SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

INSTITUTIONS, GOVERNANCE AND POLICY PROCESSES

Zimbabwe Country Study: Case Studies Of Sangwe And Mahenye Communal Areas in Chiredzi and Chipinge Districts

Mapping Phase Report

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INTRODUCTION

This paper presents research findings from the mapping phase of the ***Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa: Institutions, Governance and Policy Processes Project.*** The research was carried out between January and March 2001 mainly in Chiredzi and partly Chipinge districts of Zimbabwe. The aim of the report is to describe and analyse the major policy issues surrounding water, land and wild resources in Zimbabwe. Secondly, the paper focuses on the ways in which people in the case study areas derive their livelihoods from land, water and wild resources. While there is a commercial dimension in the use of the three natural resources, there exists an every day use of the resources, which has no commercial value, but plays a critical role in household livelihood strategies. Thirdly, the paper describes and discusses the configuration of institutions, both formal and informal, that set the parameters that govern people's access to the aforementioned natural resources. The impact of various institutions on rural people's livelihoods will be analysed with the view of understanding their different roles in people's livelihood diversification strategies, and how it promotes or limits people's access to land, water and wild resources. It is the objective of the report to raise debate on interesting issues that emanate from the mapping exercise, which forms the basis for a more detailed study, in the next research phase of the project.

Methodology

Various research methods and techniques were employed in order to meet the objectives of the research, and to adequately tackle the complexity of issues under study. The study used two research methodologies in the collection of data. Broadly these fall into two main categories: 1) the collection, processing, analysis and presentation of secondary materials, derived largely from existing documents, both published and unpublished; and 2) the collection, processing, analysis and presentation of primary materials, derived largely from field research by the country team and a group of research assistants.

Policy issues were mainly based on the review of the wide range of secondary (published) source material and 'grey literature' (unpublished reports) available on land, water and wild resources. The main output of the review was the identification of key stakeholders or actors

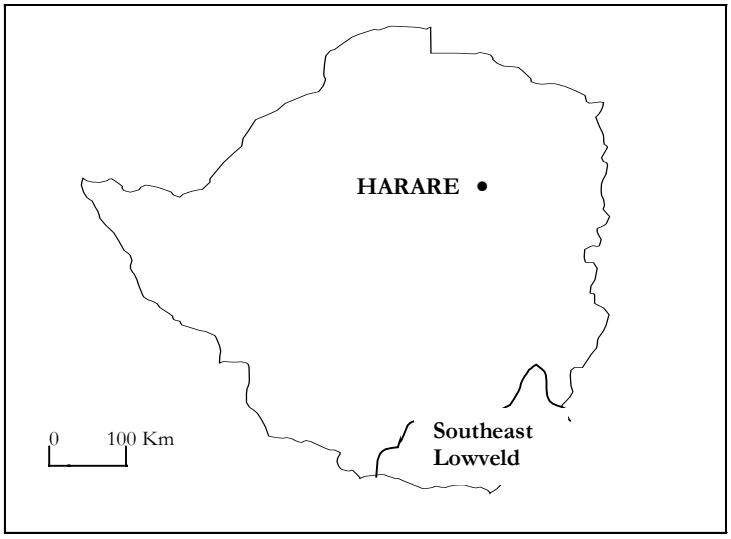
on a particular resource and concomitant policy issues. This gave us an overview on policy shifts over time.

During primary data collection, a variety of techniques were utilised to elicit information from respondents and these were, informal conversations, semi-structured interviews (with or without the questionnaires), in-depth interviewing, wealth ranking, focus group discussions, and observation. The main output of primary data collection was an understanding of livelihood activities of the poor and how they access institutions and land, water and wild resources; discourses and narratives of rural people in relation to policies and institutions. Informal conversations, semi-structured interviews and in-depth interviews gave valuable information on individual experiences and narratives, while on the other hand focus group discussions were more appropriate for community experiences and narratives.

1. THE CASE STUDY AREA

The main case study area for the research is Sangwe Communal Area in Chiredzi district, in the Southeastern Lowveld of Zimbabwe (See Map below).

Figure 1: Map of the Study region



(Source: Zimbabwe Country Paper, 2000)

Sangwe Communal area is to the south-east of Chiredzi town. It covers a total of 48 441 hectares spread over five wards that are hedged between the Save River, Save Valley Conservancy, Malilangwe and Gonarezhou National Park. Commercial sugar farming estates, mainly Triangle Limited, Hippo Valley and Mkwasine are located in the western part. ARDA Chisumbanje estates, where cotton is largely grown and Checheche growth point in Chipinge district, a hub of rural commercial enterprise, are located to the east of Sangwe. Along the Chiredzi –Checheche highway, there is Rupangwana rural service center, the heart of Sangwe commercial enterprise. Mahenye communal area in neighbouring Chipinge district is another major tourist attraction of the Lowveld. In addition, there are many private ranches (e.g. Fair Range) that share a common boundary with Sangwe Communal Area on the western side. There are also two resettlement schemes, namely Chizvirizvi and Nyangambe. Chizvirizvi borders on Sangwe but Nyangambe is in the southwestern part of Chiredzi. There are 28 wards in Chiredzi District of which 5 wards constitute Sangwe Communal Area. Table 1 below shows the number of wards within each communal area in Chiredzi district, the total population, and total land area in hectares.

Table 1: Communal Areas, Wards, Population and Land Size in Chiredzi District

Communal Area	Ward Number	Total Population	Total land Area (Ha)
Sangwe	1	3 906	10 488
Sangwe	2	5 195	15 982
Sangwe	3	3 859	3 757
Sangwe	4	4 763	7 988
Sangwe	5	4 051	10 232
Matibi 2	6	5 806	27 500
Matibi 2	7	6 167	25 750
Matibi 2	8	6 403	21 500
Matibi 2	9	4 285	22 750
Matibi 2	10	7 989	40 100
Matibi 2	11	11 171	35 000
Sengwe	13	6 994	72 000
Sengwe	14	4 816	83 750
Sengwe	15	9 080	88 750
Total	14	84 477	465 541

(Source: Chiredzi AGRITEX Office, 2001)

Population density in Sangwe is 45 persons per square kilometers, which is more than the 1997 national average of 30 persons per square kilometer. Within the communal areas in Chiredzi district, Sangwe Communal Area also has a high population density (Refer Table 2, below). This has implications on land, environment and livelihoods.

Table 2: Population Density in Communal Areas of Chiredzi District

Communal Area	Total Population	Total number of Households	Population density (persons per square kilometer)
Sangwe	41 321	3 932	44.9
Sengwe	21 766	2 434	8.1
Matibi	19 890	6 932	23.9
Sub-total	82 977	132 298	25.6

(Source: Chiredzi AGRITEX Office 2001)

Most of Sangwe communal area is covered by mixed mopane and combretum woodland, but along the Save River dense riverine forest occurs, supporting a broad range of floral and avian species. The alluvium soils in and around this area are used for the cultivation of vegetables and dry season grains. Fertile basaltic vertisols known as *tlava*, support a wide range of crops, such as maize, sorghum, millet, cotton, groundnuts and rapoko, are found in Sangwe communal area. The soils are suitable for both rainfed and irrigated agriculture. Table 3 below shows the crops and cropping area during the 1998-1999 growing season in Chiredzi district.

Table 3: Chiredzi District Crops and Cropping Area, 1998-1999 Season.

Area	Name of Crop grown and the estimated output in tones													
	Sorghum		Maize		Cotton		G/nuts		Mhunga		Sunflower		Cowpeas	
	Ha	Tons	Ha	Tons	Ha	Tons	Ha	Tons	Ha	Tons	Ha	Tons	Ha	Tons
Sangwe	5016	10032	4056	10125	513	2565	5	2.5	519	389	358	176	5	2.5
Sengwe	5405	10810	1145	2863	195	188	18	*	235	176		149	18	*
Matibi2A	11150	22300	5320	1330	278	278	-	9	36	27	82	-	935	-
Matibi2B	1240	2480	1620	4050	56	56	160	224	10	7.5	84	101	30	-
Chirizvirizvi	500	1000	1000	2500	288	432	10	1.4	-	-	5	6	12	6
Nyangambe	91	182	423	1058	724	1086	99	139	2	1.5	-	-	-	-
G/kudzingwa	702	1404	726	1815	56	45	294	412	-	-	7	9	11	5.5

(Source: AGRITEX Office, Chiredzi, 2001)

During the 1998/99 season, Sangwe had a fairly significant hectarage under such crops as maize, cotton, *mhunga* and sunflower. Compared to Sangwe, the resettlement scheme called Nyangambe seems to dominate cotton production. However, Sangwe communal area is the second largest producer of cotton in Chiredzi district. Sangwe is also dominant in the production of *mhunga,* and sunflower.

1.1. Rural Livelihoods in Chiredzi

Sangwe is located in Natural Region V, which is characterised by low rainfall and high temperatures, a natural region classified as only suitable for extensive ranching and wildlife. Average rainfall is low (450-500mm per annum), supporting the successful dry land cultivation of grains only in good seasons. As a result of the low rainfall that varies markedly from one year to another, agricultural production in Sangwe is associated with high levels of risk and uncertainty.

Agriculture was historically divided between opportunistic shifting cultivation of dry lands and permanent cultivation of wetlands and riverbanks. Droughts are not uncommon in this area, and because of climatic uncertainties, good crops are expected on average once every 3-4 years. Given this context of climatic uncertainty and vulnerability, households pursue diverse livelihood strategies which are dynamic with much daily, month to month and year to year variation as people react to such contingencies as the timing and amount of rainfall, labour migration opportunities, and remittance income. It is vital to note that some of the livelihood activities are temporary, responding to an immediate shock, while others are permanent and long term activities responding to constant shock, for instance drought.

A high degree of differentiation in the livelihood strategies pursued occurs both between and within households. At a community level, two broad categories of social groups were identified namely the 'wealthy and poor households'. The classifications reflect to a greater extent the community's definition of wealth and poverty as stated in various wealth ranking exercises and focus group discussions. Table 4 below presents wealthy and poor households as defined by the Sangwe community.

Table 4: Wealthy and Poor Households in Sangwe Communal Area

Wealthy Household	***Poor Household***
Traders and local entrepreneurs (owners of shops, grinding mills etc)	Petty traders (i.e., selling of roasted birds, vegetables, crafts, small grains)
Migrants to South Africa	Seasonal migrants to local estates
Leaders of both traditional and modern institutions	Female headed households
Civil servants (e.g., teachers, extension officers, nurses)	Casual workers, (i.e., those who work on irrigation schemes, cotton pickers)
Party members particularly those occupying upper echelons of local party structures	Families heavily affected by HIV/AIDS
Plot holders in irrigation schemes especially Tshovani ARDA irrigation scheme	Project beneficiaries (e.g., BEAM, Plan International, Food-for-Work, Grain Loan Scheme)
Owners of large herds of livestock (cattle 20+)	Those without livestock or less than 4 cattle
Owners of large pieces of land, i.e., 5 hectares	Owners of small pieces of land, i.e., subsistence farmers
Ranch or Conservancy owners	Subsistence farmers
Safari Operators	Subsistence farmers

Taking cognizance of the broad classification of households, it is worth noting that the livelihood strategies employed by the rich and poor households vary. Furthermore, there exists intra-household differentiation based largely on gender and age. The following sections that broadly describe the livelihood activities of people in the case study area takes into consideration such differentiation.

