not to empower women in natural resource based enterprise development.

I have shown how the NGO, SAFIRE, negotiated with donors for the ultimate funding of the MITI initiatives (MITI and SEVACA) illustrating how policies are negotiated and implemented in NGO discourse. Indeed, NGOs can be established in the context to resolve an immediate need and the ability of the NGO to establish strategic linkages. Also, NGOs might be established because of the existence of insider information and available redundant funds. NGOs under financial stress will pursue other areas of development where the potential for funding exists even if they are outside their areas of focus. Similarly, the negotiation skills of NGOs to facilitate capital flows can be viewed from a new perspective. This perspective, which is derived from the acronym NGO standing in for: **Ne-GO**-tiating. And that in part might explain why conservation initiatives funded under such contexts (in which NGOs negotiate for capital flows because they are under financial stress) become more irrelevant at local level. Therefore, NGOs depend on aid and gifts as reiterated by Stirrat and Henkel (1997:92) and Williams (2007:4-5).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Yet the repeated failure of initiatives to generate intended effects on the livelihoods of local people, within the Zimbabwe context, a new notion of NGOs emerges: **N**othing is **G**oing **O**n (NGO). Not because there are no activities implemented (such as workshops, seminars, conferences, training, tours, and projects that stop functioning soon support is stopped or withdrawn) but because of the irrelevance of such interventions that can be viewed as misdirected financial resources that do not generate intended effects on the livelihoods of local people. These initiatives as observed by many critics are characterized by their ability to generate new paradigms such as gender, women empowerment and TFCAs in conservation discourse.

Negotiation process for funding of the MITI initiative discussed in chapter 5 illustrates the tendency of donors to be legalistic (for instance DANIDA) with consequencies of delaying start up of initiatives. Notwithstanding that this process does not change the relevance or irrelevance of these interventions but directly affects the capital flows for the agency in question. In addition, these delays have an effect on the ownership of the initiatives to the agencies implementing them. That is the longer the process of negotiation and

subsequent funding, the sense of ownership of the initiative is lost by the agency. However, not all donors are both legalistic and formalistic. The Netherlands Embassy is shown to be flexible and can adjust to the needs and focus of agencies such as NGOs. This flexibility does not however improve the relevance of the intervention, nor guarantees the efficacy of the intended effects on local people. It improves capital flows to the agency making it functional. I have also shown that where two or more donors fund a development initiative, the focal donor to whom the benefiting NGO reports to have the overriding power over its implementation process and accountability.

Another salient conclusion that I discuss in chapter 5 is that the reputation of NGOs is derived not only by primarily implementing initiatives but by its ability to actively engage other actors in the same area of focus (in this case conservation) and creative reporting to give an impression of intended effects irrespective of limited evidence on the ground. It is within this context nine years after its establishment, the GLTFCA is yet to deliver its promises of socio-economic benefits accruing to local people, which include the creation of employment in the tourism industry.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

In chapter 6, I critically analyze local level institutions and authority systems relating to conservation from the perspectives of the various actors and user groups in decision making. I have shown that in conservation discourse, particularly in the GLTFCA sector it is about power. It is not about the relations between: NGOs and donors; NGOs and local people; government agencies and NGOs; or NGOs and the private sector. In other words, it is about who has or does not have authority over access to resources (including financial) and influence over policy. And it is about who has access to intended benefits of the initiative. Thus, the more authority (stronger) the actor has to influence policy in the GLTFCA, the more the chances to access benefits from the initiative. And, the less the authority (weaker) the actor has to influence policy, the more susceptible it is to exclusion and possible relocation.

One of the major contentions of this thesis is that: the planning and implementation of transfrontier conservation areas (particularily the GLTFCA) are top-down in nature. They polarize local institutions, and do not benefit the local people who are already marginalized. The multiplicity of actors with varying areas of focus and sometimes overlapping authority create imbalances of power that compromises participation by local people in conservation initiatives. And rhetoric about socio-economic improvement of local people conceals hegemony in the planning and implementation of the GLTFCA. Consequently, there has been an increase in: Authorities - local people; NGOs - local people; livestock – wildlife; and local people - wildlife conflicts. When bureaucracy strengthened in the Corridor on the one hand, conflicts among institutions at local level also increased on the other.

The establishment of the GLTFCA influenced the shifting of power at local level away from local institutions including powerful individuals such as the chief of the Sengwe communal area and his councils. This caused bitterness among local people towards any conservation initiatives in the Corridor. One elderly man in Pahlela (see chapter 6, page 190) reiterated this by saying that: "They always decide on what to do but we not always have to do what they want" (6 June 2006). TFCAs therefore continue to fuel conflicts among actors (Hammil and Besançon, 2003; Adams, 2000), and improves the capacity of local people to oblige to development hegemony (Kearney, Boyle and Walsh, 1994).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

With the dwindling loci of authority by local institutions compounded by the multiplicity of actors with at times unclear mandates and jurisdictions, coordination of the GLTFCA in the Corridor by the Rural District Council is questionable. Given that those local institutional structures such as the Village Development Committee (VIDCO) and Ward Development Committee (WADCO) have been politicized and are no longer integrating local priorities into the district development plans, the priorities at local level are further marginalised. In other words the GLTFCA has so far made local people more marginalized than they were before is establishment in Sengwe. This is exarcabated by the economic decay in the Zimbabwe sector. It has therefore

left local people with no option but to seek for opportunities in neighboring countries.

Under such circumstances, TFCAs are therefore, conservation initiatives that that exacerbate poverty and facilitate the shrinking of socioeconomic opportunities in marginalized areas. Statements cited on page 190 and 191, in chapter 6 such as: "They always decide what to do" (Interview with elderly man, Pahlela, 6 June 2006), and "We are fed up of people who always talk as if they represent us when they are there to pursue their agendas" (Interview with 18 year old man, Chilohlela, 21 April 2006), reflects the lack of confidence and representativeness of local people in institutional structures that were established by the GLTFCA. It is this situation that potrays conservation as a political game that is implemented to claim legitimacy at local level by TFCAs (See Spierenburg *et al*, 2008 for instance).

It is far from being true that the old ideas of command and control, of blaming poor people for mismanagement of natural resources, have been overturned (see Tyler, 2006). TFCAs such as the GLTFCA have instead rejuvenated these so called old ideas (or paradigms) in the Sengwe prefecture evoking the colonial mindset that created 'conservation fotresses'. As I have illustrated in the thesis, the GLTFCA brings up a new paradigm in conservation discourse that is: authoritative conservation and commoditization of wildlife. Therefore, rhetoric of bottom-up, 'participation', 'socioeconomic empowerment', and poverty alleviation in the GLTFCA prefecture can be viewed as misleading notions.

In, the broader arguments on the roles of TFCAs in Africa, this thesis follows Wolmer (2003), who declares that "... the logic expounded by the Biodiversity Support Program ... that ... biodiversity conservation be extended even further, beyond buffer zones and protected areas, to include all elements of the African landscape and all ecosystems" is an example of pursuance of the 'Cape to Cairo', dream of Cecil John Rhodes. This not only justifies this dream *per se,* but "... ensures a continued and expanded role for international experts" (ibid:.2003: 264). Henceforth "... this philosophy holds that Africa

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

should endeavor to join all its game parks contiguously" seems to suggest that the implementation of TFCAs expound this prediction (ibid). In a similar vein, Zimbabwe as a country is within this context, constructed as a wildife Corridor, and Sengwe, a Corridor within. It is tempting to suggest that this dream accordingly, is systematically realized through the creation of currently discrete conservation units (TFCAs) that in the long term might coalesce. Because of the fact that they straddle international boundaries, they form a continuous tourist corridor from 'Cape to Cairo' suggesting supporting Cecil John Rhodes's dream.

Following Wolmer's argument, TFCAs are henceforth, spreading their tentacles of authority from protected areas. Even today, the efficacy of TFCAs can be witnessed in the reconstruction of conservation geographic maps in conservation discourse. As Spierenburg and Wels (2006) put it "the appropriation of space is often settled by giving it a name, which will then appear on maps (2006:301). And this legacy in conservation discourse continues unabated. The efficacy of TFCAs: evokes and redefines the colonial mindset of 'conservation fortresses'; expand the access to wild resources to tourists; exert authority over entry by local people into designated areas; as well as expand the horizons of the conservationists and researchers to pursue their agendas. This hegemony stops conservation practises by local people in designated areas, protects the private land (e.g. conservancies in the GLTFCA) and biodiversity; evokes the colonial legacy of appropriating land and other resources; and establishes physical (fences) that not only restrict livestock-wildlife interactions but access by local people to resources. This indeed affirms as a stepping stone towards the partial fulfillment of Cecil John Rhodes' 'Cape to Cairo' dream.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

This thesis concludes that the GLTFCA is constructed on top-down hegemonic development approaches, that are also market-oriented and in the Sengwe prefecture does not foster socio-economic improvement of local people. Almost 10 years after its establishment, local people have not benefited. Therefore the GLTFCA has not achieved its intended effects in the Corridor (see also Wolmer, 2003:7; Whande, 2007; Spiernburg and Wels,

2006; Draper and Wels, 2002:2). As I walked in the company of Mr Dziva (see chapter 2), after an attempt to meet with Chief Sengwe, back to my residence at Davata, I realized that the livelihoods of local people have not improved with the passing of time. But the TFCA agenda continues unabated in the Corridor that is yet to be fully implemented in the Zimbabwe sector.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Bibliography

Adams, W & D Hulme. (2001), Changing Narratives, Policies and Practices in African Conservation, in Hulme & Murphree (eds.), *African Wildlife & Livelihoods: The Promise & Performance of Community Conservation*, James Currey, Oxford.

Adams, W. (2000), Social Impacts of Large Dams Equity and Distributional Issues. Thematic Review I.1: *Downstream Impacts of Large Dams*: January 2000. Working paper prepared for the World Commission on Dams. Vlaeberg, Cape Town. South Africa. http://www.dams.org [accessed 20 November, 2007]

Addison, T., & Laakso, L. (2003), The political economy of Zimbabwe's descent into conflict. Journal of International Development, 15(4), 457–470.
African Wildlife and Livelihoods. The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation. James Currey, London.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Agrawal, A. (1995), *Dismantling the Divide Between Indigenous and Scientic Knowledge*. Development and Change 26, 413-439.

Agrawal, A. and Gibson, C.C. (1999), *Enchantment and Disenchantment: the Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation*. World Development 27: 629-649.

AHEAD-GLTFCA. (2006), *Ensuring Health and Development in Landscape Regimes with a Biodiversity Focus: The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area's Wildlife-Livestock-Human Health Interface.* Final Technical Report from The Wildlife Conservation Society to the USAID/EGAT/NRM/Global Conservation Program (GCP) for an Associates Award (September 2005 – September 2006). http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACI015.pdf [accessed 15 August, 2007]

Andersen, M. H., Mujakachi, L., and Wollesen, L. (2000), *Debriefing Note. Review of the Managing our Indigenous Tree Inheritance Project, Zimbabwe.*

Report. Ref No. 104.Zimbabwe.1.MFS.3

Andersson, K., and Diego Pacheco. (2004), The historical origins of modern forestry policy in Bolivia - The challenge to govern a vast land. In *Policy Matters: History, Culture and Conservation.* Issue 13, November 2004. IUCN Commission on Environment, Economic and Social Policy. (eds). Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, Ken MacDonald and Luisa.

Anon. (undated), *Basic Vegetation Types: Gonarezhou*. 1:250 000 map, archived at the National Herbarium, Harare.

Anthwal, A., R. C. Sharma and A. Sharma. (2006), *Sacred Groves: Traditional Way of Conserving Plant Diversity in Garhwal Himalaya, Uttaranchal*. The Journal of American Science 2, no. 2 (2006): 35-38. http://www.americanscience.org/journals/am-sci/0202/07-0114-anthwal.doc [accessed 15 September, 2008]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

ARDA, (1993). *The Study of the Irrigation Potential Mwenezi River in Sengwe Communal Lands, Masvingo Province*. Government of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Water Development. Harare: unpublished.

AREX. (2002), *Sengwe wards 14 and 15 Progress Report on Irrigation Schemes*. September 2002. Unpublished.

Ashley, C. and Wolmer, W. (2003), *Transformation or Tinkering? New Forms of Engagement Between Communities and the Private Sector in Tourism and Forestry in Southern Africa.* Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa Programme Research Paper 18, Brighton, Institute for Development Studies. http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/env/PDFs/wRP18.pdf [accessed 12 June, 2009]

Ayling, R., Campbell, B., Frost, P., Goebel, A., Gunda, W., Mukamuri, B., Murray E. and Veeman M. (1997), Valuing woodland resources of savannah regions: A conceptual model of woodland use and change. The value of trees working group in Mushove, P., Mubaiwa, M., Mukwekwerere, M. and Pfukwa

C. (eds) *Forestry in a Changing Political Environment: Challenges for the 21st Century.* Proceedings of the 15th Commonwealth Forestry Conference held in Victoria Falls, 12 – 17 May 1997. Zimbabwe Forestry Commission.

Bayart, J. (1993), *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. London: Longman.

Bengis, R.G. (2005), Transfrontier Conservation Area Initiatives in Sub-Saharan Africa: Some Animal Health Challenges. In Osofsky, S.A., Cleaveland, S., Karesh, W.B., Kock, M.D., Nyhus, P.J., Starr, L. and Yang, A. (Eds). (2005). *Conservation and Development Interventions at the Wildlife/Livestock Interface: Implications for Wildlife, Livestock and Human Health.* IUCN, Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge, UK. xxxiii + 220pp.

Berkes, F, Colding, J., and Folke, C. (2000), *Rediscovery of Traditional Ecological Knowledge as Adaptive Management.* Ecological Applications 10(5): 1251-1262.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Berkes, F. (1999), *Sacred ecology. Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management*. Taylor and Francis, Philadelphia and London, UK.

Bernard, H. R. (ed,.) (1998), *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, Altamira Press.

Bernard, R. H. (2002), *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods.* Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.

Biebuyck, D. (1963), Introduction, in D. Biebuyck (ed.), *African Agrarian Systems*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-64.

Biesele, M. (1993). *Women Like Meat: The Folklore and Foraging Ideology of the Kalahari Ju/'hoan*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Witwatersrand University Press and Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Bologna, A.S. (2008), *Nature and Power: A Critique of 'People Based Conservation' at South Africa's Madikwe Game Resrve.* PhD Thesis: Department of Social Anthropology. University of Cape Town.

Bond, I. (2001), Campfire and the Incentives for Institutional Change, in D. Hulme and M. W. Murphree (eds) *African Wildlife and African Livelihoods: The Promise And Performance Of Community Conservation*, James Currey, Oxford, pp 227-43.

Bond, P. (2001), The IMF and World Bank Reconsidered. In Coetzee, J. K., J. Graaff., F. Hendricks., and G. Wood (eds.,). 2001. *Development, theory, Policy and Practice.* Cape Town University Press, South Africa.

Bond. I. (1999), *CAMPFIRE as a Vehicle for Sustainable Rural Development in the Semi-Arid Communal Lands of Zimbabwe: Incentives for Institutional Change*. D. Phiul. Thesis, Department of Agricultural Economics and Extension, 1999; University of Zimbabwe, Harare.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Boonzaier, E. and Sharp, J. (eds.), (1988), *South African Key Words. The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts*, Cape Town: David Philip.

Borrini-Feyerabend, G. (1997), *Beyond Fences: Seeking Social Sustainability in Conservation*. IUCN, Gland.

Borrini-Feyerabend, G., M. Pimbert, M., T. Farvar, A. Kothari and Y. Renard. (2007), *Sharing Power. A Global Guide to Collaborative Management of Natural Resources.* Published by Earthscan, IUCN and IIED, London, UK). MEA Bulletin - Guest Article No. 41 - Thursday, 14 February 2008.

Boughey, A.S. (1958), Ecological Investigations. Botany Report Part C. In: *Report on Mateke Expedition*, pp. 106-114. Rhodesia Schools Exploration Society, Salisbury.

Bridgland Fred. (2003), *Zimbabwe Beef on Verge of Extinction*. http://www.zimbabwesituation.com [accessed 11 August, 2007]

Brockington, D and K. Homewood. (2001), *Degradation Debates and Data deficiencies: The Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania. Africa*: Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. 71, No. 3 (2001), pp 449-480. Edinburg University Press. http://www.justor.org/stable/116156 [accessed 20 March, 2009]

Bromwich, M.C. (1972), *The Effect of Introducing Permanent Water into a Seasonal Pan on Game and Vegetation*. Internal Report, Department of National Parks & Wildlife Management, Salisbury.

Brown, M. and B, Wyckoff-Baird. (1994), *Designing Integrated Conservation and Development Projects*. Corporate Press, Landover, Maryland.

Brown, T. (2005), Contestation, Confusion and Corruption: Market-Based Land Reform in Zambia. In S. Evers, M. Spierenburg, & H.Wels (Eds.), *Competing Jurisdictions: Settling Land Claims in Africa* (pp. 79-102). Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill Academic.

Bryman, A. (2004), *Social Research Methods,* 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buckingham-Hatfield, S. (2000), *Gender and Environment*. Routledge, 11 New Ftetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE. UK.

Bury, J. B. (1932), *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry Into its Origin and Growth*. New York: Macmillan. Reprinted. With an introduction by Charles A. Beard. New York: Dover, 1955.

Campbell, B.M., de Jong, W., Luckert, M., Mandondo, A., Matose, F., Nemarundwe, N. and Sithole, B. (2001), *Challenges to Proponents of CPR Systems –Despairing Voices From the Social Forests of Zimbabwe*.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Campbell, Lisa. M. and Arja Vainio-Mattila. (2003), *Participatory Development and Community-Based Conservation: Opportunities Missed for Lessons Learned?* Human Ecology, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Sep., 2003), Springer. pp. 417-437 http://www.jstor.org/stable/4603483 [accessed 02 July, 2009]

CAMPFIRE. (1999), *Community Natural Resource Management in Zimbabwe: Forest, Fisheries, Game and Grasslands*. CAMPFIRE Fact Sheets. No 6. Resource Management. ART, Harare, Zimbabwe.

Carroll, T. F (1992), *Intermediary NGO's: The Supporting Link in Grassroots Development,* Kumarian Press, Hartford, CT.

Carr-Saunders, A. M., and P.A. Wilson. (1933). *The Professions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

CESVI. (2002), *Sengwa Corridor Concept Paper*. Harare, CESVI Zimbabwe Office.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

CESVI. (2003), *Sustainable Development and Natural Resources Management in Southern Zimbabwe*. Report of the Feedback Workshop on the PRA study in Sengwe – Chipise Communal Lands, Chiredzi, 23-24 July 2003. Unpublished.

Chambers, R. (1983), *Rural Development: Putting the Last First,* London: Longman.

Chambers, R. (1994), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): Analysis of Experience. *World Development*. Vol, 22. No 9. pp 1253-1268. London: Pergamon.

Chambers, R. (1997), *Whose Reality Counts? : Putting the First Last,* London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Chambers, R., and P. Richards. (1995), Introduction. In Warren, D. M., I. J. Slikkerveer and D. Brokensha (eds). *The Cultural Dimension of Development: Indigenous Kowldge Systems,* xv – xviii. London: Intermediate Technology Publication.

Chambers, R., R. Pacey and L. Thrupp, (eds.) (1989), *Farmer First: Farmer Innovation and Agricultural Research*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Chapin, M. (2004), *A Challenge to Conservationists*. World Watch Magazine November/December: 17-31.

Charnovitz, S. (2006), *Nongovernmental Organizations and International Law.* The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 100, No. 2 (Apr., 2006), pp. 348-372. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3651151 [accessed 29 August, 2008]

Chaumba, J., Scoones, I. and Wolmer, W., (2003), *From Jambanja to Planning: the Reassertion of Technocracy in Land Reform in South-Eastern Zimbabwe*, Journal of Modern African Studies, 41 (4): 533-554.

Child, B. (1988), *The Role of Wildlife Utilisation in Sustainable Economic Development*. D.Phil. University Zimbabwe.

Child, B. (2002), Review of African Wildlife and Livelihoods. The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation. *Nature,* vol415, no 6872, pp581-582.

Child, B.A. (2004), Principles, Practice and Results of CBNRM in Southern Africa. In: Lyman, W., Child, B. (Eds), *Natural Resources as Community Assets: Lessons from Two Continents and County Foundation,* Madison, Wisconsin, pp. 19-50.

Child, B. (2009:25), The Emergence of Parks and Conservation Narratives in Southern Africa, in Helen Suich, Brian Child, Anna Spenceley (Eds.),

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Evolution and Innovation in Wildlife Conservation: Parks and Game Ranches to Transfrontier Conservation Areas. Earthscan, London EC1N 8XA, UK

Chiremba, S., & Masters, W. (2003), *The Experience of Resettled Farmers in Zimbabwe.* African Studies Quarterly, 7(2–3), 1–2 http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v7/v7i2a5.htm [accessed 12 June, 2009]

Chow, Ngan-ling. E. (1996), Making Waves, Moving Mountains: Reflections on Beijing '95 and Beyond Signs, Vol. 22, No. 1. (Autumn, 1996), pp. 185-192.
Clandinin, Jean (ed.). (2007), *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Clarke, J. (1993), *Building on Indigenous Natural Resource Management: Forestrry Practices in Communal Lands.* Forestry Commission, Harare.

Colding, J. (1998), *Analysis of Hunting Options by the Use of General Food Taboos.* Ecological modeling.
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence
Cole, B. A. (2009), Gender, Narratives and Intersectionality:can Personal Experience Approaches to Research Contribute to "Undoing Gender"?. *International Review of Education (*2009). Springer. 55:561–578.

Collins, J. C. and B.L. Molyneaux. (2003), *Archeological Survey,Archeologist's Toolkit 2,* AltaMira Press, Oxford, OX2 9RU, UK.

Commission of the European Communities-CEC. (1988), *The Future of Rural Society*; CEC, Brussels.

Cooter, R. D. (1997), The Rule of State Law and the Rule of Law State: The Economic Analysis of the Legal Foundations of Development, in *Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics*, 1996, edited by Michael Bruno and Boris Pleskovic, Washington, D. C, pp. 191-217.

Council of Europe - COE. (2008), *Resolution 1615 (2008). Empowering Women in a Modern, Multicultural Society.* Report. http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc08/EDOC11612.htm [accessed 20 July, 2009]

Cousins, B. (1997), *How Do Rights Become Real? Formal and Informal Institutions in South Africa's Land Reform.* IDS Bulletin, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp 59-68.

Cumming, D., (2004), *Sustaining Animal Health and Ecosystem Services in Large Landscapes*, paper prepared for the AHEAD-GLTFCA Working Group & the Wildlife Conservation Society.

Dahl R. (2000), *On Democracy*, Yale, NH, Yale University Press.

Dalal-Clayton, B. (1997), *Southern Africa Beyond the Millennium. Environmental Trends and Scenarios to 2015.* IIED Environmental policy Issues number 13, London, UK.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

D'Andrade, R., (1995), Moral Models in Anthropology. *Current Anthropology* 36(3):399-408.

DANIDA. (1999), *Equity in Denmark: Towards a New Millenium. Danish National Response to UN Questionnaire on the Implementation of the Beijing for Action Prior to Beinjing+5.* Copenhagen K, Denmark.

DANIDA. (2000), *Evaluation: Danida's Environmental Assistance in Southern Africa.* Report. Evaluation Secretariat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nielsen & Krohn. DK-2640 Hedehusene Copenhagen, Denmark. Ref. No. 104.A.1.e.20.

de Negri, Bérengère, Elizabeth Thomas, Aloys Ilinigumugabo, Ityai Muvandi, and Gary Lewis. 1998. Session 10: Transect walks and observation. In *Empowering communities: Participatory techniques for community-based programme development.* Volume 2: Participant's handbook. Nairobi: The

Centre for African Family Studies (CAFS), in collaboration with the Johns Hopkins University Center for Communications Programs and the Academy of Educational Development. http://pcs.aed.org/manuals/cafs/handbook/sessions10-12.pdf. Accessed April 2007.

De Vriers, P. (1992), A Research Journey, in N Long and A. Long (eds), *Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development,* Routledge.

Deininger, K., Hoogeveen, J., & Kinsey, B. (2000), Productivity and Equity Impacts of Land Reform: the Case of Zimbabwe. Paper presented at the Mini symposium on *Improving Land Access and Asset Ownership by the Poor Through Land Reform: Empirical Evidence and Policy Implications,* at the XXIV international conference of agricultural economists, August 13–18, 2000, Berlin, Germany.

Dent, D., Young, A. (1981), *Soil Survey and Land Evaluation*. Chapman & Hall, London.

Department of National Parks & Wildlife Management. (1998), *Gonarezhou National Park Management Plan*. Department of National Parks & Wildlife Management, Harare.

DeWalt KM, DeWalt BR, Wayland CB. (1998), Participant observation. In Bernard HR (ed.). *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

DeWalt, B.R. (1994), *Using Indigenous Knowledge to Improve Agriculture and Natural Resources Management*. Human Organisation 53, 123– 131.

DNPWM. (2001), Workshop on Gaza Kruger Gonarezhou Transboundary Park Initiative for Exchanging Ideas and Exploring Constraints. Harare. Zimbabwe.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Donald Curtis. (1999), *The Elusive Promise of NGOs in Africa: Lessons From Uganda* by Susan Dicklitch African Affairs, Vol. 98, No. 391. (Apr., 1999), pp. 285-286.

Dore, D. (2001), *Transforming Traditional Institutions for Sustainable Natural Resource Management: History, Narratives and Evidence from Zimbabwe's Communal Areas.* African Studies Quarterly http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i3a1.html [accessed 15 September, 2007]

Dorman, R., S. (2003), *NGOs and the Constitutional Debate in Zimbabwe: From Inclusion to Exclusion*. Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 29, No 4 (Dec., 2003), pp. 845-863. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3557390 [accessed 23 August, 2009]

Drummond, R.B. (1958), List of Specimens Collected and Their Localities. Botany Report Part D. In: *Report on Mateke Expedition*, pp. 115-124. Rhodesia Schools Exploration Society, Salisbury.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Du Toit, R. (2005), FMD Management and Land-Use Implications in the Zimbabwean Lowveld: the Rationale for Creating a Biosphere Reserve. In: S. Osovosky (ed.) *Conservation and Development Interventions at the Wildlife/Livestock Interface: Implications for Wildlife*, Livestock and Human Health. Gland: IUCN Species Survival Commission.

Dubash, N. and M., Oppenheimer. (1992), *"Modifying the Mandates of Existing Institutions: NGOs,"* in *Confronting Climate Change: Risks, Implications and Responses*. Irving Mintzer, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Duffy, R. (2006), *The Potential and Pitfalls of Global Environmental Governance: The Politics of Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa*. Political Geography, 25, 89-112.

Dyson-Hudson, R., and E. A. Smith, (1978), *Human Territoriality: An Ecological Assessment*. American Anthropologist 80.

Dzingirai, V. (1995), *Take Back Your CAMPFIRE: a Study of Local Level Perceptions to Electric Fencing in the Framework of Bingas CAMPFIRE.* Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.

Dzingirai, V. (2003), The New Scramble for the African Countryside, *Development and Change*, vol. 34(2), 243-263.

Edwards, M. and D. Hulme (eds.) (1995), *Non-Governmental Organisations-Performance and Accountability-Beyond the Magic Bullet*, London: Earthscan (with Save the Children Fund).

Ervin, A. M. (2000), *Applied Anthropology: Tools and Perspectives for Contemporary Practice.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Escalada, M. M. and K. L. Heong. (1997), Methods For Research on Farmers' Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices in Pest Management. In: *Pest Management of Rice Farmers in Asia.* (ed. KL Heong, MM Escalada) Manila (Philippines): International Rice Research Institute, pp.1-34.

Escobar, A. (1988), *Power and Visibility: Development and Invention of Management of the Third World*. Cultural Anthropology, Vol. 3, pp 428-443.

Escobar, A. (1991), *Anthropology and the Development Encounter: the Making and Marketing of Development Anthropology*. American Ethnologist 18 (4): 16-40. Ethics 9 (1), 1-15.

Escobar, A. (1995), *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Escobar, A. (2002), The Problematization of Poverty: The Tale of Three Worlds and development. In Schech, S., and J. Haggis (eds). 2002.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Development: A Cultural Studies Reader. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 0X4 1JF, UK. Pp 79-92.

Fairhead, J. and M. Leach. (1996), *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Fakir, S. (2001). *Is there A Paradigm Shift in Conservation?* IUCN. Pretoria. South Africa.

Faikir, S. (2004). 'Globalisation and its influence on poverty and environment', *IUCN Policy Think Tank*, no. 17.