1.1.1. Agricultural Activities

1.1.1.1. Dryland Agriculture

The fertile basaltic vertisols commonly found in Sangwe communal area support a variety of crops, which are both for sale and domestic consumption. Crops grown for domestic consumption include maize, cowpeas, roundnuts, groundnuts, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, wheat, sorghum, millet, and beans, while cotton, wheat, sunflowers and paprika are mainly grown for sale. Intercropping of the aforementioned small grain crops is common in Sangwe Communal area, largely as a need 'to maximise on the short wet season by growing most crops at the most opportune time.'[1] From a technical agricultural perspective, intercropping has a number of environmental benefits which include among many others, nitrogen fixation and reduction in soil erosion. Nevertheless, it is not farfetched to view intercropping as a community and household food security strategic measure that enables a wide variety of crops to be simultaneously grown, harvested and subsequently consumed. The diversification of crops grown guards against the shortfalls of one crop by another, that is, if one crop does not do well, the other crop might, and thus ensuring some harvest to the household.

However, there is differentiation on dry land agriculture based on the types of crops grown and the size of landholding. Poor households typically have small plots of land and grow small grain crops solely for domestic consumption, while on the other hand, the typically rich households grow both small grain crops and cash crops (mainly cotton, wheat, sunflower and paprika) on large plots. Due to the latter's size of landholding, they are able to sell their agricultural produce.

1.1.1.2. Irrigation agriculture

Irrigation agriculture is of vital importance in Sangwe Communal area largely because;

- the area is close to the Save River
- the rainfall is low
- the soils are suitable for irrigation, and

[1] Interview with Mr. Mujuru, COMMUTECH, 28/02/2001 at Mupinga Township.

- the need to increase crop yields

To this extent, five irrigation schemes were established with the view to help people meet their food requirements and provide self-employment to the community.[2] The main crops that are grown on the irrigation schemes include, cotton, maize, wheat, vegetables, beans, oranges and bananas. Most of the crops grown are for sale. Of the five irrigation schemes, only ARDA Tshovani irrigation scheme was still operating at the time of the study, albeit plagued by problems (Refer to table 5 below). The major reasons cited for the demise of other four irrigation schemes were;

- engine breakdown
- engines washed away during the Cyclone Eline, and
- failure to pay electricity bills.

Although the irrigation schemes have significantly contributed to the livelihoods of the people in Sangwe, it is worth pointing out that access to these irrigation schemes is confined to wealthy and educated rural people. For instance, for a person to be a member of ARDA Tshovani irrigation scheme, he or she has to pay Z$12 000 per year which is used mainly for meeting electricity bills and other operational costs. Thus, only the rich in the rural areas can afford such an exorbitant membership fee. In addition, the requirement of a Master Farmer Certificate by Rupangwana Irrigation Scheme excludes the uneducated rural people who are largely females.

[2] Interview with Mr. Baloyi, AGRITEX Officer, Chiredzi

Table 5: Irrigation Schemes in Sangwe Communal Area

Scheme	Ward	Total area (ha)	Area under cultivation (ha)	Crop planted	Number of farmers	Source of water	Type of irrigation	Year established
Rupangwana	4	7.5	Nil	Nil	56	Save River	Flood	1976
Gudo Pools	1	12.8	Nil	Nil	116	Save River	Flood	1976
St. Joseph's	2	14.6	Nil	Nil	126	Save River	Flood	1976
Dendere	2	20	Nil	Nil	86	Save River	Flood	1974
Tshovani Arda	3	354	141	135* 6x	84	Save River	Flood	1984

* is for cotton. x is for maize

(Source: AGRITEX office, Chiredzi 2001)

For poor households stream bank cultivation is the closest version of an 'irrigation scheme', where they can grow crops to offset crop failures in dryland agriculture. Small pieces of vegetable gardens and maize fields are a common feature along the Save River. However, stream bank cultivation is prohibited by law, thus limiting rural people's cropping strategies.

In short, while the irrigation schemes were established to improve peoples' livelihoods, the rules and regulations guiding access to the irrigation schemes excludes poor people. They create, at one end, a wealthy social group composed of village elites and, on the other end, a very poor social group composed of the uneducated rural people.

One of the major changes in crop production in Sangwe has been the wide adoption and cultivation of short variety hybrid seeds. This is true mainly for sorghum and maize. Respondents in Gudo Communal Area constantly referred to '*chidhomeni*'[3], a short-term variety of sorghum introduced in the area by an agricultural extension officer, which they noted as having improved their food security. Also, in Ndali, there is widespread cultivation

[3] Chidhomeni is derived from the term 'mudhomeni'or 'demonstrator' meaning an AGRITEX officer. The short term variety of wheat they referred to as 'chidhomeni' was introduced to them by an AGRITEX officer, hence the name.

of pumpkins from South Africa introduced by *magaisa*[4], which they noted as doing well despite the climatic conditions. In Mupinga, there is common cultivation of 'land race', an improved sorghum variety from Matebeleland which has the advantage that birds cannot eat the grains since they are covered in pods. *Simezile,* an improved sorghum variety, is also widely being cultivated by communal farmers in Mupinga. *Simezile* means 'we have survived the drought.' In short, the shift from traditional to improved seeds and the introduction of new varieties of seeds represents the quest by households to sustain their livelihoods in response to constant droughts.

In addition, there is an increasing shift from the cultivation of food crops to cash crops, mainly cotton. This is largely explained by the monetary benefits accruing to people who grow cash crops, and the extensive support that cotton growers get from cotton marketing companies such as the Cotton Company of Zimbabwe (COTTCO). COTTCO provides financial support, that is, loans to buy cotton seeds, fertilisers, pesticides and agricultural equipment. In addition, they provide a ready and available cotton market, and thus assuring the people of a place where they can easily sell their produce. On the contrary, the Grain Marketing Board, which mainly buys sorghum and maize from farmers, is experiencing financial problems and in most cases may not be able to purchase the produce from the villagers, or may delay in paying the villagers. This is viewed as one of the major factors that explains the shift to cotton. Some villagers pointed out that compared to food crops, cotton does not require a lot of labour. Also, villagers noted that cattle do not eat cotton in contrast to maize and sorghum. The increasing role of cotton in people's livelihoods is aptly summarised by the sayings, '*donje ndiro chairo*[5] [cotton is the one] and 'you can never go wrong with cotton'[6] literally meaning that cotton is the crop to grow and once you grow it, you are assured of considerable financial benefits.

When asked how sustainable this livelihood strategy is in the context of a reduction in the cultivation of food crops, the respondent was quick to state that 'although people do not eat cotton, they directly benefit from it since the money they get through the sale of cotton is

[4] *Magaisa* are local migrants who go to South Africa to work.
[5] Mr Kumbula, a plot holder in ARDA Tshovane Irrigation Scheme
[6] Mr. P. Dutwa, a villager in Hleketelani-Mugevisa village, Ward 3

used to buy food.'[7] Despite this logic, the key questions for further investigation are; what are the likely impact of this shift on rural people's food security and livelihoods? Secondly, how sustainable is the shift to cash crop production?

Livestock rearing, mainly cattle and goats, is common in the study area. Although there are households that do not have cattle, the number of cattle per household ranges from 2 to 20+ head of cattle. Those who have less than 20 cattle are classified as poor, and those possessing more than 20 are classified as the rich. However, this classification of 'rich' and 'poor' was affected by drought that killed some of the livestock.[8]. Cattle ownership also assumes a gender and age bias, that is, being positively related with old age and the male gender.

Cattle are used to meet a household's livelihood needs, in terms of food (i.e. milk and meat), transportation, and ploughing. Cow dung is used as manure in the fields and as a sealant for 'smoothening' the floors of kitchens and other houses. In addition, cattle can be sold to meet household needs, particularly educational and health needs.

Among the Shangaans, cattle are cultural assets used in marriage transactions. Thus cattle occupy a unique role in the web of social and cultural relations of the Shangaan people. Also, cattle are traditionally used in dispute settlement, in the sense that fines are charged and paid in cattle units. For instance, if a person impregnates a girl and refuses to marry the girl, the fine ranges from 2 to 5 cattle. In the same vein, cattle are distributed to relatives, friends and neighbours as 'gifts' which serve to strengthen community relations. Thus cattle play a central role in the social relations among the Shangaans that does not necessarily yield a monetary benefit. However, the impact of Cyclone Eline and the 1991-92 drought severely depleted the cattle population in the case study area, and thus people are increasingly resorting to goats for their livelihood needs.

Fishing, both legal and illegal, is a common livelihood strategy in Sangwe. Fishing is mainly done in Save, Runde, Mkwasine and Chiredzi rivers. Both males and females for purposes of

[7] Ibid.
[8] From wealth ranking exercise conducted at Ndali Primary School.

sale and domestic consumption do fishing. The use of herbs that kill a lot of fish is not uncommon among fishers who aim for the market.

The major wild resources that are of significance to people's livelihoods in Sangwe communal area are mopane worms, birds, thatching grass and herbs. Mopane worms are harvested during March and April. They are harvested either for sale or household consumption. This is also true for quelea birds.[9] Although the sale of thatching grass was mentioned we could not ascertain the average earnings, but suffice it to state that, the grass is used in thatching houses.

1.1.2. Rural Non-Agricultural Activities

Rural Non-Agricultural Activities are defined as 'any income generating activity beyond agriculture and gardening performed by a person living in a rural area' (Moller, 1998). In light of this definition, three main types of non-agricultural activities were identified in the case study area and are categorized into trade, craft and service activities (Refer table 6 below)

[9] One roasted quelea bird cost Z$10. One British Pound is equivalent to 80 Zimbabwe Dollars.

Table 6: Rural Non-Agricultural Activities Found in Sangwe

Trade	Craft	Service
Businessmen/general dealers i.e., owners of shops at growth points	Tailors	Bicycle repairers
Grain traders	Carpenters	Radio and watch repairers
Cattle traders	Wood sculptors	Money changers
Poultry traders	Thatchers	Shoe repairers
Vegetable traders/vendors	Basket weavers	Food vendors
Fruit traders		Accommodation providers
Marijuana traders		Prostitutes
Fish traders		Traditional healers
Home-brewed beer trader		Oarsmen

1.1.2.1. Trade

As a result of the government's rural industrialization programme, 'growth points' were established in rural areas of Zimbabwe. The programme was aimed at creating industries and commercial centers in rural areas. To this extent, there exists vibrant 'growth points' scattered around Sangwe Communal Area, where there is trade of basic commodities such as sugar, cooking oil, salt, clothes, soap, soft drinks, beer and mealie-meal. Owners of shops, commonly known as general dealers earn their living through the buying and selling of such basic commodities and occupy the upper echelons of Sangwe social strata. In addition, owners of grinding mills also comprise this category of 'businessmen'.

At these 'growth points', there exists a group of traders from poor households who are mainly involved in the trading of small grains, such as maize, wheat, sorghum and sunflower. Fruits, vegetables, roasted birds, and dried mopane worms and fish are also sold by this category of traders.

The aforementioned trading activities are differentiated along gender lines, with middle-aged women constituting the largest proportion of traders. Nevertheless, in the trade of small grains mainly maize and wheat, there exists a male dominated group of 'middleman' who buy the grains from women and later sell it to the Grain Marketing Board, and urban centres mainly Chiredzi, Chipinge, Masvingo and Mutare. Important to note is the fact that the 'middleman' buy the small grains from traders, mainly women, at a low price and later resell them at inflated prices.

In addition, the illicit selling of '*mbanje*' (i.e., marijuana) is quite prevalent at rural service centers throughout Sangwe Communal Area. This activity is largely an underground activity due to the fact that it is illegal. It is mainly aimed at the local and the lucrative South African market. During the mapping phase, in early March 2001, the Zimbabwe Republic Police at Rupangwana Service Centre arrested two women who were attempting to smuggle nearly one hundred kilograms of '*mbanje*' or marijuana. These two women were in their late forties. Upon being questioned by the police, the women indicated that they had ready buyers awaiting them at the Beitbridge Border Post, which is the gateway to South Africa. With regards to the local market, '*a twist of mbanje'* which is used to roll one cigarette cost Z$10. Despite the fact that marijuana trading is illicit in Zimbabwe, it is one of the major sources of household income.

Within rural areas, there is trade of livestock (mainly, goats, cattle and donkeys), poultry (mainly, chicken and turkeys), small crafts (for instance, cooking sticks, small baskets, sleeping mats and pestles). The selling of livestock is a male activity since they are the owners. On the other hand, the selling of poultry is a female activity for similar reasons. With regards to small crafts, there is no clear division by gender since crafts and craft-making vary by gender.

In addition, the selling of home-brewed beer, commonly known by the locals as 'seven days' is another source of household income in Sangwe. 'Seven days' is cheaper than the commercial brewed beers and is popular among the locals. Its popularity is largely based on the fact that many people cannot afford to buy the commercially brewed beers. Secondly, its alcohol content is unknown, but what is known is that one gets drunk quickly and is less

expensive as compared to the commercially brewed beers. Females mainly dominate beer brewing.

Trading activities are differentiated along gender and social class lines as is illustrated by the case of Rupangwana Growth Point in Sangwe in Box 1, below.

Box 1: Trading Activities At Rupangwana Growth Point, Sangwe

Rupangwana Growth Point is situated about 60 km east of Chiredzi town, along the Chiredzi-Chipinge road. Save River is about 200m away from the centre, thus providing water and fish to the surrounding community. There are several shops that are linearly situated along the highway. These shops are largely owned by locals, and sell basic grocery goods, such as cooking oil, mealie meal, sugar, salt, soft drinks, utensils and so on. Meat is sold in butcheries which are part of the flourishing business at the Rupangwana. Along the shops' verandas and the road, is a thriving informal trade of vegetables, maize grains, sorghum, millet, birds, fish, mopane worms, fruits and other small commodities. This is mainly done by women, while men are mainly involved in the sale of handicrafts and the service industry. The service industry is mainly centred on bicycle, radio, shoe and watch repairs.

The fact that Rupangwana is situated along the Chipinge-Chiredzi-Beitbridge road makes it a transitional stop over for truck drivers who engage in prostitution. The sale of marijuana aimed for both domestic and the lucrative South African market is common.

Woman: Small scale informal trading

Makhanani is a young girl aged 19 years who sells vegetables and maize at Rupangwana growth point. She gets the vegetables from her garden which is situated near Save River, and a bunch of vegetables costs Z$10, and on average she earns Z$100 per day. In addition, she sells maize which costs Z$250 per 25 litre bucket. Makhanani buys the maize from local communal farmers, and then sells it to people travelling to Chiredzi town. On average she sells 3 buckets of maize per day. Sometimes she 'entertains truck drivers who pay good money, at least Z$300 per night.' The money earned from these diverse activities is mainly used to buy household goods, bread and tea, fertiliser and seeds, and to pay school fees for her siblings.

Man: Shoe repairer and 'watch doctor'

Steven Kumbula is involved in the shoe and watch repairing business. He has been doing this for the past two years, and earns on average Z$50 dollars per day. However, before he comes to the growth point, he first works on his field clearing, ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting crops. However, these activities are dependent upon the season. If there is any surplus produce, he sells it at the market. The money Steven earns supports his family of three.

1.1.2.2. Crafts

One of the cultural traits of both the Shangaan and Ndau people is the artisanal production of tools and products, referred to as 'crafts' for practical use in the household. These crafts were traditionally exchanged as gifts or solely used within the household. As a consequence of the monetisation of the rural economy, the crafts, both the skill and product, have assumed a commercial value, thus they are being traded. Such traded skills include among others, building of traditional and modern houses, and thatching and roofing of houses. Traded craft products include sleeping mats made of baobab bark, baskets, clay pots, hoe handles, pestles, mortars, wooden chairs and traditional hats. The artisans themselves mainly do the selling of craft products (Refer to box 2, below).

Box 2: Craft and Craft-making: The Case of Hassani Mafalele

Hassan Mafalele is a forty-year old man whose main area of expertise is craft making, an art that was passed on to him by his grandfather. Hassan weaves baskets and mats. In addition, he carves pestles, mortars, and hoe handles. He sells his products mainly to the local market at Rupangwana Growth Point and Ndali and Mupinga rural service centres. Some of his products find their way to urban markets in Chipinge, Chiredzi, Masvingo and Mutare. He occasionally sells the crafts to tourists visiting the Lowveld and those traveling along the Chiredzi, Masvingo and Mutare highway.

Within his rural home area of Ndali in Ward 5, Mr.Mafalele normally exchanges his products with maize or sorghum, and sometimes game meat from poachers. However, the prices of his products are shown below;

- Pestle Z$25
- Mortar Z$450
- Hoe handle Z$20
- Hat Z$80
- Mat Z$500
- Basket Z$100

However, the prices vary according to the clientele. If it is for his neighbours within his village, the price can go down and payments can be staggered. At rural service centers, the prices can be raised considerably. When selling to tourists, the presented price list is ignored and prices are heavily inflated. However, business has been low for all the three categories of clients.

The rate of selling the products and product on demand varies. For instance, hoe handles are in demand before the onset of the rainy season and pestles, mortars and baskets after harvesting. Hats are in demand during summer when the weather is very hot.

Income earned from the sale of the crafts is used for buying food, paying school fees and medical expenses. "Some of the money I get when I sell my crafts at rural service centers may end up in the local bar's till", noted Mr. Mafalele.

1.1.2.3. Services

Service activities are taken to point to the many occupations found in Sangwe that are also found in urban centers. These include, bicycle repair, radio and watch repair, moneychangers, shoe repair, shop assistant, food vendor and traditional healer. It is of worth noting that this categorization is indicative only, meant as a tool to group the general tendencies.

Located at rural service centers are tailors who are involved in the making and repairing of clothes at a cost. The costs vary by the nature of the job done, and earn on average Z$1000 per month. On the other hand, watch, shoe, radio and bicycle repairers earn an average of Z$900 per month.

The existence of migrants who work in South Africa has helped in the creation of 'informal and individual bureau de changes' referred in this paper as 'money changers'. Their main activity is to exchange South African Rand to Zimbabwe dollars, and their market comprises of cross-border traders and truck drivers. The shortage of foreign currency in Zimbabwe has created brisk business for these moneychangers.

Seasonal or casual work in surrounding estates is also the most common form of employment for people in Sangwe. Casual work on the sugar estates mainly involves planting and harvesting of sugar cane. Related to this, is the labouring or working on other people's 'farms', which is a widespread phenomenon and to many a primary method of supplementing their own income. Although both activities are clearly agricultural, they are comparable to any other sale of labour power.

To reiterate, most people in Sangwe communal area are employed on the surrounding commercial farms, estates and towns as seasonal workers. Seasonal work in these centres of employment is largely male dominated, and represents a household livelihood diversification strategy where the male member of the household migrates in search of employment. Money earned is used to buy household needs, agricultural inputs and also used to pay for education and health. Although there were no specific questions on the amount of remittances, it is

important to note that remittances from migrants play a significant role in household economies and livelihood diversification strategies.

Due to the fact that some plot holders have large sizes of land, they often hire people from within the communal area to do particular jobs, such as clearing the fields, ploughing, weeding and harvesting. Women are mainly employed to carry out these activities. However, conflict of interest exists when women fail to work on their fields because they are employed elsewhere. One woman who stated that illustrates this:

> "most often I grow my crops late because I will be working on the rich people's land, doing the same job that I am supposed to do on my piece of land. When I go and work on my plot it will be late, and my crops wont do well." [10]

Although casual work on irrigation schemes exists as a source of income for poor households, it has the potential to reduce their households' agricultural production.

Interesting to note is the role of migration, both local and international, as a key strategy in households' efforts to construct sustainable livelihoods. Nearly all of our male respondents had either worked on the surrounding estates, (Hippo Valley Estate, Triangle Limited, Mkwasine), or urban areas (mainly Chipinge, Chiredzi, Masvingo, Mutare and Harare) or in South Africa. The major reasons cited for migration were failing agricultural outputs due to low rainfall, lack of job prospects, need to earn money to buy agricultural inputs, and to pay school fees, and the ability to participate in the cash economy.

In addition, there are institutional programmes that contribute to the sustainable livelihoods of the communities under study. These include food-for-work programmes under the Government's Department of Social Welfare, and the benefits derived from CAMPFIRE programmes. The food-for-work programme involves the provision of food by government to communities that have food shortages in exchange for labour to work in community development projects. During the study, Mahenye community was involved in the

[10] Interview with Mrs. A. Kumbula, ARDA Tshovani Irrigation Scheme

rehabilitation of roads in exchange for food. In addition, government provides grains to communities that have grain shortages, mainly maize under the grain loan scheme.

Under the CAMPFIRE programme, communities are given money earned from CAMPFIRE wildlife activities for the implementation of a community project, for instance, installation and operation of grinding mills, construction of shops and classroom blocks. In addition, individual households are given money earned from either the sale of trophy or game meat. The money given to households is one of the not so significant sources of income which households use in meeting their livelihoods needs.

1.1.3. NGOs and Livelihoods

While the first section of the paper has focused on institutions that are mainly involved in the management of the three natural resources (i.e., land, water and wild resources), there are other organisations that are not directly involved with the three natural resources, but are of importance to the livelihoods of the rural people in the case study areas. Table 7 below shows some key organisations and the livelihoods activities of concern to local livelihoods.

Table 7: NGOs and Livelihoods

Organisation	Activities	Livelihood Outcome
Plan International	• provision of school fees to children from poor households from primary through secondary education • provision of school uniforms • Cattle restocking programme • Provision of seeds • Food donation after the 1992 drought	• Improved educational levels of household members • Improvement in cattle population • Improved agricultural production • Reduction of malnutrition
Family AIDS Caring Trust	• Caring and counselling of AIDS patients • Provision of food to people living with AIDS • Paying of school fees to AIDS orphans	• Mitigating the impact of HIV/AIDS • Ensuring access to education for AIDS orphans
Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources	• Fish farming • Growing of fruit trees • Bee keeping projects	• Increased household income through the sale of fish • Improved nutritional status of households
Christian Care	• Restocking of livestock in Ward 5 • Provision of drought relief • Provision of bursaries • Machoka dam	• Increase cattle population • Reduction of malnutrition • Access to education • Provision of water
Africa 2000	• Provided seedlings (i.e.,roundnuts, cowpeas, sorghum and groundnuts)	• Improve crop production
Community Technology Development Association	• Provision of seedlings • Small scale seed multiplication programmes • Seed bank	• Household food security

Some of the impacts of these NGO interventions on local livelihoods could not be established with any certainly during the mapping phase. Some of activities of NGOs mentioned above, for example, of COMMUTECH are still in the initial stages. This having been said, the interventions of NGOs are increasingly becoming essential to the livelihoods of the poor in Sangwe.