Fakir, S. (2003), From Sweet Talk to Delivery: Community participation in Transfrontier Conservation Areas *(TFCAs),* Inwent-IUCN Workshop on *Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa into Guidance and Networking* (18-20 June), 2003. IUCN. Pretoria. South Africa.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

FAO. (1997), *Shifting Cultivation in Bhutan: A Gradual Approach to Modifying Land Use Patterns: A case study from Pema Gatshel district*, Bhutan. Community Forestry Case Study. Series 11.

Farrington, J. & Lewis, D. with Satish, S. & Miclat-Teves, A. (Eds.) (1993), NGOs and the state in Asia: *Rethinking Roles in Sustainable Agricultural Development.* London: Routledge.

Ferguson, J. (1990), *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development,"Depolitization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson, J. (1997), Development and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho. In Rahnenna, M and Bavtra, V (eds). *The Post Development Reader*. Zed Book: London.

Feyerabend, P. (1987), *Farewell to Reason*. Verso, London, UK.

Feyerabend, P. K. (1975), *Against Method: Outline of An Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge.* London: New Left Books.

Fisher, J. (1993), *The Road from Rio: Sustainable Development and the Nongovernment Movement in the Third World*, Praeger, Westport, CT.

Flick Uwe. (2004), What is Qualitative Research? An Introduction to the Field, In Flick Uwe, Ernst von Kardoff and Steinke (Eds.). *A Companion to Qualitative Research.* Delhi: Sage publications.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001), *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Enquiry Fails and How it Can Succeed Again*, Cambridge University Press. JSP, 31, 2002, DOI: 10.1017/S004727940237692X.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Folke, C. and J. Colding. (2001), *Traditional Conservation Practices*. Encyclopaedia of Biodiversity. Vol. 5, pp 681-693.

Foucault, M. (1972), *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. London: Routledge.

Fowler, A.F. (1998), *Authentic NGDO Partnerships* in the New Policy Agenda for International.

Frohardt, K and P. Muruthi. (2001), *Study on the Development of Transboundary Natural Resource Management Areas in Africa; Kilimanjaro Heartland Case Study*. AWF Washington DC 200036. USA.

Gadgil M. and Vartak V.D. (1976), *Sacred Groves of Western Ghats of India.* Economic Botany 1976.

Gardner, K. and D. Lewis. (1996), *Anthropology, Development and The Post-Modern Challenge,* London: Pluto Press.

Geertz, C. (1973), *The Interpretations of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gerden, C. and S. Mtallo. (1990), *Traditional Forest Reserves In Babati District, Tanzania: A study in Human Ecology.* Working Paper 128, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, IRDC, Uppsala.

GKG Conceptual Plan, 2000. http://www.environment.gov.za/Documents/Documents/GreatLimpopoTP/ConceptPlan.htm#Anchor-1.-14065 [accessed 20 June, 2007]

GKG Treaty. (2002), GOM, GOSA & GOZ (Government of Mozambique, Government of South Africa & Government of Zimbabwe), 2002. Treaty between the Government of the Republic of Mozambique, the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe on the establishment of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, 1 December.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Global Oneness. (2008), *Politics-Authority and Legitimacy*. http://www.experiencefestival.com [accessed 17 September, 2008]

Gondo, P.C. (Undated), *Managing Our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI).* SAFIRE. Harare, Zimbabwe. Unpublished.

GoZ. (1998), *Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase II – A Policy Framework and Project Document'.* September 1998.

GoZ. (1999), *Implementation Framework and Procedural Guidelines for NGO and Private Stakeholder Participation in the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme II – Inception Phase.* Harare. August 31st 1999.

GoZ. (2001), *Land Reform and Resettlement Programme – Revised Phase II.* Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement. April 2001.

Gramsci, A. (1971), *Selections From Prison Notebooks.* Lawrence & Wishart, London.

Greif, A. (2002), *Institutions and Impersonal Exchange: From Communal to Individual Responsibility*, Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics, 158: 168–204.

Griffin J., Cumming D., Metcalfe S., t'Sas Rolfes M., Singh J., Chonguica E., Rowen M., Oglethorpe J., (1999), *Study on the Development of Transboundary Natural Resource Management Areas in Southern Africa: Highlights and Findings.* USAID/BSP, Washington, D.C.

Grueso, L., Rosero, C., & A. Escobar. (1998), The Process of Black Community Organizing in the Southern Pacific Coast region of Columbia. In S. E. Alvarez, E. Dagnino, & A. Escobar (Eds.), *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Revisioning Latin American social movements* (pp. 196-219). Boulder, CO: Westview.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Guy, G.L. (1958), Woody Vegetation: Area Between Bubye River and Mateke Hills. Botany Report Part A. In: *Report on Mateke Expedition*, pp. 103-105. Rhodesia Schools Exploration Society, Salisbury.

Hammami, R. (2000), Palestinian NGOs Since Oslo: From NGO Politics to Social Movements? Middle East Report, No. 214, *Critiquing NGOs: Assessing the Last Decade.* (Spring, 2000), pp. 16-19+27+48.

Hammersley, M. and P. Atkinson. (1983), *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.* Tavistock Publications. London.

Hammill, A., and C. Besançon. (2003), *Promoting Conflict Sensitivity in Transboundary Protected Areas: A Role for Peace and Conflict Impact Assessments.* Paper prepared for the workshop on Transboundary Protected Areas in the Governance Stream of the 5th World Parks Congress, Durban, South Africa, 12-13 September 2003.

Hanna, S. (2006), *Nature Above People: Rolston and "Fortress"* Conservation in the South Ethics & the Environment - Volume 11, Number 1, Spring 2006, pp. 71-96.

Hargreaves, J.D. (1985), The Making of the Boundaries: Focus on West Africa, in *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations across Africa's International Boundaries,* 1884-1984, ed. A.I. Asiwaju (Lagos: University of Lagos Press, 1985), 19-27.

Harmon, D., (ed.) (2006), People, Places and Parks: Proceedings of the 2005 George, Write Society Conference on Parks, *Protected Areas, and Cultural Sites*. Hancock, Michigan: The George Write Society.

Helliker, D. K. (2006), *A Sociological Analysis of Intermediary Nongovernmental Organizations and Land Reform In Contemporary Zimbabwe.* A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Rhodes University. South Africa.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Hens, L. (2006), *Indigenous Knowledge and Biodiversity Conservation and Management in Ghana.* Human Ecology Department, Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

Hersen, M., S., M. Turner, D. C. Beidel. (2007), *Adult Psychopathology and Diagnosis*. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., Hoken, New Jersey. Fifth ed.

Hilhorst, D. (2003), *The Real World of GOs. Discourses, Diversity and Development*. ZED Books. Development studies. London. UK.

Hill, K. A. (1994), *Politicians, Farmers and Ecologists: Commercial Wildlife Ranching and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe*. Journal of African and Asian Studies 29(3-4).

Hill, M. A. and Press, A. J. (1994), Kakadu National Park: An Australian experience in comanagement. In *Natural Connections: Perspectives in*

Community Based Conservation, ed. David Western and R. Michael Wright, pp. 135-160. Island Press, Washington, DC.

Hitchcock, R. K. (2000), Decentralization, Development, and Natural Rresource Management in the Northwestern Kalahari Desert, Botswana. *A Case Study for: Shifting the Power: Decentralization and Biodiversity Conservation*. Washington, D.C.: Biodiversity Support Program.

Holling, C. S. (1973), *Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems,* Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics, Vol. 4, (1973). Published by: Annual Reviews Stable.

Holmén, H., and M. Jirström. (2009), *Look Who's Talking!: Second Thoughts about NGOs as Representing Civil Society.* Journal of Asian and African Studies 2009; 4SAGE. 4; 429.http://jas.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/44/4/429 [accessed 20 September, 2009]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Howard, A., and Widdowson, F. (1996), *Traditional Knowledge Threatens Environmental Assessment*. Policy Options 17.

Hughes, D. (2002)a, *When Tourists Cross Boundaries and Peasants Don't: Inequality and Regional Metaphors in Southern African Conservation*, paper presented at the Globalization of Geographies of Conservation conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 19 April 2002.

Hughes McDermott, D. (2002), *Going Transboundary: Scale Making and Exclusion in Southern African Conservation*, paper presented at the Environment and Development Advanced Research Circle, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 19 April 2002.

Hulme, D., and M. Murphree. (eds,.) (2001), *African Wildlife and Livelihoods: The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation*. Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2001. xvi + 336 pp.

Human Development Report (2003), *UN Development Programme*. http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/departreport04chap2.pdf#search='poverty%20levels%20africa [accessed 12 December, 2008]

Human Rights Watch, (2002), *Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe*. vol. 14, No. 1 (A). Human Rights Watch, New York.

Hutton, J., Adams, W. and Murombedzi, J. (2006), Back to the Barriers: Changing Narratives in Biodiversity Conservation, *Forum for Development Studies,* no 2-2005

IIED. (1994), *Whose Eden? An Overview of Community Approaches to Wildlife Management.* International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London.

Inger, D. (1985), Constrtaints To Popular Participation in Rural Development, in *The Theory and Practice of People's Participation in Rural Development* (Eds. B.D. Tsianf & F. Youngman). Proceedings of the RECC Workshop, Kanye. Botswana.

IUCN (2004), *An Introduction to the African Convention on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources*. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge, UK.

IUCN. (1993), *Protected Areas in Africa. Status Role and Issues; Strategies for the Development of Protected Areas for the Conservation of Biodiversity.* IUCN Protected Areas Programme/CNPPA, Rue Mauverney 28, CHA 119, Glad.

Jabs, L. (2007), *Where Two Elephant Meet, the Grass Suffers: A Case Study of Intractable Conflict in Karamoja, Uganda.* American Behavioral Scientist 2007; 50; 1498. Sage. http://abs.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/50/11/1498 [accessed 25 July, 2008]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Joekes, S., C. Green and M. Leach. (1996), *Integrating Gender Into Environmental Research and Policy*. Environmental and Natural Resources Policy and Training (EPAT) Project funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). February 1996.

Jones, B.T.B, and E. Chonguica. (2001), *Review and Analysis of Specific Transboundary Natural Resources Management (TBNRM) Initiatives in the Southern African Region;* Paper no.2, IUCN-ROSA Series on Transboundary Natural Resource Management.

Jones, B.T.B, and Murphree, M. (2004), *Community-Based Natural Resource Management as a Conservation Mechanism: Lessons and Directions,* in B. Child (ed) Parks in Transition: Biodiversity, Rural Development and the Bottom Line. Earthscan, London.

Katerere, Y, Hill, R. and Moyo, S. (2001), *A Critique of Transboundary Natural Resource Management in Southern Africa.* IUCN-Rosa Series on Transboundary Natural Resource Management – Paper 1, Harare, IUCN-ROSA.

Kaviraj, S. (2005), *An Outline of a Revisionist Theory of Modernit,* European Journal of Sociology XLVI (3): 497-526.

Kearney, B. G. and J. Walsh. (1994), *EU LEADER I Initiative in Ireland: Evaluation and Recommendations,* Department of Agriculture, Food and Forestry, Dublin (1994).

Kidane, H., Z.G. Alemu & G. Kundhlande. (2005), *Causes of Household Food Insecurity In Koredegaga Peasant Association, Oromiya Zone, Ethiopia.* Agrekon, Vol 44, No 4 (December 2005) pp. 543-560.

Kinsey, B H. (1983), *'Emerging Issues in Zimbabwe's Land Resettlement Programme', Development Policy Review, 1:163-196.*

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Kinsey, B H. (2004), *Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme: Underinvestment in Post-Conflict Transformation*. World Development Vol. 32, No. 10,. Elsevier Ltd. Great Britain, pp. 1669-1696.

Kock, R. A. (2005), What is this Infamous "Wildlife/livestock Disease Interface?" A review of Current Knowledge for the African Continent. In Osofsky, S.A., Cleaveland, S., Karesh, W.B., Kock, M.D., Nyhus, P.J., Starr, L. and Yang, A. (Eds). (2005). *Conservation and Development Interventions at the Wildlife/Livestock Interface: Implications for Wildlife, Livestock and Human Health.* IUCN, Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge, UK. xxxiii + 220pp.

Kothari, R. (1988), *Rethinking Development*, New Delhi: Ajanta.

Kriger, N.J. (1992), *Zimbabwe's Guerilla War: Peasant Voices.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kundhlande, G. and Luckert, M. K., (1997), *Land tenure in Zimbabwe: A Case Study in jinga Village*. Department of Rural Economy Staff Paper, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Kuper, A. (1987), *South Africa and The Anthropologist.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Leach, M., R. Mearns. and I. Scoones. (1997), *Challenges to Community Based Sustainable Development: Dynamics, Entitlements, Institutions*. IDS Bulletin 28(4), Institute for Development Studies, Sussex, pp4-14.

Leach, M., R. Mearns, and I.Scoones. (1999), *Environmental Entitlements: Dynamics and Institutions in Community-Based Natural Resource Management*, World Development 27(2): 225-47.

Leighton, A.H. (1949), *Human Relations in a Changing World.* New York: Dutton.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Levi-Strauss, C. (1962), rpt. 1963) *Totemism*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Lewis, D. J. (1997), NGOs, Donors, and the State in Bangladesh. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 554, *The Role of NGOs: Charity and Empowerment.* Nov., 1997), pp. 33-45.

Li, T.M. (1999), *Images of community: discourse and strategy in property relations*. Development and Change 27: 501-527.

Li, T.M., (2002), *Engaging Simplifications: Community-Based Resource Management, Market Resources and State Agendas in Upland Southeast Asia*. World Development 30 (2), 265–283.

Limb, M. and Dwyer, C., Editors, (2001), *Qualitative methodologies for geographers: issues and debates*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Lindfors, C. (2001), *Process Orientation: An Approach for Organisations to Function Effectively,* Proceedings of the Ninth International Group for Lean Construction Conference, National University of Singapore, Singapore, August 6-8, pp. 435-446.

Lindgre. B. (2004), *The Internal Dynamics of Ethnicity: Clan Names, Origins and Castes in Southern Zimbabwe, Africa.* May 2004, Vol. 74, No. 2 : pp. 173-193. (doi: 10.3366/afr.2004.74.2.173).

Little, D. P. and M. Painter. (1995), *Comments and Reflections. Discourse, Politics, and the Development Process: Reflections on Escobar's "Anthropology and the Development Encounter.* American Ethnologist 22(3):602-616. American Anthropological Association. USA.

Long, N. (2001), *Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives*. Routledge. London EC4P 4EE.

Long, N. and Long, A. (eds) (1992), *Battlefields of Knowledge: The*

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development. Londonand New York: Routledge.