2. POLICY ISSUES AND PROCESSES ON LAND, WATER AND WILD RESOURCES

In this section, the paper focuses on policy issues surrounding land, water and wild resources with the view of mapping out the key actors on each resource. In addition, the section describes and analyses policy shifts over time from the colonial period and at different epochs of post-colonial history. The purpose of such an analysis is to trace issues of inclusion and exclusion of rural people in policy processes, and highlighting the recent changes in the policy environment, which simultaneously brought new institutions, emerging at all levels from the village up to the national level. Such institutional and policy changes are critical in defining access to, and use of natural resources, in meeting people's livelihood needs in a sustainable way. In addition, changing policy and institutional narratives will be discussed as they relate to access and use of natural resource assets and their impact on the sustainable livelihoods of local communities.

2.1 Land

It is important to note at the onset that the genesis of the land question and land policy in Zimbabwe is to be found in the political economy of the settler-colony. Various colonial legislations were put in place and provided legal clothing to the alienation of Africans from their land. For instance, The Privy Council provided legal clothing to the proposition that the Crown owned all unalienated land and that Africans had no concept of ownership and, therefore, their use and occupation of land was always at the behest of the Crown (Shivji et al., 1998). In addition, the Land Commission Act of 1894, Land Apportionment Act amended in 1931, the African Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) and the Tribal Trust Lands Act (1965) were some of the pieces of colonial legislation that pushed Africans to marginal and poor soils, where they eked out a living without legal rights to land, as that land was owned by the State.

The Native Reserves became Tribal Trust Lands held in trust by a state organ under the Tribal Trust Lands Act of 1965, which after independence were renamed Communal Lands, in terms of the Communal Lands Act of 1982 (Shivji et al., 1998).

A small portion of land (1.8 million hectares) was set aside as Native Purchase Areas where Africans could purchase land and own it privately under freehold or leasehold. These Native Purchase Areas later became the Small Scale Commercial Farms. At the extreme end, were Large Scale Commercial Farms which had the best soils and owned solely by whites. These historical facts created two fundamental categories and classification of land in Zimbabwe, the large-scale commercial farms and the communal areas of today. The dualism was not simply in terms of scale, but also tenurial, economic spatial and racial. The dualist legacy continued in post-Independence Zimbabwe.

In response to the historical inequities in land distribution the Government amended the Constitution in 1990 to remove restrictions on acquiring farmland. A new national land policy was agreed in 1990, setting new targets for land acquisition and land resettlement, and announcing a number of policy measures aimed at increasing its ability to acquire land (Moyo 1998). The Land Acquisition Act of 1992 flowed from this position. In 1996 the Government produced a new policy statement focussing on the guiding principles for a new phase of resettlement. In 1997, the Government restructured its ministries and created a new Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, which established National and Provincial Land Acquisition Committees. These Committees were tasked to identify commercial farms suitable for acquisition under the Land Acquisition Act (Shivji et al., 1998).

What is interesting to note is the fact that:

- Some segments of the population feel that they are not adequately involved in and informed of the land policy formulation process,
- It has been marred by provincialised political pressures which are parochial and elitist,
- The timing of and scale with which the land identification programme was pursued is quite ambitious,

- There is lack of public debate on which social group or which constituency is the main target for land redistribution (Moyo, 1998).

2.1.1. Land Tenure

Zimbabwe has 5 distinct tenure regimes namely freehold, leasehold, communal, resettlement and state land, but this paper will discuss tenure regimes that are relevant to the study. Land in large scale commercial farms was held on freehold, a form of tenure which gave absolute ownership held in perpetuity, with the largest bundle of rights in terms of right to own, control, manage, use and dispose of property. On the other hand, people in communal areas occupied land by permission of the state, which was the ultimate owner or holder of the radical title. Their occupation and use of land was controlled by criminal law and sanctions, while they had no legally entrenched rights. Among themselves, they were allowed to continue to relate to each other under customary law that also governed their land relations and tenure (Shivji et al., 1998; Tshuma, 1997). Whenever the state so desired, the permission to occupy and use land could be withdrawn by administrative fiat. Customary law tenure was insecure and fragile. Within weak and fragile customary land rights there were further inequalities and inequities, yet customary law was constructed on the assumption of harmonious and fairly homogenous communities. In reality, communities are differentiated along social, economic and political lines, which produced unequal and inequitable access to and use of land. For instance, discriminatory ownership and inheritance rules are biased against daughters, wives and widows.

2.1.2. Land Use

Land use patterns in Zimbabwe are related to the differential access of various landholders to secure land tenure, high quality land and to permissive land use regulations. The fact that land use regulations have tended to be inequitably prescribed between customary and private land holding sectors has led to an ineffective and undemocratic land use policy regime. Land use regulations tend to have been used to justify and maintain racially unequal land ownership and tenure patterns between white large scale landowners and marginalised blacks. Land use regulations in the large scale commercial farms were essentially a

participatory, self-regulated set of mechanisms designed to ensure that maximum financial and economic benefits flowed to the farmer, in return for agreements on conservation and infrastructure provision. In communal areas land use regulations were imposed with severity that led to widespread revolt and resentment. Thus it is not feasible to apply rigid land use rules where there is extreme poverty and overcrowding. Regulating the number of livestock suitable per hectare or prohibiting stream bank cultivation and tree cutting for instance may be environmentally desirable but unrealistic in the context of land shortages and inequitable access to land among communal land farmers. This discriminatory approach to the regulation of land use in agriculture has not led to optimal land uses. For instance in communal areas, the regulations are divorced from social reality, and thus cannot master local compliance.

2.1.3. Institutions Involved in Land Administration in Sangwe

The dualism that emerged in the classification of land replicated itself in the administration and management of land. Land administration, particularly in communal areas, is characterised by top-down centralised structures giving wide discretion to officers with little consultation or participation of local communities of land users. This section identifies and analyses land administration institutions and their impact on the rights of the landholders and their livelihoods. The institutional framework for land management or administration is exceedingly complex and fractured. There are numerous agencies involved in land administration including at least nine ministries and central government departments, several large parastatals as well as urban and rural local authorities and traditional leaders.

With the advent of independence, the government established 55 district councils whose responsibilities were;

- the administration of rural areas
- ensure popular participation in the development process
- to prepare development plans based on the felt needs of grassroots communities
- liaise with people's committees which had been created during the war (Tshuma, 1997).

It is worth noting that people's committees were a product of the liberation struggle and were established by the peasantry in cooperation with guerrilla forces (Ranger 1985; Kriger 1988) to fill the gap left by the colonial administration in liberated zones. Immediately after independence, the people's committees were mainly involved in distributing aid, reconstruction and communication with central government officials (Alexander 1994). Furthermore, the committees were active in administration in the communal areas and were also involved in hearing cases and allocating land (Lan 1985). Thus there existed a situation of dual power, which did not last for long, largely because the government and the two political parties (ZANU PF and ZAPU) viewed the committees as autonomous entities and therefore unreliable as agents for controlling the peasantry (Tshuma, 1997). The formation of the rural district councils was viewed as a way of replacing the people's committees (Moyo 1995). However, it has been argued that the district councils were quite removed from the people they purported to represent.

In 1984 the Prime Minister issued a directive that saw the establishment of village and ward development committees. Village Development Committees (VIDCOs) are composed of six members, four of whom are elected by adults from 100 households. The other two representing women and youth organisations (Tshuma 1997; Makumbe 1997). Six VIDCOs make up a Ward Development Committee (WADCO). A WADCO consists of the chairpersons and secretaries of the constituent VIDCOs, a representative each from the youth and women's mass organisations, and the Councillor for the ward.

At a local level, the introduction of elected local government institutions had the potential of making chiefs, headmen and kraalheads redundant. It is argued that the aforementioned institutions were designed partly to undermine and subsequently taking away the authority of the chiefs and their subordinates (Tshuma 1997). This intention is evident in the Customary Law and Primary Courts Act (No.6 of 1981) which took away the authority of the chiefs in land allocation and vested it in district councils. Yet, at the provincial and national levels, the political authority of chiefs has been recognised. The Lancaster House Constitution reserved 10 seats in the Senate for chiefs. When the Senate was abolished and the House of Assembly enlarged to 150 seats in 1989, the Constitution maintained 10 reserved seats for Chiefs.

Chiefs in a province constitute a Provincial Assembly which elects members to a national assembly, the Council of Chiefs.

According to the Chiefs and Headman's Act, a chief is responsible for 'performing the duties and functions pertaining to the office of the chief as a traditional head of his community' (Section 6). In addition, the Council of Chiefs is tasked with making representation to the Minister regarding the needs and wishes of the inhabitants of the communal lands (Section 20). In 1990, the Customary Law and Local Courts Act (No.2 of 1990) was enacted, which repealed the Customary Law and Primary Courts Act (No.6 of 1981). The 1990 enactment restored the judicial authority of chiefs and headmen but denied them jurisdiction over disputes relating to land.

Thus, during the first 10 years of independence, there existed contradictions and confusion in traditional institutions regarding rural administration. On the one hand they wanted to undermine traditional institutions and authority partly in the name of modernisation and partly in an attempt to marginalise alternative centres of authority, while on the other hand they wanted to bolster traditional institutions for purposes of legitimacy (Tshuma 1997). As Alexander (1994:329) puts it, the version of culture with which the government held traditional institutions had less to do with cultural nationalism than with Rhodesian traditionalism.

2.1.4. Access to Land

Allocation of land among the rural people was governed by the Tribal Trust Land Act of 1979, which was later repealed by the Communal Lands Act of 1982. The 1982 Act stipulated that any person wishing to use and occupy communal land for residential and agricultural purposes has to obtain the consent of the rural district council responsible for the area in question. When granting the consent, the rural district council is enjoined to:

"*have regard, where appropriate, to customary law relating to the allocation, occupation and use of land in the area in question grant consent only to persons who, according to the customary law of the community that has traditionally and continuously occupied and used the land in the area concerned, are*

regarded as forming part of such community or who according to such customary law, maybe permitted to occupy and use such land (Section 8(1).

Thus land allocation is vested in elected institutions but the title to land is vested in the President who is the executive authority of Zimbabwe. The government through the legal framework supports customary law regarding access to and use of land, but at the same time, removed the authority for its allocation from customary institutions and vested it in elected local government institutions, the rural district councils (Tshuma, 1997). In actual practice, however, the power to allocate land vests in ward or village development committees, even though formal delegations have not been made (Bruce, 1990).

While the local government structures are tasked to allocate land, traditional chiefs and their subordinates have not given up their power to allocate land. It was stated that if a person, say an old person who was born in the area, wants land, he will ask his father for a piece of land. If the father has land, he can give him land to till and to build his own home. If the father has no land to give, he can go with the son to the headman (i.e. *sabhuku*) to ask for a piece of land. The headman will allocate the young man land that is under the headman's jurisdiction. Thus land can be accessed as a birthright. In addition, sons can access land through inheritance. If the father dies, his land is given to the eldest son as inheritance or in some cases, it is given to the wife.

If someone is coming from another place which is outside of the headman and Chief's jurisdiction, and that person wants land, he should follow a set of procedures in order for him to get land. First, he must be cleared by his headman of any wrong doings. After getting a 'clearance letter', he will then go to the Headman and ask for land. If the headman has land, he will allocate him a portion. After that the person informs the local chief of his residence in the community he then will go to the rural district council for registration purposes. It is in this category of settlers where corruption is rife. The new settler can give the headman money or chicken for him to be given land. Nevertheless, the headman views it as a token of appreciation.

While the aforementioned cases are relevant to men, women access land through their husbands or male relatives. The first case is true of inheritance. Also, when a man marries, the wife is given a field, which she will work on in order to feed the family. However, it was said that there are cases of divorced women or female single parents who sleep with headmen in exchange for land.

In addition to these institutions in land allocation, there is involvement of local ZANU (PF) structures. These are most probably the remnants of the popular committees which administered land at the end of the war.

In addition to the plethora of institutions in land allocation is the recent emergence of the war veterans. The political developments in Zimbabwe over the past 5 years has seen the ascendancy of war veterans as an organised political pressure group, which demanded, among other things, land and an increasing role in land allocation. War veterans constitute a significant proportion of the new Land Committees, which are chaired by the District Administrators.

It would appear that land can be accessed through one or a combination of the following institutions:

- traditional institutions, the kraalhead and the chief
- family, father to son, or patrilineal inheritance
- rural district councils
- VIDCO chairperson
- The councillor of the area concerned
- Village chairperson of the ruling party
- War veterans
- Land committee

Thus there exists institutional conflict in the allocation of land. Chiefs, headmen and kraal heads allocate land, largely on the basis of government's neo-traditional ideology which is reflected in policy. The policy has been one of empowering and disempowering chiefs, to

the extent that chiefs and their subordinates have exploited this weakness in government policy and continue to allocate land. Secondly, some chiefs still have legitimacy and authority among the people in issues relating to land and natural resource management. Most people thus still rally behind chiefs on issues relating to land as they are viewed as the custodians of communal tenure (Ranger 1993).

Since rural district councils are far removed from rural communities, VIDCOs have been informally delegated to allocate land since they are found within the communities. On the other hand, war veterans and local ruling party structures allocate land on the basis that they fought for land during the liberation war, and thus they are entitled to it and to distribute it to the people. While war veterans can allocate land to people in their individual capacity in the fast track resettlement programme, a more formal way of accessing land is through the land committee. The Land Committee has the mandate to identify land for redistribution and allocate it to 'people' in communal areas.

While these institutions, both old and new, exist some have not been accessible to people who want land. Family and traditional institutions still remain the most common ones that communal area people can use in accessing land. Land identified and distributed by the land committee is said to be given to everyone regardless of political affiliation, social class and gender. This distribution is said to be assured by the allocation of different proportions to different categories of people:

- 10 % is allocated to people from other districts
- 10 % is for youths
- 60% is for local adult people aged less than 60 years. At least 10% of the 60% are civil servants and another 10% are for women.
- 20 % is for war veterans

Nevertheless, respondents noted that, in most cases, top civil servants in the army, police, local government and ruling party supporters are the ones who get land distributed by the land committee. Also, people can pay bribes to war veterans in order for them to get land distributed by the land committee.

While in the past chiefs used to be powerful in land allocation, the current fast track resettlement programme has seen them occupying weakened positions. They have limited or no roles to play in the allocation of land in designated areas, even though the land is said to be under their jurisdiction. This is illustrated by the case of Chief Gudo. Mkwasine estate falls under Chief Gudo and was designated. During the distribution of the 200 demarcated plots, the Chief was only given 20 plots to give to his people. In addition, it is stated that he did not actively participate in the process but was present as an observer and to rubberstamp the process of land distribution.[11]

2.1.5. Implications for Livelihoods

Land still remains central to the livelihoods of the people in Sangwe Communal area of Chiredzi. Despite the fact that it is located in an area defined mainly as suitable for ranching, with an unreliable rainfall regime and is , drought-prone, dryland and irrigated agriculture significantly contributes to people's livelihoods as they attempt to diversify and expand their food base. Food crops grown range from sorghum, millet, rapoko, groundnuts, roundnuts, beans, sweet potatoes, cow peas, pumpkins, and maize, while wheat, cotton, sunflower are grown for sale, mainly in small-scale irrigation schemes. In addition, the keeping of goats, cattle and donkeys play a critical role in rural livelihood diversification strategies. Thus the importance of land to rural livelihoods cannot be overemphasised. Both new and old institutions governing access to land have varying impacts on people's livelihoods (Refer to Table 8).

[11] Interview with Chief Gudo, 19 February 2001

Table 8: Land Allocating Institutions, Access and Impact on Livelihoods

Land Allocating Institution	Issues of Access	Impact on Livelihoods
Family	Promotes access to land for males, discriminating against females	Promotes male access to land (i.e. natural asset) and its entitlement. May improve the livelihood of males at the expense of females who are denied access to land and its entitlements.
Chiefs, Kraalheads and headman	Promotes access to land for males, discriminating against females	Promotes male access to land (i.e. natural asset) and its entitlement. May improve the livelihood of males at the expense of females who are denied access to land and its entitlements
Land Committee and War Veterans	Ensures access to land by top civil servants, army, police, ruling party supporters	Promotes the livelihoods of village elites, socially, economically and politically powerful rural people at the expense of the marginalised rural people
Local government – district council, VIDCO	Promotes access to land for males, and people who can pay the price (both legal and illegal)	Promotes livelihoods for village elites and males

2.2. Water

From the 1920s up to 1998 in Zimbabwe, there existed a legal and administrative framework, which governed the ownership, access, control and use of water in favour of sectional interests namely; commercial farming, and both mining and manufacturing industries. Thus, communal people were legally denied access to, and use of, water for secondary purposes, such as irrigation. Such inequities saw the need for water re-allocation

becoming increasingly urgent, as there is need for proper water management in a country that frequently experiences drought.

Since the colonial period up to 1998, many people in the rural areas have had limited access to water for agricultural purposes. This was largely due to the legislation that denied people in the communal areas access to water. Some of the basic principles enshrined in the Water Act (1976) were that:

- All water, other than private water, is vested in the State and its use apart from primary purposes requires that the Water Court grant a water right to the user.
- During periods when there is insufficient water, the available water is distributed on the basis that water right holders who were allocated water earlier have to satisfy their needs first, before late water right holders can exercise their rights (priority is based on date of application for a water right).
- Water rights are granted in perpetuity and are attached to land

The Water Act (1976) allowed owners, leasees or occupiers of private land to construct wells or drill boreholes on the land. The amount of ground water abstracted was not controlled. However, the minister was empowered to declare groundwater control areas, in which case deepening or drilling boreholes with a depth greater than 15 metres required ministerial permission.

The administration of the Act was the responsibility of the Water Court, which was empowered to investigate the use of water granted in a right, and revise or cancel a water right for reasons of failure to beneficially use the right. The minister responsible for the Act was also empowered to declare catchments as public water control areas, where water rights could only be granted with his/her approval. In periods of water shortage the President was empowered to declare, for up to 12 months water shortage areas. Water rights could be suspended or the amount of water allocated could be varied in such areas.

The Water Act (1976) remained operational up to 1998, when the Zimbabwe National Water Authority was passed. The 1976 Water Act gave rights of ownership of surface water in perpetuity to landowners. Thus, only individuals or persons with title deeds to land could

apply for, and be granted water rights. This situation benefited large-scale commercial and small-scale farmers with title deeds. Since communal people do not have title deeds to land it was thus impossible for them to get water rights.

Furthermore, the priority date system seriously prejudiced new entrants. It was not uncommon to see people who own water rights having large volumes of water while their neighbours had no water.

As a result of the Water Act of 1976, there exists great inequalities in the distribution of water in Zimbabwe, which is not ideal for fostering sustainable economic and social development. The water legislation has been reviewed to address some of the shortcomings. These include the removal of the 'priority date system', and replacing water rights previously issued in perpetuity with water permits valid for 20 years; introducing the 'polluter pays' principle and decentralising water management to catchment and sub-catchment councils. The concept of 'private water' has been removed, as well as much of the differentiation between ground water and surface water. Furthermore, the preferential rights held by riparian owners has been removed. Finally, the Water Act (1998) established the Zimbabwe National Water Authority, a parastatal tasked with providing a framework for the development, management, utilisation and conservation of the country's water resources through a coordinated approach. Some of the policy principles include inter alia;

- the involvement of stakeholders in water resource management
- the introduction of water conservation and demand management strategies
- treating water as an economic good
- introducing the polluter pays principle
- and giving consideration to gender (Goldblatt, M et al., 2000).

It is hoped that the new water legislation may lead to an equitable distribution of water by enabling communal and resettlement areas to have access to more water for agriculture.

2.2.1 Irrigation Policy

Within the broad policy on water, there exists an irrigation policy, which is 'understood and not written in black and white'(Makhado,1994:20). Irrigation policy in Zimbabwe is not adequately developed (Chitsiko, 1995:13) and its development has largely been piecemeal. After independence, the country largely relied on the 1983 Derude document, which Meinzen-Dick (1995) views as the most definitive statement on irrigation policy. In 1994 there was an FAO-assisted draft irrigation policy document, which by December 1995 was said to be under consideration by the government. However, the document is said to have been incorporated into the Zimbabwe's Agricultural Policy Framework 1995-2020 (Manzungu 1999:25).

Some of the key elements found in this Water and Irrigation Policy are;

- Priority will be placed on farmer-managed and operated systems .Government will assist in capital development while farmers will retain the responsibility for operation and maintenance of irrigation systems
- Greater emphasis will be placed on more efficient and greater equity of water use
- Effective water user associations will be encouraged and facilitated in the planning , development and evaluation of irrigation projects. Current Irrigation Management Committees will be reformed and strengthened to allow broader participation and greater responsibility in irrigation management
- Water allocation will take into account the imbalances in water supply between large and smallholder irrigators (Zimbabwe's Agricultural Policy Framework 1995-2020b cited in Manzungu 1999:26).

With regards to the number of institutions in smallholder irrigation, there are too many ministries and agencies that are involved and are guided by poor legislation. However, AGRITEX is largely responsible for planning and development of smallholder irrigation schemes at a local level. It is against this backdrop that the history of ARDA Tshovani Irrigation Scheme is discussed later.

2.2.2. Integrated Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme

On a broad developmental front, Zimbabwe has an integrated programme that governs rural water supply and sanitation. The programme is known as the Zimbabwe Rural Water Supply and Sanitation (RWS&S) Programme which is managed through an inter-ministerial National Action Committee, the secretariat of which is attached to the Ministry of Local Government and National Housing. This integrated approach largely emanates from the realization that water plays a strategic role in fighting poverty and rural development.

Defined operationally it is:

"…a process which promotes the coordinated development and management of water, land and related resources, in order to maximize the resultant economic and social welfare in an equitable manner without compromising the sustainability of vital ecosystems" (GWP,2000:22 in Nicol 2000:7).