Loubser, L. (2006), *Insider Trading and Other Market Abuses (Including the Effective Management of Price Sensitive Information),* Foreword Booklet. http://www.jse.co.za/docs/insider/insider_trading.pdf [accessed 25 July, 2008] Pp. 1-28.

Lynott, M., and A. Wylie, (eds)., (1995), Ethics in *American Archaeology: Challenges for the 1990s.* Washington, D.C.Society for American Archaeology.

Lyons, Nona. (2007), Narrative Inquiry: What Possible Future Influence on Policy or Practice? In: *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology*, ed. by Jean Clandinin. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Machingaidze, V.E.M. (1991), *Agrarian Change from Above: The Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act and African Response.* International Journal of African Historical Studies 24(3):557-589. http://www.jstor.org/stable/219092 [accessed, 24 July, 2007].

Magome, H. and Murombedzi, J. (2003), Sharing South African National Parks: Community Land and Conservation in a Democratic South Africa. In W. Adams and M. Mulligan (eds), *Decolonizing Nature: Strategies for Conservation in a Post-Colonial Era.* London, Earthscan.

Mahiri, Ishmail. (1998). Comparing transect walks with experts and local people. *PLA (Participatory Learning and Action) Notes 31: Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation,* 4–8. International Institute for Environment and Education, London, United Kingdom. http://www.iied.org/NR/agbioliv/pla_notes/pla_backissues/documents/plan_03101_001.PDF. Accessed April 2007.

Makumbe, J.M. (1998), *Democracy and Development in Zimbabwe:*

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Constraints of Decentralization. Harare, SAPES Books, Harare.

Mandondo, A. (2000), *Situating Zimbabwe's Natural Resource Governance Systems in History.* Center for International Forestry Research Occasional Paper No. 32. CIFOR. Bogor.

Manyena, S. B. (2006), *Disaster Prevention and Management*: An International Journal, Volume 15, Number 5, 2006, pp. 810-820.

Mapaure, I., and C. Chapano. (1999), Vegetation Survey of the Sengwe And Mahenye Areas, Southeast Zimbabwe. In Jonathan Timberlake, Isaac Mapaure, Christopher Chapano. *Biodiversity Foundation for Africa – BFA. Vegetation Mapping and Inventory* – Final Report. December, 1999. CESVI Project Office 29, Northwood Rise, Mount Pleasant. Harare, Zimbabwe

Marc-Adélard, T. (1957), *The Key Informant Technique: A Non-Ethnographic Application*, American Anthropologist, vol. 59, no 4, 1957, p. 688-701.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Marshall, C., and G.B. Rossman. (2006), *Designing Qualitative Research.* Sage Publications, Inc, London, EC1Y 1SP UK.

Maruthi, V. and Srinivas, K. (2006), *Transferring an Indigenous Practice for Soil Improvement: Cattle Manure with Groundnut Shells*. IKNotes. World Bank. 98 http://www.worldbank.org [accessed September, 2008]

Mauro, F. and Preston D. Hardison. (2000), *Traditional Knowledge of Indigenous and Local Communities:International Debate and Policy Initiatives.* Ecological Applications 10: 1263-1269, 2000.

Mavedzenge, B.Z., J. Mahenehene, F. Murimbarimba, I. Scoones and W. Wolmer. (2006), *Changes in the Livestock Sector in Zimbabwe Following Land Reform: the Case of Masvingo Province,* Draft Report presented at a workshop in Masvingo.

Maveneke, T.N. (1998), Local Participation as an Instrument for Natural Resources Management under the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe. Proceedings of an International Workshop on *Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM),* Washington, D.C., May 10-14, 1998. http://srdis.ciesin.columbia.edu/cases/Zimbabwe-Paper.html [accessed 12 June, 2007]

McDermott D. Hughes, (1999), *Going Transboundary: Scale-Making and Exclusion in Southern-African Conservation.* Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. NJ 08901 USA.

Messerschmidt, D. A. (1985), Commentary on "*Agricultural Land Evaluation for National Land-Use Planning in Nepal*" Mountain Research and Development, Vol. 5, No. 2 (May, 1985), International Mountain Society. pp. 147-149. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3673252 [accessed 08 August, 2008]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Metcalfe, M. (1999), *Natural Resources Tenure in the Context of Sustainable Use.* The Southern African Sustainable Use Specialist Group (SASUG). Harare, Zimbabwe.

Metcalfe, S. (1996), Dualistic Tenure of Communal Resources in Zimbabwe: Lessons from the CAMPFIRE Programme. In Africa Resources Trust (1996) *Proceeding of a Seminar Tour on Rural Development and Conservation in Africa: Studies in Community Resource Management.*

Metcalfe, S. (1998), Strengthens of Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE programme. In James Oglethorge (ed), *Tenure and Sustainable Use.* IUCN, SU1 Technical services. Vol. 2.

Metcalfe, S. (2003), Impacts of Transfrontier Protected Areas on Local Communities in three Southern African Initiatives. Prepared for the workshop on *Transboundary Protected Areas in the Governance Stream of the 5th World Parks Congress*, Durban, South Africa, 12-13 September 2003.

Milgroom, J. & M.J. Spierenburg. (2008), *Induced Volition: Resettlement from the Limpopo National Park, Mozambique, Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26(4), pp.435-48.

Mohamed-Katerere, J. (2001), *"Participatory Natural Resources Management in the Communal Lands of Zimbabwe: What Role for Customary Law?"* African Studies Quarterly 5, no.3. http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i3a7.htm [accessed 2 June, 2007]

Moore, Henrietta L. and Vaughan, Megan. (1987),. *"Cutting Down Trees: Women Nutrition and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1920-1986."* African Affairs. Volume 86 #345 October, 1987. pp. 523-540

Morgan, D. L. (1997), *Focus Group as Sualitative Research. Qualitative Research Methods;* v. 16. SAGE Publications Ltd. 2nd Ed. United Kingdom.

Moser CA, Kalton G (1989), 2nd ed. *Survey Methods in Social Investigation.* Hants, UK: Gower Publishing Company.

Mosley, P. (1983), *The Settler Economies: Studies in the Economic History of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1963.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mosse, D. (2004), *Is Good Policy Unimplementable? Reflections on the Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice*. Development and Change 35(4): 639–671 (2004). Institute of Social Studies 2004. Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK and 350 Main St., Malden, MA 02148, USA.

Mosse, D. (2005), *Cultivating Development. An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice.* England, University of London, Pluto Press.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Moyo, M. (1999), *Impact of the Proposed Environment and Natural Resource Management Bill on CAMPFIRE.* Cass Occasional Paper--NRM. Harare, Zimbabwe.

Moyo, S. (1995), *The Land Question in Zimbabwe.* SAPES Trust. Harare.

Muir-Leresche, K., Bond, I., Chambati, W., Khumalo, A., (2003), *An Analysis of CAMPFIRE Revenue Generation and Distribution: the Worst Decade (1989–2000).* WWF-SARPO Harare, Zimbabwe.

Murindagomo, F. (1997), *Cattle, Wildlife Comparative Advantage in Semi Arid Communal Lands and Implications for Agro Pastor Options, Institutions and Government Policy. A Case Study in the Sebungwe Region, Zimbabwe*. Ph.D. Thesis. Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.

Murombedzi, J. (2003), Revisiting the Principles of CBNRM in Southern Africa. In NACSO Proceedings of the Regional Conference on CBNRM in Southern Africa: *Sharing Best Practices for the Future*. Windhoek, Namibia.

Murombedzi, J. C. (1998), *The Evolving Context of Community-Based Natural Resource Management In Sub-Sahara Africa in Historical Perspectives.* Asset Building and Community Development, Ford Foundation, South Africa. Plenary Presentation, International CBNRM Workshop. Washington D.C., USA, 10-14 May 1998.

Murombedzi, J. C. (1999), *Devolution and Stewardship in Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE Programme.* Journal of International Development. Volume 11, Number 2 pp 287-294.

Murphree M.W. & S.C. Metcalfe. (1997), *Conservancy Policy and the CAMPFIRE Programme in Zimbabwe* CASS Technical Paper Series 1/97. University of Zimbabwe.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Murphree, M. (2004), *Communal Approaches to Natural Resource Management in Africa: From Whence to Where?* Journal of International Wildlife Law and Policy 7, 203-216.

Murphree, M. (2006). *Scenario Planning Inception, AHEAD GLTFCA Initiative*. Update Report. September 2006. Institute of Natural Resources. Kwa Zulu Natal, South Africa.

Murphree, M. W. (1991), *Communities as Institutions for Resource Management. Institutions.* Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe. Harare.

Murphree, M.W. (2001), *Community, Council and Client: A case study in Ecotourism Development from Mahenye, Zimbabwe*. In Hume, D & Murphree, MW. (eds.) 2001.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Mutandi, D. (1998), *Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Drought Mitigation: A Pastoral Perspective from Southern Zimbabwe's Dryland Ecosystems*.Harare.

Mutizwa-Mangiza, N.D. (1985), *Community Development in Pre-Independence Zimbabwe: A Study of Policy with Special Reference to Rural Land.* Supplement to Zambezia.

Mutizwa-Mangiza, N.D. (1991), Decentralization in Zimbabwe: Problems of Planning at the District Level. In: Mutizwa-Mangiza, N.D. and Wekwete, A.H.J. (eds.). *Rural Development and Planning in Zimbabwe*, 418-443. Gower Publishing Company, Aldershot.

Narayan, D. (2000), *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* Oxford University Press (for The World Bank). Oxford.

Nerumandwe, N. (2003), *Negotiating Resource Access Institutional Arrangements for Woodlands and Water Use in Southern Zimbabwe.*

Department of Rural Development Studies. Uppsala. Tryck: SLU Service/Repro, Uppsala 2003. ISBN 91-576-6427-7

Newsham, A J. (2002), *Participation: Processes, Problematic and Campfire', C.A.S.* Occasional Paper, University of Edinburgh.

Nhira, C. (1994), *Indigenous Woodlands Usage and Management in Kanyati Communal Area, Zimbabwe. With Special Reference to Common Property Issues.* Unpublished DPhil Thesis. CASS, University of Zimbabwe. Harare.

Nhira, C. (1998), *Landuse Planning and Woodland Management: A Case Study of Local Control and Regulatory Capacity on Household and Communal Woodland Resources in Zimbabwe.* IES Working Paper 8. Institute of Environmental Studies, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.

North, D. C. (1990), *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance.* Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

North, D. C. (1993), *The Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel 1993.* Prize Lecture. Lecture to the memory of Alfred Nobel, December 9, 1993. Economic Performance through Time. http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economics/laureates/1993/north-lecture.html [accessed 24 August, 2009]

Nyczepir, A.P. (2003), *Pre-Plant Crop Rotation for Nematode Control--A Replacement for Stacy Wheat.* Southeastern Regional Peach Newsletter. 3(5):9-10.

Nyoka, B.I., (2003), *Biosecurity in Forestry: A Case Study on the Status of Invasive Forest Trees Species in Southern Africa.* Forest Biosecurity Working Paper FBS/1E. Forestry Department. FAO, Rome (unpublished).

O'Connor, T.G. & Campbell, B.M. (1986), *Classification and Condition of the Vegetation Types of the Nyahungwe Area on the Lundi River, Gonarezhou*

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

National Park, Zimbabwe. South African Journal of Botany 52: 117-123.

OECD. (1983), *The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Development Cooperation,* Bulletin (no. 10, new series), OECD, Paris.

OIE, (2003), *Zimbabwe Report. World Animal Health, 2003.* Paris: Office International des Epizooties (OIE). www.oie.org [accessed 5 June, 2009]

Paavola, J., and W. Neil Adger. (2005), *ANALYSIS: Institutional Ecological Economics.* Ecological Economics 53 (2005) 353– 368 . http://www.sciencedirect.com [accessed 6 September, 2006]

Palmer R. (1990), *Land Reform in Zimbabwe, 1980-1990,* in African Affairs. Vol 89. No 355.

Palmer R. (2000), Land Policy in Africa: Lessons from Recent Policy and Implementation Processes, in Toulmin C and Quan J (eds.). 2000. *Evolving Land Rights, Policy and Tenure in Africa.* DFID/IIED/NRI. London.

Palmer, R. (1977), *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia.* London, Heinemann.

Palmer, R. (2009), *Inaugural Lecture: Challenges for South African Anthropology in the 3rd Millennium.* http://eprints.ru.ac.za/1595/1/Palmer_inaugural.pdf. Accessed 12 March, 2010.

Parry, D., and, B. Cambell. (1992), *Attitudes of Rural Communities to Animal Wildlife and its Utilization in Chobe Enclave and Mababe Depression, Botswana.* Environmental Conservation, Vol 19, No 3, Automn 1992, Switerland: 245-251.

Patton, M.Q. (1990), (2nd ed.) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods.* Newbury Park, USA: Sage Publications.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Payton R.W., J.J.F. Barr, A. Martin, P. Sillitoe, J.F. Deckers, J.W. Gowing, N. Hatibu, S.B. Naseem, M. Tenywa, M.I. Zuberi. (2003), *Contrasting approaches to integrating indigenous knowledge about soils and scientific soil survey in East Africa and Bangladesh*. Elsevier Science B.V.

Peace Parks Foundation, (2000), *Conceptual Plan for the Establishment of the Proposed Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Transfrontier Park;* October 2000 www.peaceparks.org [accessed October, 2005]

Pels, Peter, Michel Agier, Hermann Amborn, J. A. Barnes, Jean Copans, Gudrun Dahl, Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, Ananta K. Giri, Laura Nader, Antonius C. G. M. Robben, Heiko Schrader, Cris Shore, Jeffrey Sluka, George Ulrich, Philip Quarles Van Ufford, Murray L. Wax. (1999), Professions of Duplexity: A Prehistory of Ethical Codes in Anthropology [and Comments and Reply]. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Apr., 1999), pp. 101-136. The University of Chicago Press on behalf of Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2991355. Accessed: 14 March 2010.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Perry, B.D., Randolph, T.F., Ashley, S., Chimedza, R., Forman, T., Morrison, J., Poulton, C., Sibanda, L., Stevens, C., Tebele, N., Yngstrom, I., (2003), *The Impact and Poverty Reduction Implications of Foot and Mouth Disease Control in Southern Africa, with special reference to Zimbabwe.* Nairobi: International Livestock Research Institute.

Pillay, Venitha. (2007), *Academic Mothers. Stoke-on-Trent:* Trentham Books.