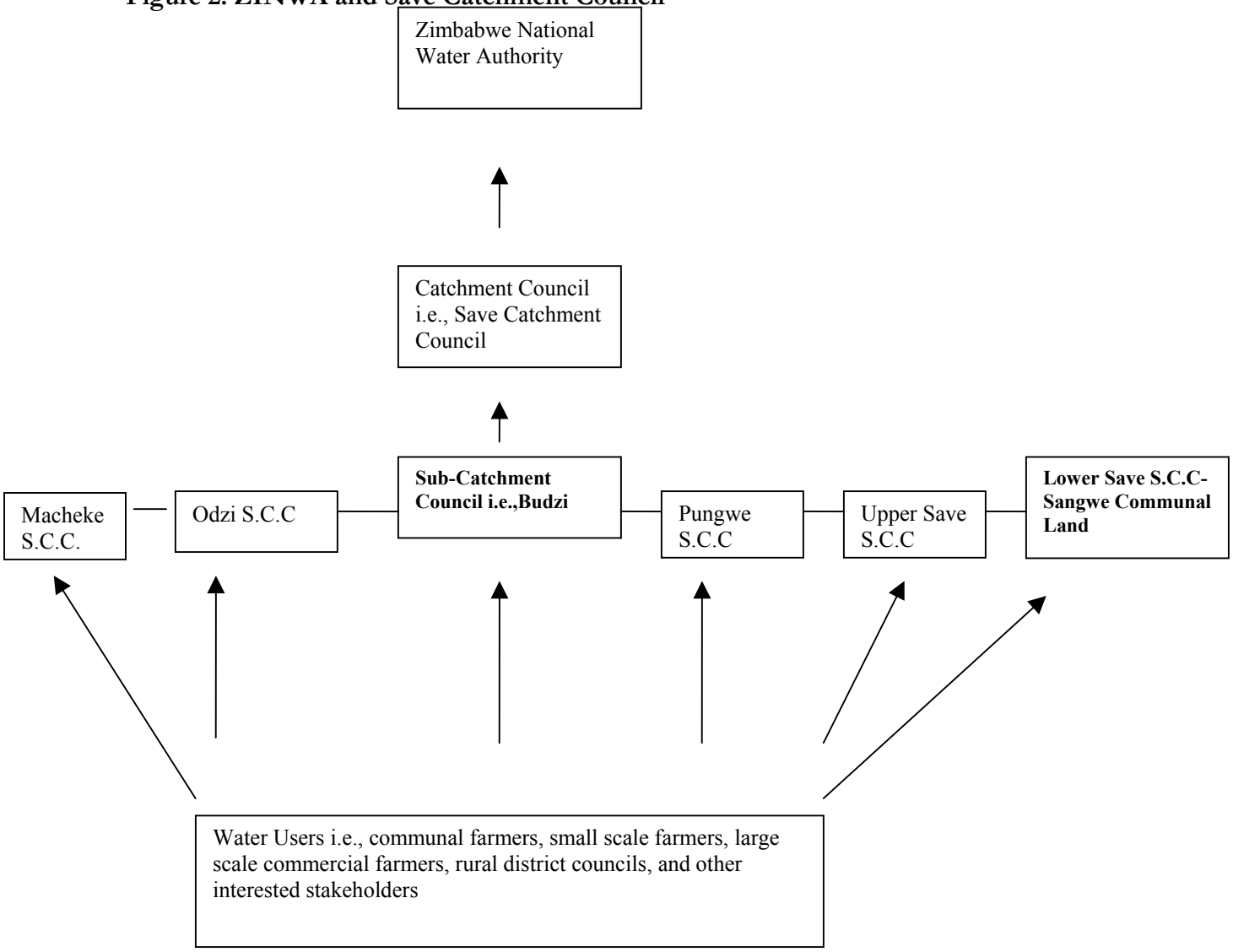
In addition, it promotes the transfer of management responsibilities to local communities and taking into consideration women as important users and decision makers. The RWS&S programme is mainly concerned with the supply of water for domestic use by providing and maintaining boreholes and protected wells in the case study area. In the mapping phase, little data was collected on RWS&S programme. What is important to note at the moment is the changing narratives within and between institutions concerning access to water by the local community and an analysis of the different ways in which these narratives are used by different actors. In addition, issues of participation, institutional relations and change processes will inform detailed research in the next phase of the project.

2.2.3. ZINWA, Catchment and Sub-Catchment Councils

The Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) is a parastatal that ahs largely replaced the Department of Water within the Ministry of Rural Resources and Water Development. Catchment Councils are expected to replace the Regional Water Authorities responsible for supplying irrigation water to the sugar producers and other irrigators in the south-east

lowveld (Robinson 1998:1). With reference to ZINWA and the Save Catchment Council, the new organizational structure is as follows:

Figure 2: ZINWA and Save Catchment Council



Some of the functions of ZINWA, at different levels, are illustrated below. These include inter alia;

1. To advise the Minister on the formulation of national policies and standards on,
    - Water resources planning, management and development
    - Dam safety and borehole drilling, and
    - Water pricing

2. To assist and participate in or advise on any matter pertaining to the planning of the development, exploitation, protection and conservation of water resources
3. To promote an equitable, efficient and sustainable allocation and distribution of water resources
4. To encourage and assist local authorities in the discharge of their functions under the Rural District Councils Act and Urban Councils Act, with regard to the development and management of water resources in areas under their jurisdiction and in particular the provision of potable water and the disposal of waste water
5. Provide technical assistance and advice to the Catchment Councils

The functions of Catchment Councils include the following:

1. Preparing outline plans for their river systems
2. Determining applications and granting water permits
3. Regulating and supervising the use of water
4. Supervising the performance of functions by Sub-catchment Councils, and
5. Dealing with conflicts.

The Sub-Catchment Councils are themselves expected to do the following things.

1. Regulating and supervising the exercise of permits for the use of water including ground water within the area for which they are established
2. Reporting as required to the Catchment Councils on exercise of water permits within its areas
3. Monitoring water flows and water use in accordance with the allocations made under the permits
4. Assisting in the collection of data and participating in planning
5. Collecting sub-catchment council rates, fees and levies.

It is within this institutional reform context that Budzi and Lower Save Sub-Catchment Councils are being established. Catchment and Sub-Catchment Council boundaries cut across the boundaries of districts and provinces. As a result, Sangwe falls within the Lower Save Sub-Catchment Council area. Chiredzi town and neighbouring plantations are in the Runde Catchment Council.

Of the two Sub-catchment Councils, Budzi is functioning. We still have to establish whether the Lower Save CATCHMENT council is operating. The Chiredzi Sub-Catchment Council exists on paper only. It was supposed to have been funded by the Department for International Development, United Kingdom.[12] Budzi Sub-catchment Council revealed some interesting issues with regards to the decentralization process in the water sector.

Case Study: Budzi Sub-Catchment Council, Chipinge District

Budzi is one of the seven sub-catchment councils that constitute the Save Catchment Council. It is a result of the decentralization process in the water sector currently taking place in Zimbabwe. One of the major objectives of the sub-catchment council is to bring together all stakeholders to manage water in a fair and just manner, affording every person equal access to water within a conservation framework.[13] In the past, water was more accessible to the commercial sector, that is both agriculture and industry. The Chipinge River Board represented the large commercial farming sector's water needs in Chipinge, while industry and urban residents were and are still represented by the water department of the Rural District Council. Small-scale irrigators were partially 'represented' by AGRITEX and subsistence communal farmers were not represented.

Thus the stakeholders came in on an unequal footing, with the large-scale commercial farming sector and business, having had extensive experience in organization, advocating their interests and more financial resources. On the other hand, small-scale irrigators and communal farmers are unorganized and lack the experience in advocating their interests in the water sector. In addition, the current leaders of the Budzi sub-catchment council have been working in the Chipinge River Board. The Commercial Farmers Union offices' are in the same building with those of the Budzi sub-catchment council.

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[12] Interview with Mr. P. Lapham, Chairperson Chiredzi sub-catchment Council at Triangle Limited, 10 March 2001.
[13] Interview with Mr. Holden, Chairman Budzi sub-catchment Council

The effect of bringing these diverse stakeholders with divergent water interests together will be analysed in detail during the next research phase. The central questions are;

- who gets water, when and how?
- What are the narratives of the various interest groups concerning past and present access to and use of water?
- How susceptible are these new institutional structures to changes in wider political margins of control within communities (perhaps caused by decentralization) and between communities and local authorities?
- What is the gender, and class composition of sub-catchment council and the water user committees?
- How does differential allocation of water impact on the livelihoods of various interest groups and individual households.

In addition to the Budzi sub-catchment council, the team carried out some preliminary investigation into the only functional irrigation scheme in Sangwe, namely Tshovani.

Case Study: ARDA Tshovani Irrigation Scheme

ARDA Tshovani irrigation scheme was established in 1984 as a government initiative, within the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, under the Agricultural Rural Development Authority (ARDA), hence the name. At its inception, ARDA Tshovani Irrigation Scheme had a membership of 34 farmers, most of whom were former employees of ARDA Chisumbanje. Access to land in the irrigation scheme was based on a formal application and a series of interviews conducted by the officials from the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture, AGRITEX, ARDA and the District Administrator's office. The interviews mainly covered issues on agricultural management and production. Plots in the irrigation scheme were given to successful candidates who passed the interviews. In addition, the successful candidates were given a six-month probation period which involved training in agricultural management and production of wheat and cotton. The training was conducted by ARDA officials. After the probation period, all the 34 farmers succeeded and were given houses at the compound near the irrigation scheme.

It was noted that the initial irrigation farmers were from Zaka, Chivi, Gutu, Bikita and Chipinge. The locals were suspicious of the irrigation scheme. The second group of ten farmers to join the scheme came in 1989, and consisted of locals. Three additional farmers joined the scheme in 1995 and 1996 respectively. For the growing season of 2000 to 2001, nineteen farmers joined the irrigation scheme. This latter group of farmers paid Z$12 000 to join the irrigation scheme. It is important to note that, while some farmers joined the scheme, others were moving out of the scheme. Despite this fluidity of membership, there is a total of 84 farmers irrigating 354 hectares of land. Plot sizes ranges from 3 to 10 ha per plot-holder. The scheme draws its water from the perennial Save River, which is to the eastern side. Water is pumped from the Save River by two electric water pumps, and stored in a dam, where it is further drawn into canals, which line up the plots in the irrigation scheme. The major crops grown are wheat, cotton, maize, tomatoes, and beans.

During the first ten years of its inception, the irrigation scheme was under the management of ARDA, which provided technical assistance to plot holders. In addition, ARDA assisted the plot holders in securing loans used in purchasing various agricultural inputs and the payment of electricity bills. ARDA worked with various institutions in securing loans for plot holders up to 1996. Table 9 below indicates the source of loans, period and the crop of interest for each financier.

Table 9: Crops Being Supported By Different Organisations During Given Time Periods

Source of loan	Period	Crop
Agriculture Finance Corporation	1984-1997	Any crop but cotton, wheat, beans were mainly grown
COTTPRO	1997-1998	Cotton
Cotton Company Of Zimbabwe	1999 to present	Cotton

(Source: Interview with Mr. W. Hanyani and Mr. Muzamani 6 March 2001)

After 1996, the scheme was managed by a group of elected officials popularly known as the Irrigation Management Committee. The main official positions are the chairperson, vice

chairperson, secretary, vice secretary, treasurer, vice treasurer and two committee members. Some of the main functions of the Chairperson are,

- Overall administration of the irrigation scheme
- Field management
- Conflict resolution
- Dealing with labour shortages.

Two committee members are tasked with,

- Maintenance of blocks and canal management
- Water management, particularly the monitoring of Save River
- Guarding the water engines
- Community relations i.e., organizing meetings with the local community
- Monitoring of finances i.e., committee members are witnesses when new members pay their joining fees

The Treasurer's major role is the budgeting of,

- the scheme's account
- incoming and outgoing finances.

Taking down minutes in meetings and keeping an inventory of farm equipment are some the responsibilities of the Secretary.

One of the major problems in the post-ARDA era is the failure of most farmers to repay their loans, with the result that they sold their livestock to repay loans and stopped irrigation farming altogether. In addition, failure to pay of electricity bills is a perennial problem for the scheme resulting in continuous power cuts, water shortages, and consequently a decline in crop production. These problems seem to be a consequence of the incapacity of the irrigation management committee to effectively and independently run the scheme.

The key questions that emanate from the mapping phase and that will inform the more detailed case study research are;

- what are the key institutions involved in the development of smallholder irrigation schemes, and how have they changed over time? This question will be asked against the backdrop of the broad decentralization process.
- how does the smallholder irrigation scheme relate with other institutions? Does this create new avenues of patronage and access to power in order to access resources and power?
- What has been the role and impact of the proliferation of private companies in the provision of loans and marketing of agricultural produce, mainly cotton, on people's livelihoods?
- Whose livelihoods have been improved taking into consideration the fees charged for one to join the irrigation scheme?
- Who is included in the scheme and what are their motivations? Who is excluded and what are the narratives of the excluded?
- What are the micro-political processes surrounding access to irrigation water? Who gets what water, when and how?
- What are the broader lessons, to be learnt from Sangwe, for irrigation policy and livelihoods in general?

2.2.4. Institutions Involved in Water Management in Case Study Areas

Although the Ministry of Rural Resources and Water Development has the overall responsibility for water policy, there are many interested stakeholders involved with water management in Sangwe. Table 10 below shows some of the major water stakeholders.

Table 10: Institutions and Water

Organisation	Activities
AGRITEX- Min. of Lands and Agriculture	Water conservation and management in Sangwe and other communal areas, small scale farms, irrigation schemes and large scale commercial farms Involved in the processing of water permits through evaluation of water use
Plan International	Sinking of boreholes Water harvesting projects
Lutheran World Federation	Sinking of boreholes known as bush-pumps
Chiredzi Rural District Council	Water infrastructure for towns and growth points for domestic and industrial consumption
Sub-Catchment Councils	Day to day running of water issues
District Development Fund	Sinking and the maintenance of boreholes
Zimbabwe National Water Authority	Management of all aspects of both surface and underground water.
Lowveld River Board	Commercial farming sector water watchdog. Gives technical advise to commercial farmers on water issues and the application of water rights
Private Estates	Own dams Use water for industrial purposes

What is important to note at this juncture is that, water sector reforms in Zimbabwe seek to balance divergent interests of stakeholders by abolishing the issue of water rights and putting in place water permits. Furthermore, this is aimed at putting in place effective measures to manage water as a social and economic resource with an emphasis on conservation and equitable distribution.

2.2.5. Water and Livelihoods

At the national level, access to safe water in rural areas has improved from 38% of households to approximately 70% since 1980 (Robinson, 1998). The principal technology

used for rural water supplies are boreholes fitted with hand pumps. Organisations mainly involved in the sinking of boreholes in Sangwe with the aim of providing safe drinking water and raise the health standard at the household level, are listed in Table 9 above. The hand pump is developed in the country, thus ensuring availability of parts and maintenance. Maintenance of the bush pumps has largely been done by the District Development Fund (D.D.F.) and, in few instances, by the local community. Due to severe budget cuts, D.D.F is failing to maintain boreholes fitted with bush pumps and has led to a poor level of service.

Consequently, local communities in Sangwe have an unreliable supply of water from boreholes. Rural households find it easier to obtain water from traditional sources, such as rivers or unprotected wells. In addition, the involvement of the community in maintaining the boreholes is limited.

Photo 1: Young Girl Fetching Water from a Borehole in Sangwe.

Photo by Sobona Mtisi, 2001

Taking cognizance of the unavailability of water in Sangwe, boreholes are of great importance in meeting people's livelihood needs. However, it is important to note that women and children are invariably entrusted with the responsibility of fetching water for domestic use and irrigation of small vegetable gardens. (See Photo 1 above for children and photo 2 below for women)

The adequate availability and equitable and efficient use of irrigation water are essential for improving people's livelihoods in Sangwe Communal Area. Irrigation water is helping to increase not only crop productivity but cropping intensity, thereby leading to an increase in yield. Irrigation has a multiplier effect on local employment both at the production and post-harvest phases of agriculture. Unfortunately, only one scheme is working in Sangwe.

Photo 2: A woman fetching water at a borehole in Sangwe.
Photo by Sobona Mtisi, 2001

2.3. Wild Resources

This section focuses on wild resources in Zimbabwe, paying particular attention to forests and forest products (i.e. the woody issues), wildlife and aquatic life. This section discusses wild resource issues from a sectoral perspective. Notwithstanding its inability to capture synergies and contradictions that occur across sectors, the sector approach was adopted for the following reasons:

- the government is structured along sectoral lines and the formulation and implementation of policies that affect wild resources are undertaken in a sectoral context
- international conventions are generally formulated and implemented along sectoral lines.

2.3.1. Wildlife Policy

The advent of colonialism saw the twin processes of land and wildlife alienation, which created hostility to wildlife conservation among the local people. The expropriation of wildlife from the local people by the settlers criminalised hunting by the local people. The Rhodesians became the gamekeepers and the Africans the poachers. Thus, rural farmers had to suffer the consequences of living with wildlife while reaping no benefits from the animals (Hill, 1997)

The Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975 marked a change in government policy toward ownership of wildlife resources and served as the basis of contemporary Zimbabwean wildlife policy. The Act recognised that wildlife was the property of those who lived on the land with it. In theory, it transferred ownership of wildlife living in the communal areas to the rural farmers living there. Owing to the nature of land tenure, the owners (mostly white) of large commercial ranches have seen more material benefits from this legislation than have the rural farmers. The Act provided that in both the commercial and communal areas, the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management can place restrictions on the use of threatened or endangered species, but generally the DNP restricts itself to giving technical

advice to commercial farmers and to encouraging the development of wildlife management in agriculturally marginal communal areas.

Since wildlife conservation takes place in parks, safari areas, communal areas, and on commercial farms, the government, particularly the Department of National Parks, is engaging a broad spectrum of organised interests with very different motivations and organisational capacities. Thus the differences in access by social groups to the benefits and costs of wildlife influence the ways in which the groups perceive the benefits. In addition, the polarisation between and among interested parties causes problems for the design and implementation of sustainable utilisation policies.

2.3.2. Institutions Involved in Wildlife Management

The institutional structure for the management of wildlife and other resources is centered on District Councils, Ward Development Committees, and Village Development Committees. Under CAMPFIRE, all adults in the community become shareholders in the cooperative. Ideally, they receive benefits from income, employment and production generated by tourism, ivory culling, meat marketing, and problem animal control. CAMPFIRE is targeted at financially rewarding the local people who live in constant contact with wildlife through the sale of ivory and trophy fees which is distributed to the District Council. The District Council channels 50% of the money to the communities living in the areas in which the wildlife live, and allow a maximum of 15% "council levy" and 35% "management fund" (Government of Zimbabwe, 1987).

There are three major groups involved in CAMPFIRE, namely The World Wide Fund For Nature, the Zimbabwe Trust (ZIMTRUST), which provided funding and management training and the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe, which provides socio-economic research to CAMPFIRE districts. All three groups are officially affiliated to the Department of National Parks in the implementation of CAMPFIRE. They constitute an "actor network" in terms of actor network theory, since these groups interact with the state in a rather fluid exchange of ideas. Since the appropriate management authority is the District Council, the Ministry of Local Government comes into the

institutional picture. Administratively, the DNP cedes its local authority to the Ministry of Local Government, although it still maintains its presence and jurisdiction over only wildlife and not the people.

In addition to CAMPFIRE institutions, there are private organisations that are involved in the management of wildlife in Chiredzi. The two major organisations that will be dealt with in detail in this paper are Malilangwe Trust and Save Valley Conservancy.

2.3.3. Malilangwe Trust

The Trust's main activities are wildlife and environmental conservation and secondarily, rural development in Chiredzi. Wildlife management is aimed at restoring and maintaining bio-diversity, and through financial benefits accruing to it, the Trust partly uses the profits to finance projects in the communal areas that surround Malilangwe. These rural development projects are financed through the Trust's Neighbour Outreach Programme. The vision of the Neighbour Outreach Programme is stated as having "a close and trusting relationship with its immediate neighbours, who value the Trust and the ongoing contribution that it makes to their development" (Malilangwe Trust Annual Report 1999:13). To achieve this vision, the Trust is supporting four main areas of activity:

- supporting the social welfare of neighbours
- stimulating the development of rural enterprises
- raising communal capacity to manage activities and institutions
- coordinating and planning activities within the context of wider district-level initiatives by Government and other development agencies (ibid.). The impact of the Trust's outreach programme on local livelihoods is discussed later.

2.3.4. Save Valley Conservancy

Save Valley Conservancy is an amalgamation of 25 private ranches into one consortium, which covers 5 rural district councils namely Buhera, Bikita, Chipinge, Chiredzi and Zaka.

The Conservancy ensures individual ownership of land, management of the ranch and financial benefits accruing from the ranch. However, they share responsibilities for restocking of wildlife and ecological management of the Conservancy.

The relationship between Save Valley Conservancy and the communities that surround the Conservancy in the 5 rural district councils is marked by conflict, tension and hostility that originated from the colonial period. Locals were forcibly removed from their land to give way for individual ranches, which later became the Conservancy. The land where the local people once hunted game both for food and ritual, became individualised and privatised. What was once an everyday practice became illegal. Suddenly, the Conservancy owners became the gamekeepers and Sangwe people the poachers. This was illustrated in an interview with one respondent who stated that the invasions of the Save Valley Conservancy were selective. Those ranch owners who continued to maintain a Rhodesian mentality had their ranches occupied and the wildlife severely killed.[14] Box 3 below illustrates the relationship. Important to note is the fact that some individual members of the Save Valley Conservancy enjoyed cordial relations with their neighbouring communities.

Box 3: The Relationship Between Save Valley Conservancy And The Community

Case 1.

Interviewer: How would you describe your relationship with owners of Save Valley Conservancy?

Mr. P. R. Sithole, Ward 1 Councillor: Owners have been vicious even after independence. They killed people whom they label poachers. Last week (around 11 February 2001) they shot and injured about 26 people.

Case 2.

Interviewer: How could you describe your relationship with owners of Save Conservancy?

Chief Gudo: The relationship between us and the owners is bad. We don't even know them, they have their separate lives and we have our own. They live in the fence and we live on the other side of it. We used to have our sacred pool, Sadzire, in Chief Gudo's area. That is where we used to carry out our rainmaking ceremonies. People were not allowed to fish there, but only once a year as a community and not as individuals and also during the rainmaking ceremony. It is also a place where we bury our chiefs. Now all this is no more. The place is now fenced, and belongs to Otterson (locally known as Mandikise- meaning someone who is troublesome and hard-hearted). We once went there for a rainmaking ceremony and we were beaten severely. But when they want to bury me, they will bury me there because that's where my father lies. Also, when I want meat, I will go there because I cannot always graze!

[14] Interview with Mr. P.R. Sithole, 18 February 2001.

2.3.5. Save Valley Conservancy Trust

The Trust was formed recently in the context of increasing land demands and a critical need to improve the relations with neighbouring communities in the five rural district councils. In short, the Trust was formed to promote a close and trusting relationship with local communities, and to make financial contributions to community development in the five districts. In addition, the Trust intends to develop the managerial and entrepreneurial capacity of communities particularly at household, village and ward levels, and where possible create formal institutional frameworks so that a sound legal and administrative basis exists for the projects particularly those involving joint ventures with the Conservancy and with other outside agencies.