Pinnegar, Stephinee, and Gary Daynes. (2007), Locating Narrative Inquiry Historically: Thematics in the Turn to Narrative. In: *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology*, ed. by Jean Clandinin.housand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pollard, S. and T., Cousins. (2007), *Working Definitions for Terms Used in Relation to Issues Regarding the Governance of Fresh Water Resource.* www.leap.org.za/File_uploads/File/glossary_2.doc [accessed 17 August, 2008]

Powers, J. (2001), *Zimbabwe's Liberation War.* African History. http://www.suite101.com/article.cfm/african_history/61056/1 [accessed 21 March, 2008]

Princen, T. and M. Finger. (1994), *Environmental NGOs in World Politics: Linking the Local to the Global.* London/New York: Routledge.

Rademacher, A. & Tamang, D. (1993), *Democracy, Development and NGOs.* Kathmandu: SEARCH.

Rambo, A. T. (I981), *Fire and the Energy Efficiency of Swidden Agriculture.* EAPI Preprint. Honolulu: East-west Center.

Ramutsindela, M. (2003), Land reform in South Africa's national parks: a catalyst for the human–nature nexus. *Land Use Policy* 20 (2003) 41–49. Cape Town, Rondebosch,.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Rankin, K. (2002), *Social Capital, Microfinance, and the Politics of Development.* Feminist Economics 8(1): 1-24.

Ribot, J. C. (1999), *Decentralization, Participation and Accountability in Sahelian Forestry:* Legal Instruments Of Political-Administrative Control. Africa Vol. 69, No. 1, 1999.

Ribot, J. C. (2004), *Waiting for democracy: the Politics of Choice in Natural Resource Decentralization.* Washington DC: World Resource Institute.
Richards, P. (1995), *Participatory Rural Appraisal: A Quick and Dirty Critique*. PLA Notes No. 24, London, UK.

Ribot, J.C. (2007), Representation, Citizenship and the Public Domain in Democratic Decentralization, *Development*, 50(1): 43-49.

Richardson, Craig J. (2005), *How the Loss of Property Rights Caused Zimbabwe's Collapse.* November 14, 2005.

http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=9294 [accessed September 8, 2009]

Rietbergen-McCracken, Jennifer, and Deepa Narayan. (1998), *Participation and Social Assessment Tools and Techniques*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Rihoy, E.C & Maguranyanga, B. (2007), *Devolution and Democratisation of Natural Resource Management in Southern Africa: A Comparative Analysis of CBNRM policy Process in Botswana, and Zimbabwe.* PLAAS, UWC, Cape Town.

Roe, E. (1995), *More Than the Politics of Decentralisation: Local Government Reform, District Development and Public Administration in Zimbabwe*. World Development, Vol. 23, No. 5, pp 833-843.

Roy, C. Dugdeon and Fikret Berkes. (1987), *Local Understandings of the Lland: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Indigenous knowledge.*

Rukuni, M. (ed) (1994), *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Appropriate Agricultural Land Tenure Systems.* Vol 1. Harare: Government Printers.

SADC TFCAs Southern Africa. http://www.sadc.int/fanr/naturalresources/transfrontier/index.php [accessed November, 2009]

SAFIRE. (1997), *Managing Our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI).* Project Document. March 1997.Harare.

SAFIRE. (2000), *Comments on Draft Review Report of the MITI Project,* September 2000. Prepared October 2000. SAFIRE, Harare. Zimbabwe.

SAFIRE. (2003), *Annual Progress Report. Sengwe Vamanani Craft Association – SEVACA.* 1st January to 31st December 2003. 31 January 2004.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Harare.

Said, E.W. (1978), *Orientalism*, Toronto: Random House.

Said, E.W. (2003), *Orientalism*, Toronto: Random House.

Sale, K. (1985), *Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision.* San Francisco, Sierra Club.

Salmon, M. H. (1997), Ethical Considerations in Anthropology and Archaeology, or Relativism and Justice for All. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Spring, 1997), pp. 47-63. University of New Mexico Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3631115 Accessed: 14/03/2010.

Samasuwo, N. (2003), *Food Production and War Supplies: Rhodesia's Beef Industry During the Second World War, 1939-45*. Journal of Southern African Studies, 29 (2): 487-502.SAPES Books, Harare.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Sandwith, T., C. Shine, L. Hamilton, and D. Sheppard. (2001), *Transboundary Protected Areas for Peace and Co-operation.* Best Practice Protected Areas Guidelines Series; no. 7. Gland: IUCN.

Save Valley, Bubiana and Chiredzi River Conservancies. (1994), *The Lowveld Conservancies: New Opportunities for Production and Sustainable Land Use*. Price Waterhouse. Harare.

Schoon, L. M. (2005), *The Impact of the Creation of a Transboundary Park on the Resilience of a Social-Ecological System.* Indiana University. http://www.indiana.edu/~iupolsci/gradcv/shoon/greatlimpopo.pdf#search='gaza%20province%20gltp%20mozambique' [accessed 15 September, 2008]

Scott, J. C. (1989), *Everyday Forms Of Resistance*. The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 4 (1989), Copenhagen Papers 4.89

Scott, J.C. (1985), *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. Yale University Press. New Haven.

Selby, A. (2006), *Commercial Farmers and the State: Interest Group Politics and Land Reform in Zimbabwe*, Doctoral Thesis, Oxford University, http://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/1842/493/1/thesis+final.pdf [accessed 24 July, 2007].

SEVACA. (2000), *Progress Report: SEVACA.* October 2000. Sengwe, Zimbabwe.

Shackleton, S. and B. Campbell. (2001), *Devolution in Natural Resource Management: Institutional Arrangements and Power Shifts. A Synthesis of Case Studies from Southern Africa.* USAID SADC NRM Project no 690-0251. Harare.

Sheldon Wein. (1996), *Democratic Development Verus Economic Progress.* Humanomics. Volume: 12 Issue: 3 Page: 20 – 36 DOI: 10.1108/eb018778. MCB UP Ltd.

Sheridan, M. J. (2004), Development Dilemmas and Administrative Ambiguities—Terracing and Land Use Planning Committees in North Pare, Tanzania. In *Policy Matters: History, Culture and Conservation*. Issue 13, November 2004. IUCN Commission on Environment, Economic and Social Policy. (eds). Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, Ken MacDonald and Luisa

Sherry, B.Y. (1970), *Vegetation Map of Gonarezhou National Park.* Unpublished map. Department of National Parks, Harare.

Ship, S. J. (1998), *Problematizing Ethnicity and 'Race' in Feminist Scholarship on Women in Politics,* in Manon Tremblay and Caroline Andrew (eds), Women and Political Representation in Canada. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Sibanda, M., A. Chishawa, D. Mungwari and L. Tinarwo. (2000), *Managing Our Indigenous Tree Inheritance (MITI) 2.5 Year Evaluation.* Report. January 2000. Harare, Zimbabwe.

Sillitoe, Paul. (1998), *The Development of Indigenous Knowledge: A New Applied Anthropology*. Current Anthropology 39: 223-252, 1998.

Sillitoe, Paul., Jeffery W. Bentley, David Brokensha, David A. Cleveland, Roy Ellen, Carmen Ferradas, Timothy Forsyth, Darrell Addison Posey, R. L. Stirrat, M. Priscilla Stone, D. Michael Warren, M. I. Zuberi. (1998), *The Development of Indigenous Knowledge: A New Applied Anthropology.* Current Anthropology, Vol. 39, No. 2, (Apr., 1998), The University of Chicago Press on behalf of Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Simon, D. (2003), *Regional Development-Environment Discourses, Policies and Practices in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa*, in J. A. Grant and F. Soderbaum (eds) New Regionalisms in Africa, Aldershot, Ashgate.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Smith, Robert J., Julian Easton, Bruno A. Nhancale, Adrian J. Armstrong, James Culverwell, Sikhumbuzo D. Dlamini, Peter S. Goodman, Linda Loffler, Wayne S. Matthews, Ara Monadjem, Craig M. Mulqueeny, Petros Ngwenya, Cornelio P. Ntumi, Bartolomeu Soto, Nigel Leader-Williams. (2008), Designing a transfrontier conservation landscape for the Maputaland centre of endemism using biodiversity, economic and threat data. *Biological Conservation* 141 (2008) 2127-2138. http://kar.kent.ac.uk/17847/1/Smith_et_al_Maputasses.pdf, accessed 17 March 2010.

Soeftestad, T. Lars. (1998), *Population, Economic Development, and Environment: The Making of Our Common Future*, edited by Kerstin Lindahl-Kiessling and Hans Landberg. Oxford University Press, Oxford (1994).

Sola, P., (1998), *The Performance of Hyphaene Petersiana Under Community Based Utilisation in Sengwe Communal Lands, Zimbabwe.* MSc Thesis

University of Zimbabwe.

Spenceley, Anna., P. Dzingirai, and Z. Tangawamira. (2008), *Economic Impacts of Transfrontier Conservation Areas: Tourism in the Greater Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area.* Report to IUCN Southern Africa Sustainable Use Specialist Group and the University of the Witwatersrand, 4 April 2008.

Spiegel, A., and E. Boonzaier. (1988), Promoting Tradition: Images of the South African Past. In (eds.,) Boonzaier, E., & J. Sharp. South African Keywords. *The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts.* David Philip (Pty) Ltd, 217 Werdmuller Center, Claremont 7700, South Africa.

Spierenburg, M. and H. Wels. (2006), *"Securing Space": Mapping and Fencing in Transfrontier Conservation in Southern Africa. Space and Culture.* Sage. http://sac.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/9/3/294 [accessed 27 September, 2009]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Spierenburg, M., C. Steenkamp and H. Wels. (2008), *Enclosing the Local for the Global Commons: Community Land Rights in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Areas.* Conservation and Society 6(1): 87–97, 2008.

Spivak, G.C. (1987), Explanation and Culture: Marginalia. In *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*. London: Routledge.

Stirrat, R. L. and H. Henkel. (1997), The Development Gift: The Problem of Reciprocity in the NGO World. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 554, *The Role of NGOs: Charity and Empowerment.* (Nov., 1997), pp. 66-80.

Sumner, W.G. (1978), *The Problem of Progress.* In The New England Quarterly, Vol. 51, No. 3, (Sep., 1978), pp. 348-369.

Sunitha S. and Rao R.P.B. (1999), Sacred Groves in Kurnool District, Andhra

Pradesh. In: Sivadasan M. and Philip Mathew (eds), *Biodiversity, Taxonomy and Conservation of Flowering Plants.* Mentor books, Calicut, pp. 367–373.

Tandon, R. (1991), *Civil Society, the State and Roles of NGOs*, Boston: IDR Occasional Paper.

Tandon, R. (2000), *Riding High or Nosediving: Development NGOs in the New Millennium (Le vent en poupe ou la chute libre: les ONG de développement en ce nouveau millénaire / Grande sucesso ou decadência: as ONGs de desenvolvimento no novo milênio / Alcanzar las alturas o caer abruptamente: las ONG de desarrollo en el nuevo mileno).* Development in Practice, Vol. 10, No. 3/4, 10th Anniversary Issue (Aug., 2000), Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd. on behalf of Oxfam, GB pp. 319 -329. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4029560 [accessed 02 August, 2009]

Taplin H. Dana, Suzanne Scheld, Setha M. Low. (2003).*Rapid Ethnographic Assessment in Urban Parks: A Case Study of Independence National Historical Park.* Human Organization, Volume 61, Number 1 / Spring 2002, pp 80-93.
http://sfaa.metapress.com/app/home/linking.asp?referrer=linking&target=contribution&id=6AYVL8T0AEKF8VMY&backto=contribution,1,1;issue,9,10;journal,33,272;linkingpublicationresults,1:113218,1. Accessed 13 March, 2010).

Taylor, S. D. (1999), *Business and Politics in Zimbabwe's Commercial Agriculture Sector.* African Economic History, No. 27, pp. 177-215. African Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin--Madison http://www.jstor.org/stable/3601662 [accessed 08 September, 2009]

Tevera, D. and A. Chimhowu. (2003), *Situating the Maputo Corridor: A Regional Perspective. In Regionalism and Uneven Development in Southern Africa: the Case of the Maputo Development Corridor*, ed. Frederik Söderbaum and Ian Taylor, 32-40. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Tevera, D. and Moyo, S. eds., (2000), *Environmental Security in Southern Africa*, Sapes Books, 2000.

Thomas, S. (1991), *The Legacy of Dualism and Decision-Making: the Prospects for Local Institutional Development in CAMPFIRE".* Paper 1/92 Joint DNPWLM/CASS Working Paper Series. CASS, University of Zimbabwe. Harare.

Thompson, B.R. (1959), Botany Report B*:* Forestry. In: *Report on Tuli Expedition,* pp.98-101. Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society, Salisbury.

Thomson, G. R., W. Vosloo, A.D.S. Bastos. (2003), *Foot and Mouth Disease in Wildlife*. Virus Research 91 (2003). http://www.sciencedirect.com [accessed 17 September, 2009]

Thornton, R and M. Rampele. (1988), The Quest for Community. In (eds.,) Boonzaier, E., & J. Sharp. South African Keywords. *The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts.* David Philip (Pty) Ltd, 217 Werdmuller Center, Claremont 7700, South Africa.

Timberlake, J. & I. Mapaure. (1999), *Vegetation Survey of the Maramani/Tuli Area, Southwest Zimbabwe.* Unpublished Report on the CESVI Lowveld Project.

Timberlake, J. (1996), *Sites of Interest for Botanical Conservation in the Communal Lands of the Zambezi Valley,* Zimbabwe Phase 1. Consultant's Report for The Zambezi Society. May 1996. Occasional Publications in Biodiversity No. 2. Biodiversity Foundation for Africa Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press.

Timseena, B. (2003), Application of Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods in *Development Domain: Sharing of Some Anthropological Experiences from Rural development Projects*. Nepalese Journal of Qualitative Research Methods,

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Tvedt T. (1998), *Angels of Mercy or Development Diplomats? – NGOs and Foreign Aid*. Africa World Press. Trenton.

Tvedt, T. (2002), *Development NGOs: Actors in a Global Civil. Society or in a New International Social System?* International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations Vol. 13, No. 4, December 2002.

Tyler, M.E. (1993), *Spiritual Stewardship in Aboriginal Resource Management Systems*. Environments 22.