The Trust is composed of representatives from the 5 rural district councils and the Save Conservancy, and gets $500 000 per year from Save Conservancy to distribute among the district councils. On average each district council gets $100 000 per year to use in a community project which it identifies as a top priority.

Notwithstanding the noble intentions of Save Valley Conservancy, two critical questions to ask are why Save Conservancy Trust and why now? The context in which the Trust was formed renders it to be viewed as a window dressing organisation that was formed to safeguard white commercial interests against increasing demands for land and land redistribution. Secondly, the three year period within which the Trust will disburse money (i.e. $500 000) to rural district councils covers the pre and post-election period, a time which may witness an increase in land occupations. It is thus not farfetched to argue that the Trust is safeguarding the Conservancy under the veil of contributing financially to community development.

2.3.6. The Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Trans-frontier Conservation Area

One of the major wildlife developments in the South east Lowveld is the establishment of the proposed Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou (G-K-G) Trans-frontier Conservation Area. This is aimed at linking the individual attractions in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique so

that there is considerable advantage in effectively and synergistically marketing these ecotourism destinations across national borders, for greater benefit of all participating countries.[15] The World Bank through the Global Environmental Facility funded the feasibility studies for the G-K-G Trans-frontier Conservation Area, and it included Chimanimani and Lubombo (formely Maputo).

The proposed GKG TFCA includes parts of south-western Mozambique, north-eastern South Africa and south-eastern Zimbabwe covering a total of 99 800 square kilometers. The Mozambican component which covers approximately 66 987 square kilometers extends from Rio Save in the North, Zinave National Park and Ressano Garcia in the east to the international boundaries of South Africa and Zimbabwe in the West. The South African component comprises of the Kruger National Park (including the Makuleke Region) and adjoining Provincial and Private Game Reserves along its western boundary, to as far as Beit Bridge, covering a total of approximately 22 147 square kilometers. In Zimbabwe, the proposed area consists of the Gonarezhou National Park, Game Conservancies along its western boundary (i.e., Save Valley Conservancy and Malilangwe), the community-managed areas southwards to the Limpopo River, as well as a strip of land extending westwards along the Limpopo River close to Beit Bridge. This area covers approximately 10 645 square kilometers[16].

The SADC Wildlife Policy, which promotes the establishment of Transfrontier Conservation Areas as a means for interstate cooperation in the management and sustainable use of ecosystems that transcend national boundaries, and the SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement , which promotes regional cooperation in the development of a common framework for the conservation of natural resources, enforcement of laws governing these resources and their sustainable use, provides the framework for trans-frontier development and management.

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[15] Conceptual Plan for the Establishment of the Proposed Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Trans-frontier Conservation Area: A Report Presented to the Ministers responsible for wildlife in Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, 2 May 2000.

Within this framework of regional cooperation, one of the objectives of the GKG TFCA is to develop frameworks and strategies for local communities to participate and tangibly benefit from the management and sustainable use of natural resources that occur within the GKG TFCA. It is hoped that the GKG TFCA will learn from various Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes that exist in the region, for instance the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe, the Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas (ADMADE) in Zambia and Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) in Namibia.

Despite the fact that there is a wealth of CBNRM experience in the region, the GKG TFCA seems to be an interstate programme that excludes local communities in its inception phase and initial round of meetings and conferences that have so far been conducted. This is aptly stated by Mr. A.M. Sithole, Councillor of Ward 5 in Sangwe, who said that,

> " *I had to discover through my own sources that there are GKG TFCA meetings going on, and I follow them up and impose myself representing the community, on their agenda. My argument is that they should involve the communities that will be in the GKG TFCA in these meetings. The earlier, the better. At one meeting, I told them to bring the Shangaan Chief in Mozambique on board so that he will represent his people."*

Against this backdrop, the key questions to ask are;

- what are the political processes of inclusion and exclusion from the GKG Trans-frontier Conservation area?
- How does this impact on local livelihoods?
- What mechanisms exist that ensure community participation in the GKG TFCA?
- How practical and effective can community participation be, if one considers the fact that there are differences in community based natural resources management experiences among the three countries?

[16] The section that covers the size of the proposed GKG TFCA is drawn from the 'Conceptual Plan for the Establishment of the Proposed Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Trans-frontier Conservation Area, presented to the Ministers responsible for Wildlife in Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, 2 May 2000' report.

- What are the likely implications of 'land self-provisioning' or 'land invasions' or 'fast-track land resettlement programme' taking place in Zimbabwe and the Lowveld in particular, to the future development of the GKG TFCA?[17]

2.3.7. Wild Resources and Livelihoods

Wild resources in Sangwe communal area have contributed immensely to the livelihoods of the people from the pre-colonial era to the present. Most of the livelihoods derived from the 'woody' and wild life resources have been discussed in Section 1.1.

However, it is vital to note the contribution of poaching to the livelihood of some rural families in Sangwe. Despite the fact that poaching is illegal, it is a common practice in the case study area to the extent that some people risk their lives. This is illustrated by the case of Jabulani[18] in box 4 below.

Box 4: Poaching: The Case of Jabulani of Ndali Village, Ward 5.

Jabulani is a 28 year old married man with three children. He is a primary school drop-out, who previously worked in the mines of South Africa. Jabulani went to South Africa illegally in 1992 during the drought period. However, he was deported in 1996 and saw himself back home in Sangwe with no job. Jabulani opted for poaching which he reasoned would provide him with adequate money for the upkeep of his family.

Jabulani is mainly involved in what he calls 'hunting of our wildlife'. He 'hunts' mainly kudu, antelope, impala, hare and wild pigs. In addition, he fishes using fishing traps, nets and herbs in Save and Runde rivers. His catch is partly for domestic consumption and largely for sale. Jabulani also gives his neighbours some of the game meat as 'gifts' inorder for him to be protected by the villagers. He even promised one of the Research Assistants game meat, which he was supposed to collect after three days time.

Upon being asked why he is engaging in 'hunting' while he could benefit from CAMPFIRE dividends, he retorted that:

" CAMPFIRE money is being looted and little finds its way back to the community. If it does, it will not be adequate to meet my family' daily requirements and other necessities. The whole process reduces me to a status of a beggar. I am a man! In addition, CAMPFIRE is more about the national park than us. We used to hunt and eat meat often, but now there are too many restrictions yet our crops are being severely damaged by problem animals every year and the compensation is too little and untimely".

[17] It is interesting to note that part of the Gonarezhou has been acquired by the State for land resettlement and newspaper reports state that some people have already been given plots in the National Park. This occurred after our fieldwork, but it will form the focus of our study once we resume fieldwork.

3.2.8. Wild Resources Institutions and Livelihoods

Despite the fact that there are many organizations involved in the lucrative Lowveld wildlife business, few have contributed to local community development and to the improvement of livelihoods of the communities surrounding them. Chiredzi District is among the districts where poverty indicators are particularly intense. It is ranked number 8 (Zimbabwe Human Development Report, 1999). Although most respondents stated that wildlife organizations, especially those that are privately owned, do not contribute to their livelihoods, they however, provide employment to some locals. Limitations notwithstanding, Malilangwe and Gonarezhou National Park have been cited as contributing to both community development and the improvement of people's livelihoods. The contribution of Gonarezhou National Park is largely through the CAMPFIRE programme previously discussed.

Malilangwe Conservation through the Malilangwe Trust contributes to community development and people's livelihoods through its Neighbour Outreach Programme. According to the Malilangwe Trust Annual Report (1999:20-21) some of its activities in the Neighbour Outreach Programme include;

- Support for the erection of the Lisese borehole for Lisese gardening,
- Donation to Family AIDS Caring Trust's AIDS awareness campaign in Chizvirizvi,
- Completion of expecting mothers' waiting shelter at Chizvirizvi,
- Well protection in Machoka – 14 wells were protected,
- Donation of books to Dumisani school and others,
- Donated school fees and uniforms and for 215 primary school pupils, and 37 secondary school pupils,
- Initiated and contributed financially together with Canadian International Development Agency and the community in the electrification of Hlanganani school,
- Provision of materials for dressmaking training at Machoka,
- Permaculture training for Machoka catchment,

[18] Jabulani is a fictitious name.

- Support for students' tuition, one student at Chibero Agricultural College, one at Bondolofi Teachers' College, one at Life Sowing Ministries (vocational training) and two at the University of Zimbabwe,
- Facilitating AGRITEX cotton course for farmers at Chambuta,
- Donation of food and trees to Machoka Catchment rehabilitation field day,
- Donation to community research on small grain development in food and transport for workshop,
- Providing nursery development at Chizvirizvi,
- Donation of 22 impalas to various celebrations,
- Donation in cash and kind to Chambuta disadvantaged elders and children,
- Approximately 215 hectares disced at cost price for Chizvirizvi farmers, 90 loads of crops transported from fields to homesteads at cost, 42 tonnes of crops transported to the Grain Marketing Board at cost,
- Tractor ploughed 15 hectares for elderly and disadvantaged people in Chizvirizvi.

In sum, the aforementioned activities done by Malilangwe Trust impact on livelihoods at both community, household and individual levels and thus contribute to the well-being of the people of Sangwe. Furthermore, these activities cast Malilangwe Trust and Conservation in a positive light in the eyes of members of the surrounding community.

CONCLUSION

The report presented the major policy issues surrounding land, water and wild resources in Zimbabwe and how it is interpreted and put in practice in the case study areas, mainly Sangwe, Chiredzi and, to a lesser extent, Mahenye in Chipinge Districts. With regards to land, there is an apparent shift from the 1980's land reform policy which was based on the willing-buyer and willing-seller principle to one that is driven by administrative fiat, namely the compulsory land acquisition policy. While the initial land reform policy sought to resettle 167 000 families, during the 1980-1984 period, the politically charged 'fast-track land resettlement program' seeks to resettle nearly 'all' the families that need land.

The policy on water seek is shifting from the monopolization of water by a minority, to one guided by equity and equality principles. Thus the ongoing water sector reforms aim to provide a conducive environment that enables all stakeholders to have equal access to water. The policy on wild resources, with specific reference to wild life, has moved from one guided by the principles of excluding black people, to one that tries to include them, but they have benefited marginally from wild life. This is epitomized in the CAMPFIRE programme. However, there is an urgent need to create more enduring resource sharing arrangements between private conservancies and Sangwe Communal Area.

Concomitant with policy shifts on land, water and wild resources, there has been an emergence and consolidation of both traditional and modern institutions that mediate access to and use of these three natural resources. However, the emergence of a plethora of new institutions has created a fertile ground for institutional conflict and confusion, a situation commonly referred to as 'an institutional mess'.[19] For instance, the emergence of war veterans and the land committee, as two of the major institutions surrounding land, complicated the whole institutional arena governing access to land.

The effect of policy shifts and the emergence and consolidation of both modern and traditional institutions on people's livelihoods vary. In the case of both land, water and wildlife, it remains to be seen how the current land and water reforms will indeed improve the livelihoods of the poor people in Sangwe. On the other hand, policy shifts in wild resources, particularly wild life, seem to have marginally benefited local communities. This seems to be true for Gonarezhou National Park where CAMPFIRE programme is operational. While the policies are crafted and institutions established to implement policies that seek to improve the livelihoods of rural people, there is disjunction between such policy intentions and the harsh realities of poverty that rural people face on a daily basis.

[19] Ian Scoones, private coomunication.

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