Tyler, S. R. (2006), *Co-Management of Natural Resources: Local Learning for Poverty Reduction.* International Development Research Centre. Ottawa, ON, Canada K1G 3H9. http://www.idrc.ca/openebooks/346-1/ [accessed 27 September, 2009]

UN Economic and Social Council - ECOSOC. (1997), *Coordination of The Policies and Activities of the Specializesd Agencies and Other Bodies of the United Nations System: Mainstreaming the Gender Perspective into all Policies and Programmes in the United Nations System*. Report. E/1997/66. Geneva.

UNCCD. (2005), *Revitalizing Traditional Knowledge.* A Compilation of Documents and Reports from 1997 – 2003, UNCCD, Bonn, Germany.

UNCED, (1992), Agenda 21, Chapter 11, *Combating Deforestation*, Greennet, mimeo.

UNEP. (1998), *Report of the Forth Meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity.* Unep/cbd/cop/4/27. United Nations Environment Programme, Nairobi, Kenya.

UN-EUE, (1996), *Field Trip to Borena Zone of the Oromiya Region.* Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

United Nations Development Programme, (UNDP). (1998), *SADC Human Development Report*, Harare: Sapes Trust; (1998b), Human Development Report Zimbabwe, Harare: UNDP.

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). (1992), *Convention on Biological Diversity.* UNEP, Nairobi.

Uphoff, N. (1985), Fitting Projects to People. In M.Cernea (Ed.), *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development* (pp. 467–511). New York: Oxford University Press.

USDA, (2005), *Annual or Perennial Legumes in Crop Rotation. Natural Resources Conservation Service*. United States Department of Agriculture. CSP Worksheet E-04.

Van de Linde, H., J. Oglethorpe., D. Sandmth and Y. Tessma. (2001), With contributions from Anada Tiega and Thomas Price. *Beyond Boundaries: Transboundary Natural resources Management in Sub Saharan Africa*. Washington D.C. USA, Biodiversity Support Programme.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Varkevisser, C.M., I. Pathmanathan and A T Brownlee. (2003), *Designing and Conducting Health Systems Research Projects*, International Development Research Centre in association with WHO Regional Office for Asia. Volume II. KIT Publishers, Amsterdam.

Varkevisser, C.M., I. Pathmanathan and A. T. Brownlee. (1991), *Designing and Conducting Health Systems Research Projects*, International Development Research Centre in association with WHO Regional Office for Asia. Volume I. KIT Publishers, Amsterdam.

Verloo, M. (1999), *Gender Mainstreaming: Practice and Prospects.* University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands. EG (99) 13.

Vernooy, Ronnie, Hijaba Ykhanbai, Enkhbat Bulgan, Ulipkan Beket and John Graham. (2003), Challenges of Participatory Natural Resource Management Research. In (Eds) Gonsalves, J., T. Becker, A. Braun, D. Campilan, H. De Chavez, E. Fajber, M. Kapiriri, J. Rivaca-Caminade and R. Vernooy (eds). 2005. Participatory

Research and Development for Sustainable Agriculture and Natural Resource Management: A Sourcebook. Volume 2: *Enabling Participatory Research and Development. International Potato Center-Users' Perspectives.* With Agricultural Research and Development, Laguna, Philippines and International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada.

Vosti, S. A. and J. Witcover. (1996), *Slash-and-Burn Agriculture Household Perspectives.* Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment 58 (1996). International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC 20036, USA.

Wagar, W. (1969), *The Idea of Progress Since the Renaissance.* Published in 1969, Wiley (New York).

Ward, V. M., Bertrand, J. T., & Brown, L. F. (1991), *The Comparability of Focus Group and Survey Results: Three Case Studies. Evaluation Review*, *15*(2), 266-283.

Warner, K. (1991), *Community Forestry Note* (FAO), no. 8 / Rome (Italy), FAO, 1991 , 80 p.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Warren, D. Michael, LJ. Slikkerveer and D. Brokensha, (eds,.). (1995), *The Cultural Dimension of Development: Indigenous Knowledge Systems.* London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1995.

Warren, D.M., G.W. von Liebenstein and L. Slikkerveer. (1993), *Networking for Indigenous Knowledge*, Indigenous Knowledge and Development Monitor 1.

Weber, M. (1947), *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wekwete, K.H. (1990), Constraints to Planning for Socialism in Zimbabwe. In: de Valk, P. and Wekwete, K.H. (eds.) *Decentralization for Participatory Planning?,* 37-51. Gower Publishing Company, Aldershot.

Wells, M. and Brandon, K. (1992), *People and Parks: Linking Protected Area Management with Local Communities.* The World Bank, WWF, and USAID. Washington DC.

Wels, H. and M. Draper. (2002), *Modern Myths and Primitivist Powerplay: Community-Development in Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa.*

Paper presented to the International Association for the Study of Common Property meetings, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 71-21 June.

Western, D. & Wright, M. (1994), *Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation*. Washington, DC, USA: Island Press.

Western, D., S. Russel and I. Cuthill. (2009). *The Status of Wildlife in Protected Areas Compared to Non-Protected Areas of Kenya.* PloS ONE 4(7): e6140. Doi.10.1371/journal.pone.006140.

Whande, W. (2007), *Transboundary Natural Resources Management in Southern Africa: Local Historical and Livelihood Realities Within the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area,* Research Report 25, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies. University of Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa.

Wildlife Working Group. (1996), *Report of the Wildlife Working Group* (ZFU, CFU, Campfire, CASS, ARDA, ZATSO) 28pp.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Wilkie, D. S., E Hakizumwami, N Gami and B Difara. (2001), *Beyond Boundaries: Regional Overview of Transboundary Natural Resource Management in Central Africa*. Biodiversity Support Programme. Washington D. C., USA.

Williams, D. (2007), Constructing the Economic Space. The World Bank and the Making of Homo Oeconomicus. In (ed) Moore, David. 2007. The World Bank. *Development, Poverty, Hegemony*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. Scottsville, 3209. South Africa.

Williams, M. J. (1998), *Aid, Sustainable Development and the Environmental Crisis.* International Journal for Peace Studies. Volume 3, Number 2. ISSN 1085-7494.
Wilshusen, P.R., S.R. Brechin, C.F. Fortwangler and P.C. West. (2002), *Reinventing a Square Wheel: Critique of a Resurgent 'Protection Paradigm' in International Biodiversity Conservation*. Society and Natural Resources 15(1):17-4

Wilson, H. (1953), *The War on World Poverty.* London. Gollancz.

Wolmer, W. (2003), *Transboundary Conservation: The Politics of Ecological Integrity in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park.* Journal of Southern African Studies, 29(1),

261-278.

Wolmer, W. (2004), Tensions and Paradoxes in the Management of Transboundary Protected Areas. In Policy Matters: *History, Culture and Conservation*. Issue 13, November 2004. IUCN Commission on Environment, Economic and Social Policy. (eds). Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, Ken MacDonald and Luisa.

Wolmer, W., Chaumba, J. and Scoones, I. (2003), *Wildlife management and Land Reform in Southeastern Zimbabwe: A compatible Pairing or a Contradiction in terms?*. Geoforum, 35 (1): 87-98.

Wood, G.D. (1998), *Consultant Behavior: Projects as Communities: Consultants, Knowledge and Power,* Project Appraisal 16(1): 54-64.

World Bank. (1996), *Mozambique Transfrontier Conservation Areas Pilot and Institutional Strength Project,* Global Environmental Facility, Project Document. Washington DC, USA.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

World Bank. (2002), *World Development Report: Building Institutions for Markets.* New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank. (2003), *Nurturing Traditional Knowledge Systems for Development.* No. 61. October 2003. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTINDKNOWLEDGE/Resources/iknt61.pdf [accessed 16 August, 2007]

World Bank. (2005), *What is Empowerment?* www.worldbank.org [accessed December, 2007]

World Bank. (2006), *Project Appraisal Document;* on a Proposed Credit in the Amount of SDR 13.9million (US$20million equivalent) and Proposed Grant from the Global Environment Facility Trust Fund in the Amount of US$10 Million to the Republic of Mozambique for a Transfrontier Conservation Areas and Tourism Development Project November 3, 2005 report no: 32148-mz.

World Bank. (2006), *Transferring an Indigenous Practice for Soil Improvement: Cattle Manure with Groundnut Shells*. IK Notes. No. 98. November 2006.

www.worldbank.org/af/ik/defaul.htm.http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTINDKNOWLEDGE/Resources/iknt98.pdf [accessed 16 August, 2007]

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). (1987), *Our Common Future.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

World Wildlife Fund, 2000, "A Guide to Socioeconomic Assessments for Ecoregion Conservation," Ecoregional Conservation Strategies Unit, Washington, D.C.

Yawalkar, K.S., J.P.Agarwal., and Bokde, (1996), *Manures and Fertilisers,* Agrihorticultural publishing House, Nagpur, pp. 29-82.

Zimbabwe. (1996), *Memorandum to Cabinet on Resettlement* by the Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development. Harare: Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development.

Zimbabwe. (2005), *Constitution of Zimbabwe.* As amended at the 14 September, 2005 (up to and including Amendment No. 17). Harare, Zimbabwe.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Web sites (including online newspapers)

Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park: www.pc.gc.ca/pn-np/ab/Waterton/natcul/inter_e.asp [accessed 8 September, 2009]

www.glacierparkwaterton.com [accessed 8 September, 2009]

Sovereignty, see www.nobility-royalty.com [accessed 30 June, 2009]

New Zimbabwe Newspaper: www.newzimbabwe.com/news-388-COMESA+weighs+Zim+rescue+package/news.aspx [accessed 05 June, 2009]

The Zimbabwe Situation Newspaper: www.zimbabwesituation.com/mar22_2008.html#Z10 [accessed 21 March, 2008]

ZWNEWS: www.ZWNEWS.COM [accessed 19 May, 2009]

SAFIRE: www.safireweb.org [accessed 15 September, 2009]

SADC: www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/52 [accessed: 24 August, 2009]

www.tbpa.net/docs/pdfs/SecMan/SecManIntTreatyFinalNov2002.pdf [accessed

20 August, 2009]

www.answers.com/topic/populism [accessed 10 August, 2009]

Expanded Rural Electrification Program (EREP), http://en.chinagate.cn/internationalcoop/2007-11/27/content_9299280.htm [accessed 15 May, 2009]

Reuters at www.newzimbabwe.com [accessed 26 May, 2009]

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paramount_chief [accessed 24 June 2009]

ZIMONLINE newspaper. www.zimonline.co.za/Article.aspx?ArticleId=1749 [accessed 26 July, 2007]

The International Bill of Human Rights in 1948 refers to Human rights as the basic rights and freedoms to which all humans are entitled. See http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu6/2/fs2.htm [accessed 02 July, 2009]

GLTFCA Treaty. See http://www.environment.gov.za/Documents/Documents/GreatLimpopoTP/ConceptPlan.htm#Anchor-1.-14065 [accessed 27 September, 2009]

Beef exports. See www.newagri.co.uk/03-5/develop/dev02.html [accessed 26 September, 2009]

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism RSA at http://www.environment.gov.za [accessed 17 August, 2009]

www.amnesty.se/businessgroup.nsf/a033faefc7f9af6ac1256c31003498f9 [accessed 2 March, 2008]

United Nations: www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1999/19990201.sgsm6881.html [accessed 2 March, 2008]

www.unglobalcompact.org [accessed 26 September, 2009]

www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2656/a/14556 [accessed 26 September, 2009]

www.attac.se [accessed 26 September, 2009]

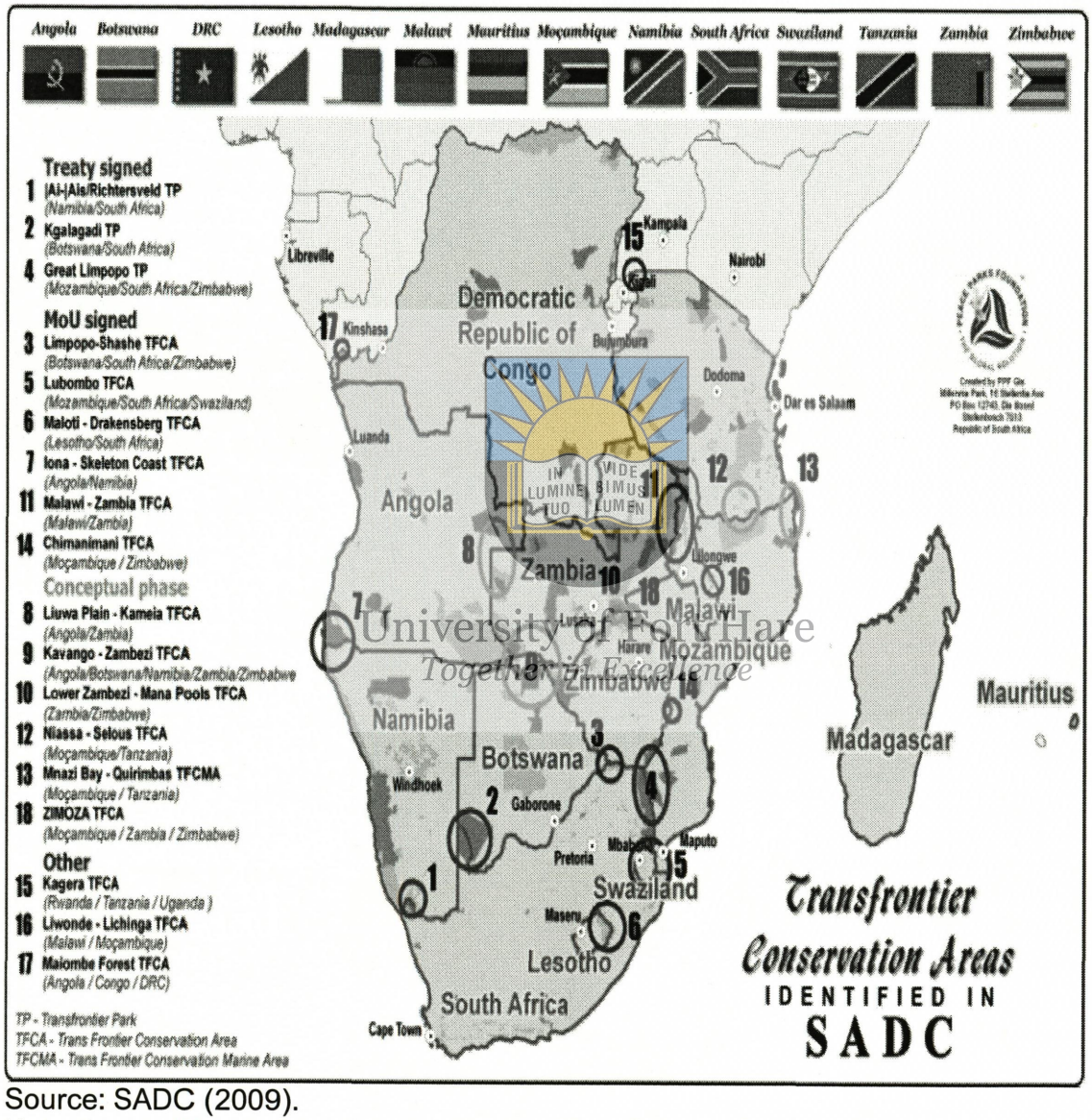
www.amnesty.se/businessgroup.nsf/a033faefc7f9af6ac1256c31003498f9 [accessed 02 July, 2009]

Africa World Press at www.europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/soc-dial/csr/index.htm [accessed 17 August, 2009]

Wikipedia, 2007. Cape of Cairo Railway. http://en.wikipedia.org [accessed 26 September, 2009]

Annexes

Annex A: TFCAs in Southern Africa



Source: SADC (2009).

Note the positions of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (4) and Chimanimani Transfrontier Conservation Area at number 14.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Annex B: Research Objectives and Questions of the study

Key objective one: To critically analyze the nature and extent of the Sengwe community's involvement in the design, planning and implementation of the GLTFCA?

iv. What are the processes involved in the development (design, planning and implementation) of the GLTFCA?
v. How is the Sengwe community involved in these processes?
vi. Who are the actors at local, district, national, regional and international level involved in the development of the GLTFCA?
vii. What are the roles of different actors and how do they relate to the Sengwe community?
viii. Were there any conflicts generated by different actors as they perform their roles in the development of the GLTFCA? If any what are the mechanisms to resolve emerging conflicts?
ix. How are these conflicts (if any) influencing or influenced the implementation of the GLTFCA?
x. What are the effects of the development of the GLTFCA on livelihoods of the Sengwe community?

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Key objective two: To evaluate the effects of the GLTFCA on power relations between communities and authorities in the initiative in relation to the control over, access to resources and perceived benefits.

e) What are the existing local level formal and informal natural resources management institutions and institutional structures in place?
f) How are these institutions established in the context of CBNRM?
g) What are the jurisdictions of the institutional structures in relation to other institutions in place and are they clearly defined?
h) Are there any conflicts generated among the various institutions as a result of the day to day interactions? What are the mechanisms in place for resolving emerging conflicts?
i) How do conflicts generated influences the management of natural resources in Sengwe?
j) What are the areas of complementarity among the existing institutional

structures (embeddedness)?

k) What are the strengths and weaknesses of the CBNRM institutional development process in relation to the Sengwe and GLTFCA arena?

Key objective three: To critically analyze the local knowledge applied in the management of natural resources by Sengwe community relative to scientific or modern knowledge applied by authorities in the GLTFCA.

f) What are the natural resources found in Sengwe?

g) What are the community's perceptions on the extent of the natural resources in Sengwe?

h) What are the uses of these natural resources?

i) How are these natural resource use boundaries defined in the study area in relation to Sengwe ward?

j) How is the utilization of these natural resources defined? Who makes what decisions on accessibility and utilization of the natural resources?

k) What are the forms of management practices (relate to particular natural resources) in place prior to and after the introduction of the GLTFCA?

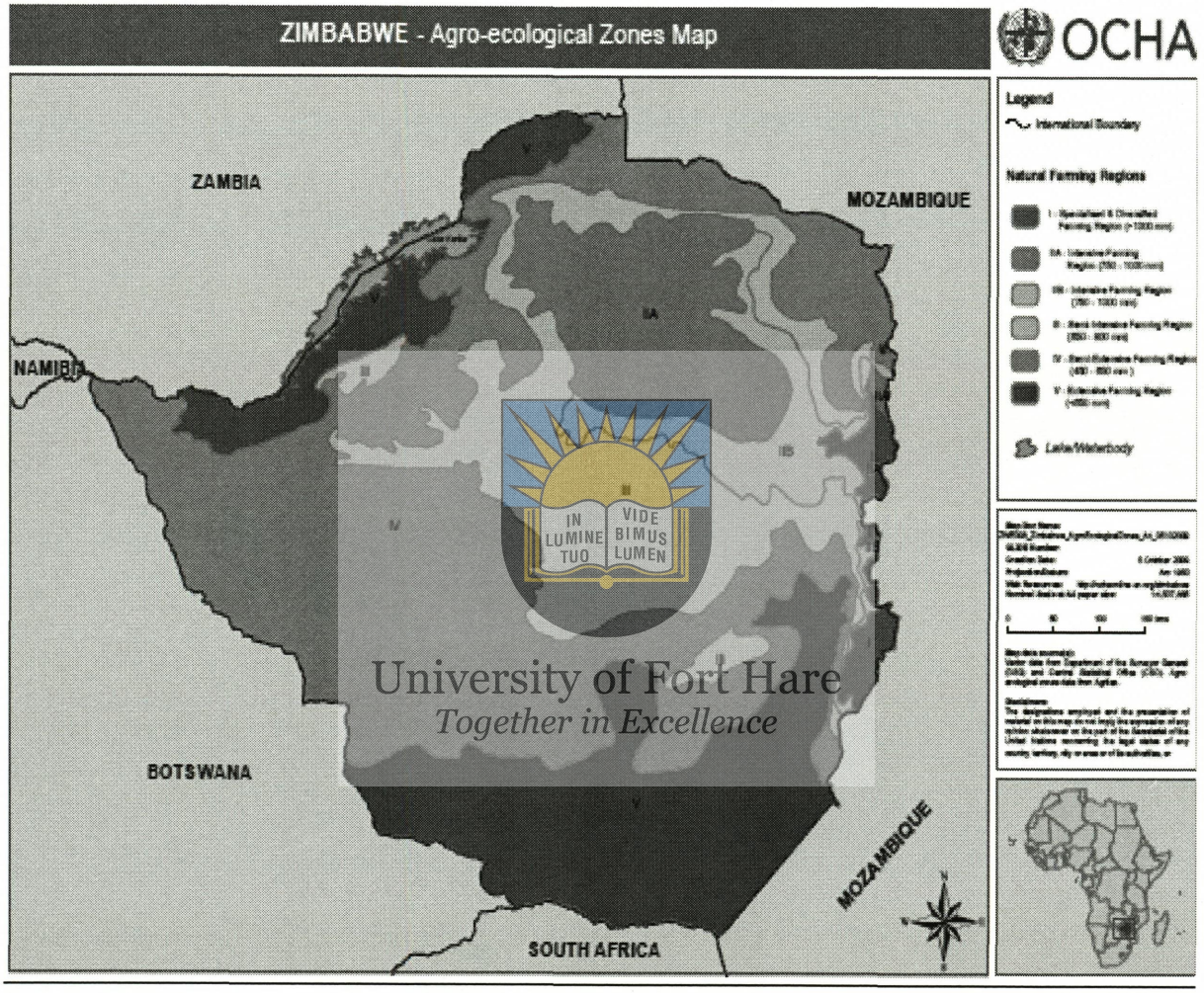
l) What are the roles of different gender groups in relation to natural resources institutions and decision-making processes at the local level? And what effects do these roles on sustainable use of these resources?

m) How do women in Sengwe achieve power within the institutional framework in the community?

n) How has the implementation of the GLTFCA influenced the local practices in natural resources management? What are the effects of the GLTFCA on local knowledge?

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Annex C: Zimbabwe Agroecological zones



Source: http://www.reliefweb.int. Accessed, 8 September 2009.

Annex D: Questionnaire Survey Tool

1. Name of questionnaire administrator .....
2. Questionnaire number .....
3. Age of respondent .....
4. Tribe .....
5. Sex of respondent.... M ....F
6. Village .....
7. Age: head of household.....
8. Sex: head of household .....
9. Number of dependents .....

10. What are your sources of livelihoods? List in order of priority. What are the current challenges associated with the sources of livelihoods and what can be done to improve the situation?

Source of livelihoods	Associated challenges	What can be done to improve the situation	By who

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

.....
.....
.....
.....

11. Employment status (as one livelihood option): What kinds of employment do any members of your household is engaged? (Formal or informal) and where do they operate from?

Gender of household member	Age	Nature of employment		Where	How often are they engaged during the year
		Formal	Informal		

.....
.....
.....

12. Crop production: Do you cultivate any crops, where and what are the uses of the produce/harvest? What are the associated problems with crop production?

Type of crop	Area planted in 2004	Quantities harvested in 2004-2005 season	Uses of the harvest	Who decides on what to crop	Who decides on what to do with the harvest?

.....

.....

13. Animal production: Do you have any livestock? How many? Do you have any on loan? What are the associated challenges to livestock production?

Type of livestock	Total Number	Number owned	Number on loan	Uses of livestock	Who makes decisions regarding livestock?

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

.....

.....

14. Access to natural resources: What do you harvest/collect from the woodland/national park? Who collects, when and what do you use them for?

Product Resource	Who is collects/ harvests		Period of the year/ month	Source				
	Male	Female		Designated household plot	Sacred area (name)	Communal area	National parks	Other (name)

.....

.....

15. Access to natural resources by outsiders: Who is allowed to collect/harvest natural resources in your village and under what circumstances?

Product Resource	Period of the year/ month	Conditions						
		Designated area	Who collects?	Who pays?	Pays to who?	How much?	Duration of permit (wks)	Who monitors

.....

.....

.....

16. Marketing of natural resources from the wild: What do you sell, to who, where and at what price? How much revenue did you generate in 2004 and 2005?

Product Resource	In what form is it sold	Who processes	Into what product/s (if any)	Where is your market	Price of a unit Z$ and US$	How do you access the market	Revenue generated	
							2004	2005

.....

.....

17. Governance of natural resources and agricultural production: Who controls/governs the harvesting of natural resources in your village?

Resource/ Crop	Source (state) eg crop field	Who controls access	How is access controlled	What period of the year does this control applied

.....

.....

.....

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

18. Awareness of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area. What do you know about the GLTFCA? How did you come to know about the initiative? Do you know its aim/ objectives?

Awareness (tick)	How were you made aware	What is the aim/ objectives of the GLTFCA
No		
Yes (if yes fill in rows below)		

.....
.....
.....

19. Benefits of the GLTFCA-local people perspectives: What do you think are among these which one/s has/have been realized? Are there any associated challenges with the attainment of these benefits?

Intended benefits of the GLTFCA (list)	Benefits realized to date	Associated challenge/s to attain the benefit/s

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

.....
.....
.....

20. In what way can the GLTFCA be improved to attain its intended benefit/s? (state).

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

21. Any comments the respondent may want to make about how the GLTFCA is affecting their livelihoods.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Annex E: Detailed description vegetation in the GLTFCA and Corridor

To understand the rationale for the selection of the Sengwe to Chipise wildlife corridor, it is necessary to look at how the occurance of vegetation make it a suitable habitat for wildlife. This supports the development of the GLTFCA's ecotourism sector.hence the attention of authorities.

Vegetation of the GLTFCA

The greater part of the GLTFCA comprises of flat savanna with four river systems flowing from west to east. Four major landscape types are distinct of the GLTFCA, which are the Lowland Plains, Granitic plateau, the Lebombo Mountain Range and the Riverine courses. The Reverine courses are drained by four major river systems of the Save, Limpopo, Olifants and Komati. Major vegetation types comprise the Mopane woodland and shrubveld, Mixed bushveld, Sandveld and Riverine woodland. The Sandveld occurs within Mozambique is characterized by dominant tree species such as *Bapphia massaiensis, Afzelia quanzensis, Strychnos* spp., *Terminalia sericea and Albizia* spp. Endemic species such as springhare, the lungfish and killifish *Nothobranchius* make this area of interest for conservation purposes. In the Mixed bushveld vegetation type, tree species such as *Acacia nigrescens, Combretum paniculatum, Combretum imberbe, Sclerocarya birrea,* and *Dichrostachys cinerea* dominate. These form the greater part of the GLTFCA game viewing area where animal species such as the zebra, wildebeest, buffalo, giraffe, impala, rhino and elephant occur. *Colophospermum mopane* tree species dominates in the Mopane woodland and shrubveld. Other associated species include *Combretum apiculatum* and *Commiphora*.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

The Riverine Woodland is found along river courses in Kruger and Gonarezhou National Parks in South Africa and Zimbabwe respectively. Dominant tree species include *Trichilia emetica, Ficus sycomorus, Xanthocercis zambesiaca, Diospyros mespiliformis, Acacia robusta, Acacia xanthophloea, Kigelia africana* and the palms *Phoenix reclinata* and *Hyphaene natalensis* (GKG Conceptual plan, 2000:4). The elephant shrews, nyala, bushbuck, and hippo and birds are animal species associated with this

vegetation type. The GLTFCA, therefore, is habitat to the five major tourist attraction icons namely the elephant, buffalo, lion, leopard and rhino known as 'The Big Five' in the tourism industry. A number of authors affirm that national boundaries are drawn upon political motivations rather than on the basis of physical, cultural or ecological specification (Sheridan, 2004:195; Wolmer, 2004:137; Andersson and Pacheco, 2004:43; Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism RSA at http://www.environment.gov.za page 268; Jones and Chonguiça, 2001 for example). It becomes apparent in the Sengwe and the GLTFCA prefecture specifically from the overlapping vegetation and topographical features.

Vegetation types in the Corridor

In the section above, I gave a description of the overall vegetation of the GLTFCA at large. In this section I give emphasis on the vegetation in the Corridor which makes the area unique and more appropriate to draw attention and interest of different actors with varying interests and visions in the GLTFCA arena. I draw from observations, work conducted by Forestry Commission (Zimbabwe) and CESVI's project named the '*Sustainable Development and Natural Resources Management in Southern Zimbabwe*', 2002, which called for vegetation mapping and inventory of project areas at various scales. The scales include at national level (1:1 million), reconnaissance (1:250,000) and, for target areas, a more detailed scale (1:50,000). The vegetation of the two areas was broadly described by Wild and Barbosa (1968) in their 1:2.5 million scale vegetation descriptions of the Flora Zambesiaca region. The vegetation of the Mateke Hills, which are close to Sengwe, are described in a Rhodesia Schools Expedition conducted in 1958 (Drummond, 1958; Boughey, 1958; Guy, 1958). A number of reports have been produced on the vegetation of Gonarezhou National Park, which borders Sengwe (Anon. Undated; Bromwich, 1972; DNPWM, 1998). Considering that these reports have been produced on the vegetation of the study area and or neighboring areas, though at various scales of resolution and detail, have proved useful for this thesis. See figure below for details of vegetation type, location, soil types location, dominant species (woody and

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

non woody vegetation) and remarks on the influences of human activities on the vegetation types.

The major vegetation type in the Corridor is *Colophospermum mopane-Combretum* woodlands on various substrates. See map in figure 3 on page 17. Mapaure and Chapano (1999:25) observe eight distinct vegetation types in the Corridor which are; 1) *Colophospermum mopane* B *Combretum* woodland on basalt; 2) *Colophospermum mopane* B *Combretum* woodland on glacial beds and Permian substrates; 3) *Colophospermum mopane* B *Guibourtia conjugata* woodland on Cretaceous sandstone; 4) *Androstachys johnsonii* thicket on Karoo sandstone hills; 5) Acacia B *Faidherbia albida* riparian woodland on alluvium; 6) Acacia B *Hyphaene petersiana* shrubland and old cultivation on alluvium; 7) Combretaceae mixed woodland; and 8) *Colophospermum mopane* mixed woodland on Cretaceaous sandstone (1999:25).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Summary of vegetation in the Corridor

Vegetation type	Location	Soil type	Dominant species composition by canopy layer				Remarks
			Tree canopy	Lower canopy	Shrub layer	Grasses	
1. *Colophospermum mopane* B *Combretum* woodland on basalt	East and north of Chikwarakwara	Basalt	*Colophospermum mopane* and *Acacia nigrescens.*	*Combretum apiculatum* and *Terminalia prunioides.*	*Grewia bicolor,*	*Aristida sp., Cenchrus ciliaris*, *Panicum maximum*, *Sporobolus* sp. and *Urochloa mossambicensis.*	Some parts disturbed (cultivation, grazing and settlement)
2. *Colophospermum mopane* B *Combretum* woodland on glacial beds and Permian substrates	West and northwest of Chikwarakwara to Chipise Hot Springs.	Glacial beds, mudstones and sandstones.	*Colophospermum mopaneAndrostachys johnsoniiAndrostachys johnsonii*	*Combretum apiculatum and Sclerocarya birrea.*	*Grewia bicolor, Dalbergia melanoxylon* and *Dichrostachys cinerea*	*Eragrostis rigidior, Eragrostis superba, Heteropogon contortus, and Panicum maximum.*	Human interference altering species composition.
3. *Colophospermum mopane*B*Guibourtia conjugata* woodland Cretaceous sandstone	Southeastern parts near Crooks Corner.	Sandy and often deep.	*Colophospermum mopane* and *Guiboutia conjugata*	*Markhamia acuminata*, and *Combretum apiculatumCombretum celastroidesCombretum celastroides*	*Grewia bicolor, Boscia foetida, Hippocratea africana* and *Grewia villosa*	*Panicum maximum, Cenchrus ciliaris, Eragrostis rigidior* and *Sartidia angolensis.*	Composition heavily altered by human activities.
4. *Androstachys johnsonii* thicket on Karoo sandstone hills	Hills stretching from Chiturupadzi in the west, to the Chilomwe Hills in the east. Low ridges in the north near Masukwe.	Sandstone.	*Androstachys johnsoni,Lannea schweinfurthii*, *Sclerocarya birrea*, *Kirkia acuminata* and *Commiphora*		*Combretum celastroides*	*Panicum maximum, Cenchrus ciliaris*, *Leptocarydion vulpiastrum*, *Dactyloctenium aegyptium*, *Setaria pumila* and *Sporobolus panicoides*	

University of Pretoria
Together in Excellence

Vegetation type	Location	Soil type	Dominant species composition by canopy layer				Remarks
			Tree canopy	Lower canopy	Shrub layer	Grasses	
5. *Acacia* B *Faidherbia albida* riparian woodland on alluvium	Along Limpopo, Bubi, and Mwenezi rivers and their tributaries.	Alluvium	*Ficus sycomorus*, *Lonchocarpus capassa*, *Ficus sur*, *Diospyros mespiliformis*.	*Croton megalobotrys*, *Garcinia livingstonei*, *Ziziphus mucronata*, *Tabernaemontana elegans*.	*Grewia tenax*, *Grewia flavescens*, *Abutilon angulatum*, *Phyllanthus reticulatus*, *Dichrostachys cinerea*, *Combretum microphyllum*, *Allophylus alnifolius*.	*Panicum maximum*, *Echinochloa colona* and *Urochloa mossambicensis*.	Seasonal agricultural activities when floods subsidizes.
6. *Acacia* B *Hyphaene petersiana* shrubland and cultivation on alluvium	Seasonal pans and marshy areas (Manjinji pan, Magogowe pan, Chikwarakwara)	Alluvium.	*Acacia tortilis* subsp. *heteracantha*, *Acacia xanthophloea*, *Salvadora persica* and *Ziziphus mucronata*	*Acacia tortilis* subsp. *heteracantha*, *Acacia xanthophloea*, *Salvadora persica* and *Ziziphus mucronata*. *Hyphaene petersiana*.	*Xanthium* species, *Hibiscus panduriformis*, *Sesbania* species, *Corchorus olitorius*, *Ximenia americana* *Hyphaene petersiana* and *Cadaba* species.	*Setaria sphacelata*, *Eragrostis nindensis*, *Setaria verticillata*, *Bothriochloa* species, *Eriochloa* species and *Panicum maximum*.	Cultivation prominent. Woody species colonizing these primarily grasslands.
7. Combretaceae mixed woodland	East of Shurugwe Hill peak, around Chagudo includes Saul and Dhlamambwe Pans.	Sandy soil.	*Combretum collinum*, *Combretum zeyheri* and *Terminalia sericea* and *Pterocarpus rotundifolius*	*Dalbergia melanoxylon*, *Pseudolachnostylis maprouneifolia* and *Sclerocarya birrea*. *Afzelia quanzensis*	*Grewia bicolor*, *Mundulea sericea* and *Ozoroa obovata*	*Aristida adscensionis*, *Cenchrus ciliaris*, *Heteropogon contortus*, *Pogonarthria squarrosa* and *Eragrostis rigidior*.	Pans in the areas support a diversity of water birds and aquatic plants.
8.*Colophospermum mopane* mixed woodland on Cretaceous sandstone	Southeastern region	Sandstone with pebbles.	*Colophospermum mopane*.	*Markhamia acuminata*, and *Combretum apiculatum*.	*Euclea racemosa*, *Maerua angolensis*, *Ximenia americana*, *Zanthoxylum humile*, *Boscia foetida* and *Maytenus heterophylla*	*Heteropogon contortus*, *Cenchrus ciliaris*, *Eragrostis nindensis*, *Aristida stipitata* and *Enneapogon* species	Vegetation is patchy at some places.

Source: Synthesized from Mapaure and Chapano (1999); Timberlake (1991); Timberlake and Mapaure (1999); Sherry (1970); Wild and Barbosa (1968).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Type 1 vegetation is *Colophospermum mopane B Combretum* woodland on basalt soil dominate the Sengwe prefecture. It spreads itself within the East and north of Chikwarakwara with *Colophospermum mopane* as the dominant tree species while *Acacia nigrescens*, *Kirkia acuminata*, *Sclerocarya birrea* and, *Sterculia rogersii* are associated. As I moved from Chikwarakwara to Crook's Corner, I observed settlement areas and crop land that seem disturb the woodland as local people carry out day to day activities to sustain their livelihoods.[367] In the Western and northwestern parts of Chikwarakwara to Chipise Hot Springs lies type 2 vegetation. This vegetation type or *Colophospermum mopane B Combretum* woodland is found on glacial beds, mudstones and sandstones. Similar to type 1, the type 2 woodland has *Colophospermum mopane* as the dominant tree species.

Colophospermum mopane B Guibourtia conjugata woodland or type 3 is mostly found on sandy soil in the Southeastern parts of Sengwe near Crooks Corner. Type 3 vegetation species is made up of more than one dominant tree species with *Guiboutia conjugata* forming a co-dominant species unlike type 1 and 2. Type 4 vegetation is the *Androstachys johnsonii* thicket on Karoo sandstone hills found on two distinct places in the Hills stretching from Chiturupadzi in the west, to the Chilomwe Hills in the east as well as in the Low ridges in the north near Masukwe area. *Androstachys johnsonii* species dominates type 4 vegetation and occurs on rocky sandstone. Other dominant tree species in type 4 vegetation include *Lannea schweinfurthii*, *Sclerocarya birrea*, *Kirkia acuminata* and *Commiphora mollis, Afzelia quanzensis* and *Xeroderris stuhlmannii* (Mapaure and Chapano, 1999:29).

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Nutrient rich alluvial deposits and water availability along the Limpopo and Mwenezi Rivers basins provide unique vegetation *Acacia B Faidherbia albida* riparian woodland or type 5. It is dominated by a number of *Acacia* species which include *Acacia xanthophloea*, *Acacia tortilis* subspecies *heteracantha* and *Acacia galpinii.* Recurrent seasonal water levels in pans and marshy areas as well as abandoned cultivation fields within the Corridor support type

[367] I select and present ecological activities associated with conservation of natural resources in chapter 4.

6 vegetation or *Acacia B Hyphaene petersiana* shrubland and cultivation on alluvium. The pans found in the Corridor include the Manjinji and Magogowe Pans. Alluvium soils are known to be fragile and susceptible to erosion. *Acacia* species dominate these areas, while common tree species include *Acacia tortilis subspecies heteracantha, Acacia xanthophloea, Salvadora persica* and *Ziziphus mucronata. Ziziphus mucronata* is normally found at grave sites and local people regard it sacred. It was later revealed that the trees were not planted at these sites but local people selectively remove other tree species that sprout in the grave sites. The density and diversity of the woody species in type 6 is directly related to the length to which the pans and marshy areas have dried over time and the effects of cultivation (Mapaure and Chaumba, 1999:30). In other words, the longer the periods of dryness, the denser and more diverse woody species found in these areas.

Sandy soils that occur east of Shurugwe Hill peak and around Gudo area support the type 7 vegetation or the *Combretaceae* mixed woodland. *Combretum collinum and Combretum zeyheri* are dominant tree species under vegetation type 7. The last vegetation type in the Corridor is the *Colophospermum mopane* mixed woodland on Cretaceous sandstone and is found in the southeastern part.

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Annex F. Photographs (All photographs by M Sibanda, 2006).


IN LUMINE TUO VIDE LUMEN
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Picture 1: Animal remains. Local people suspect tick borne diseases as causative to increased livestock deaths due to limited dipping services.



Picture 2: Goat proof brushwood fencing in Banyini area.



Picture 3: Regeneration of vegetation at an abandoned homestead.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence



Picture 4: Trees with large canopies that are protected by local institutions play a role in regulating temperature at ground level.



Picture 5: *Tsikelo* or *Bakwa*, dry firewood is only collected from the woodland.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence



Picture 6: Domesticated guinea fowls.



Picture 7: The location of livestock kraals is changed when they become too muddy during the rainy season.



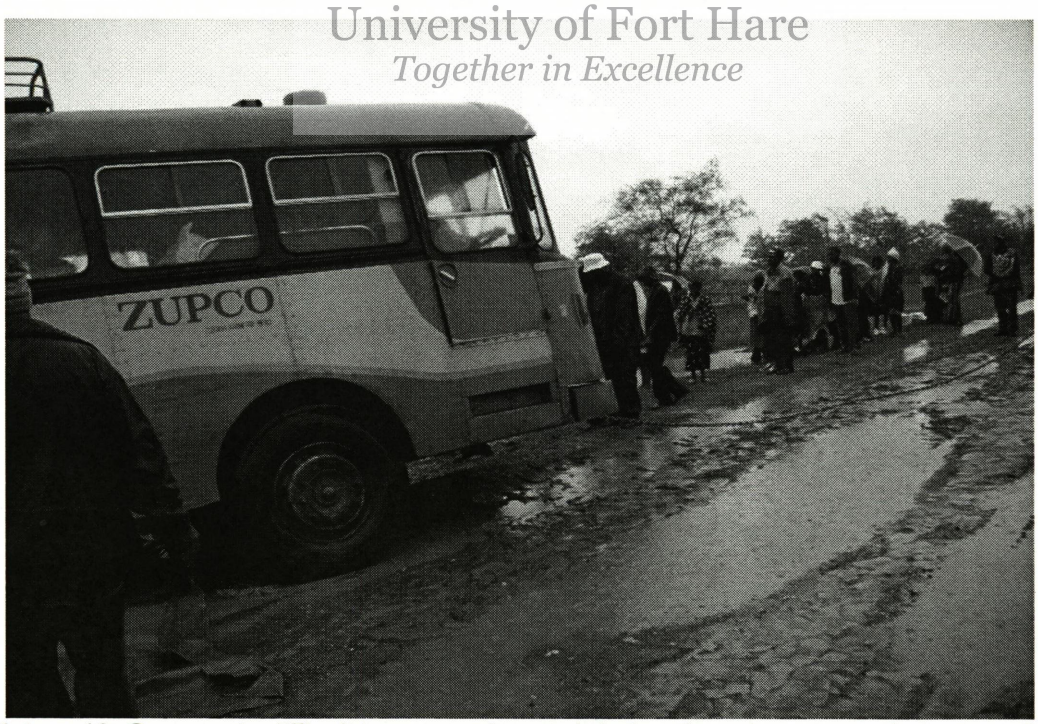
Picture 8: An example of pollarding of trees where required branches are removed.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence



Picture 9: Bush encroachment in the grazing land as fire control by authorities is stepped up.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence



Picture 10: Sengwe is difficult to access by road during the rainy season because of the bad roads.



Picture 11: Mopane butterfly caterpillars are a source of protein and cash when sold by local people in Sengwe.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Annex G: Results of the Dry Run Evaluation in Chiredzi District (Sengwe)

Table 4.1.1: Status of enterprise development in Chiredzi District.

Enterprise description	Status	Location	Training done	baseline	Impl plan	PME	Resource Assessment	Extraction rates	market research	constitution	Proposal	business plan	EIA	loan amount
Ecotourism	Old	Mnajinji	Not known	-	-	-	Partial	-	-	-	partial	-	-	-
Eco-tourism	New	Chieya	Not known	yes	yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Water bottling	Old	Malipati	Not know	-	-	-	Partial	partial	partial	-	-	-	-	-
Carpentry	new		Not known	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Guinea fowls	Old	Chambuta	Not known	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Source: DPO

IN LUMINE TUO VIDE BIMUS LUMEN

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

UNIVE... IARE
HOWA... ...ARY
PRIVATE BAG X1322
ALICE 5700